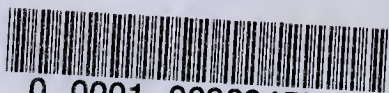


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Natives of New South Wales.

Published Feb. 1. 1810, by Richard Phillips, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London.

A
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OF



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AND

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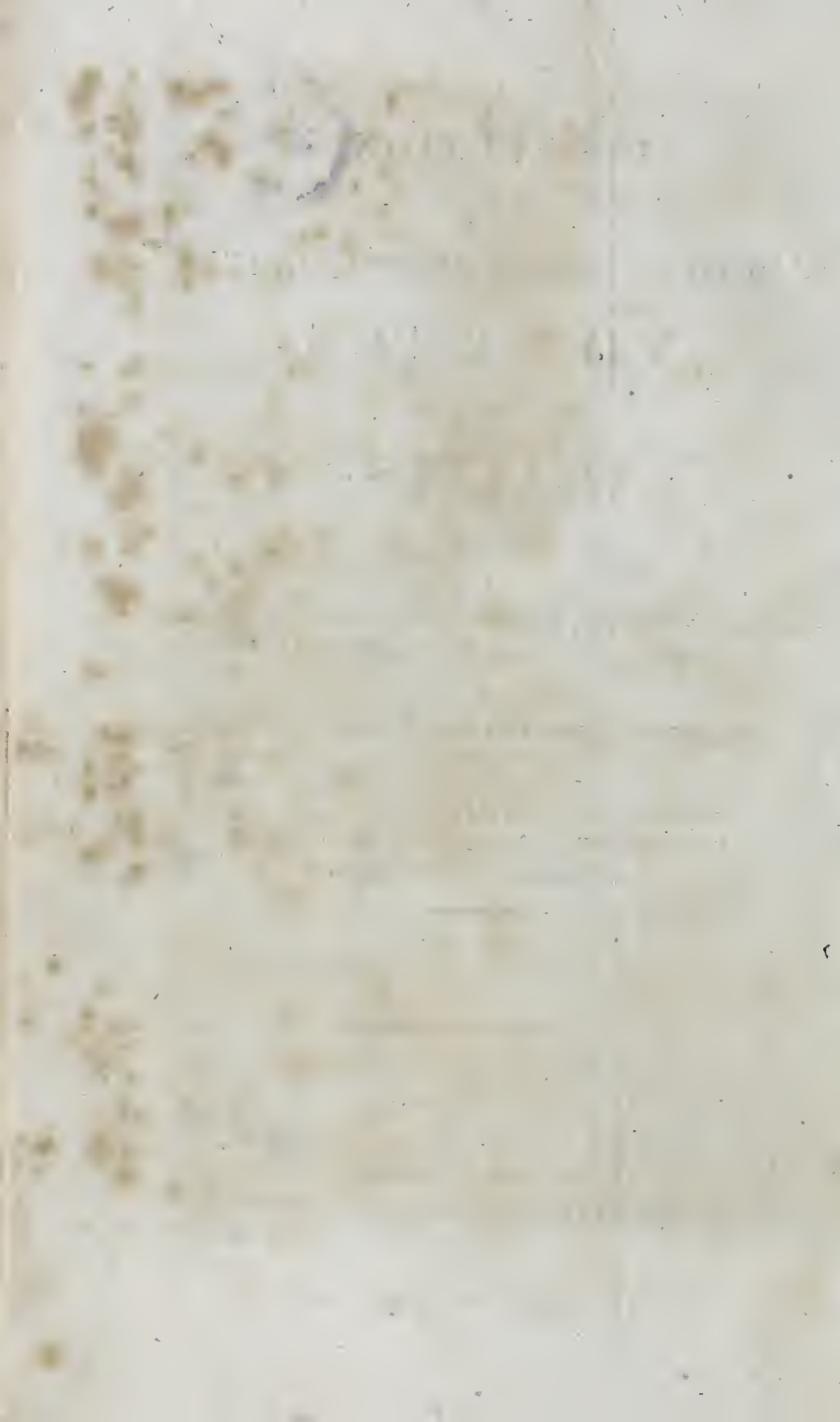
VOL. XI.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHIPPS,
BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS,
BY B. McMILLAN, BOW STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1810.

[Price Eighteen Shillings in Boards.]



VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

TO THE

SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE,

PERFORMED BY ORDER OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON,

DURING THE YEARS 1801, 1802, 1803, AND 1804.

PREPARED FOR THE PRESS

BY M. F. PERON,

ONE OF THE NATURALISTS APPOINTED FOR THE EXPEDITION, MEMBER
OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE, &c. &c.

AND PUBLISHED IN CONSEQUENCE OF AN

IMPERIAL DECREE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,
BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS,

BY B. M'MILLAN, BOW STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1809.

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SUBSTANCE OF THE REPORT

MADE TO

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

BY

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE,

ON THE

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY TO THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

ON the return of the second vessel belonging to this expedition, a preliminary report was presented to the Institute, describing the riches which she had brought for the Museum of Natural History. Other particulars were afterwards published, of the discoveries which this expedition has effected in geography, botany, and mineralogy.

But as the subjects of zoology and anthropology are not yet perfectly arranged, though all the descriptions are revised and ready for the press, Messrs. PERON and LESUEUR have requested the Class to examine the state of their labours, and it has imposed this task upon us.

Of the five zoologists appointed by the government, two remained in the Isle of France: two others who were taken ill at Timor, died through the fatigues of the second campaign, before they were able to reach, as it were, the shores which they were to explore. M. PERON being, therefore, the only one of his colleagues who was left, redoubled his zeal and activity. M. LESUEUR joined his efforts with those of his friend, and by the exertions of both, was prepared the valuable zoological collection which we now possess. More than one hundred thousand specimens of animals, large and small,

are contained in it; amongst which are several important genera. There are also many more to be described, and the number of new species, according to the report of the professors of the museum, is upwards of two thousand five hundred. Thus by referring to the amount of those discovered by COOK, in his second voyage, as well as CARTERET, WALLIS, FURNEAUX, MEARS, and even VANCOUVER, we shall find that Messrs. PERON and LESUEUR alone, have discovered more new animals than all the naturalist voyagers of our times.

Owing to an irregular or false method of description, which has been introduced into science, its progress has been much retarded. Travellers, and particularly some of those of the school of LINNÆUS have adopted it as more expeditious and easy; the consequence has been, that they have only acquired *relative* descriptions, scarcely sufficient for scientific explanations at the epoch when they studied, and which become the more useless in proportion as new subjects are discovered:—M. PERON knew how to get over this error. His descriptions, according with a constant and regular plan which had been formed, embrace all the details of the exterior organization of the animal, explain all its characters in an absolute manner, and will, in consequence, survive all the revolutions of methods and of systems.

The manners and customs of the animals, the names given to them by the natives, the uses to which the latter apply them, and the modes of hunting or fishing which they adopt, to catch them, have also attracted the attention of our travellers. Hence, after having described a great number of new species of *Holothuriæ*, they prove that the animals of this class, so despised on the shores of Europe, are, in India, an interesting and advantageous article of commerce. Numerous fleets of Indian ships annually employ several thousand men in the preparation, or rather the desiccation of these animals. Whole cargoes of them are put up, and from the burning shores to the north of New

Holland, they are transported at a great expence, to China, where old people purchase them with avidity, under the idea that they impart new vigour to their exhausted constitutions.

Equally interesting are M. PERON's descriptions of the numerous *Phocæ* and cetaceous animals of the Southern Ocean; for which we shall refer the reader to the text of his volume. His labours have been ably seconded by the ingenuity of M. LESŒUR, who, with extreme care, has produced no less than fifteen hundred drawings or paintings of the subjects collected by his colleague. These drawings, which were in general taken from the living animals, will ultimately be deemed the most complete and valuable collection that has yet been made by any company of philosophers: for every experiment which it was possible to make was tried, and its results noted down by these gentlemen.

Hence it is impossible to do adequate justice to the labours of these scientific investigators. They are, we do not hesitate to declare, infinitely superior to all those of the same kind, that have yet been performed under similar circumstances, whether national or private.

Hitherto we have only alluded to the zoological labours of M. PERON, because such being the special object of his mission, he felt it incumbent upon him to pay them the greatest attention, and he has amply fulfilled the wishes of the government.

Besides these active and connected researches, which occupied the attention of our philosophers, they were not inattentive to others of great importance. Their interesting experiments on the temperature of the sea, and their examination of the petrifications of the southern lands, as well as their remarks on the conformation of the Hottentot women, and on the English whale fisheries in the southern ocean, have already been laid before you, and have received your unqualified approbation.

To the Society of the School of Medicine at Paris, M. PERON has also presented very interesting memoirs on the

dysentery which prevails in hot countries; on the use of the betel nut, and on the utility of applying meteorological knowledge to naval tactics—memoirs which have been strongly recommended by the Society, and which obtained for the author the distinction of being enrolled among its members.

Independently of these works, already published or communicated to the Society in MS. M. PERON possesses materials for numerous other publications on the most important subjects: such as observations on the phosphoric qualities of the sea; and meteorological experiments, repeated four distinct times in twenty-four hours, each time as opposite as possible for that period to afford; and over a space consisting nearly of one-third part of the globe. But the most material object that still remains for this gentleman to communicate certainly is, the account of the voyage itself to which he was attached; the editorship of which was entrusted to him by the Minister of Marine, and of which the first volume is now published. We have no doubt that the voyage it describes will be deemed one of the most useful and interesting that has ever been performed.

To render a rapid account of the principal events of a voyage so long and difficult; to describe successively Van Diemen's Land, and all that vast range of coast which forms the S. W. part of New Holland; the lands of Nuyts, of Edels, of Endracht, and of de Witt; to analyse the physical composition of the immense plains, for the most part sterile and inundated with fresh water; to display the divers productions natural to places so circumstanced; to unite all the observations that have been hitherto published respecting New Holland, in order to form a general history of the social condition and varied particulars of that continent; all this has been the plan and intention of the work of M. PERON. The same method is pursued in the history of Timor, an island 300 miles long, which, for want of being known, has heretofore been considered unworthy the attention

even of those geographers and naturalists who have minutely examined places of much less utility and importance.

The different regions of which we have spoken, are inhabited by people of various descriptions. To ascertain their history has been the particular object of M. PERON. Their physical constitution; their customs, their manners, their ornaments, their games, their dances; their exercises, rural and warlike; their arms; their combats; their hunting and fishing parties; their prevailing maladies; their habitations and clothing, and their navigation, have been the subjects of the labours of the author at every period of his voyage. He has also formed an interesting vocabulary of the language of the natives; and such of the English colonists as are distinguished for information, have indulged him with the fruit of their experience, and enabled him to make his report as ample and correct as can possibly be wished.

In the midst of the regions which M. PERON traversed, wherever he formed establishments, he encountered rivals on whose veracity no reliance can be placed. He therefore applied himself in the most particular manner, to every detail, and qualified himself to give a critical account of a continent of such extraordinary magnitude and interest. You may have perceived by his memoir on the subject of the *Phœœ*, with what particularity he investigated subjects of importance, and with what wisdom he exposes them to the attention of the public. On the whole, his labours appear to be of the utmost consequence both to the statesman and philosopher. Perhaps a work more curious or interesting has never been presented to one or to the other. Never, perhaps, has the example of law and authority, shewn such a dominion as it has done over the despised colony of those distant people who inhabit Botany Bay. Never, perhaps, has there been so conspicuous a specimen of the effect of good laws upon a criminal people, and the result of which has been

to reform the most abandoned vagabonds, and transmute the most ignominious robbers of Great Britain into honest and peaceable subjects !

- While M. PERON occupied himself in gaining the elements of the history of the country and the people which he visited, his friend LEBEUR was performing his part of the operations with equal assiduity. All the manners and customs, the instruments of music, of war, or of hunting and fishing, have been drawn by him with the utmost accuracy. Besides these undertakings, he has furnished an admirable atlas of all the lands and bays which were met with in the voyage.

These candid remarks form a summary of the contents of the excellent volume which the government has ordered to be printed. We have to close them with a lamentable catalogue of disasters which happened to the gentlemen who accompanied the expedition. *Out of twenty-three persons recommended by you to the First Consul, only three have returned to their country, after performing the entire voyage.* Some of them being soon disgusted with their employment, were landed, and left in different parts ; others remained in ill health, at various places—but the rest are no more !

M. PERON and his friend, however, have overcome every difficulty, and though they have hitherto received no reward, but the public estimation and applause, we deem them worthy of the recompense granted by the government to travellers who have devoted themselves to such objects as we have described ; being convinced that their works will prove an important advantage to the study of natural history and philosophy.

“ Entered in the minutes of the Imperial Palace of the Sciences and Arts, on the 9th of June, 1806.

(Signed) “ LAPLACE, BOUGAINVILLE,
“ FLEURIEU, LACEPEDE.

“ CUVIER,
“ Reporter, and Perpetual Secretary.”

A
VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY
TO THE
SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

BOOK I.

COMPRISING THE EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN THE PASSAGE FROM FRANCE TO THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

The general Plan and Object of the Voyage.

[From the 22d of March to the 19th of October, 1800.]

SINCE discoveries in the sciences have been with reason placed amongst the chief records of the glory and prosperity of nations, a generous competition has been established, and a new field opened for such a rivalry among governments; so much the more honourable, as it is of general utility to all. The exertions of England have of late years been particularly distinguished; and in the glorious struggle, it is France alone that has any title to dispute the superiority.

Nevertheless, it must be allowed that the learned English, placed on the immense theatre of a fifth part of the globe, might in many respects decide the opinion of Europe in favour of their own country. The successive labours of Banks, Solander, Sparman, the two Forsters, Anderson, Mainziez, White, Schmidt, Collins, Patterson, &c. &c. have attracted the attention, and given interest to the studies of all the friends of science.—How many curious objects
PERON.]

have been brought from this southern continent—how many valuable observations on it have in so short a time been written!

In this state of things, the honour of the nation and the progress of science amongst us combined together to require an expedition of discovery to the Southern Hemisphere, and the Institute of France thought it a duty to lay the proposition before the government.

War at this epoch seemed to rage with redoubled fury; the political existence of France was in danger; her territory was usurped; but Buonaparte was first consul; he received, and was interested in the proposition of the Institute, which, some years before, had been gratified in nominating him one of its members; and even at the time when the army of reserve was on the move to cross the Alps, he gave the order to hasten the execution of this great undertaking.

In a short time twenty three persons, nominated by him, on the presentation of the Institution, were appointed to make scientific enquiries: never had there been such an assemblage of talent in any prior voyage of discovery; never had there been such preparations to ensure success.—Astronomers, geographers, mineralogists, botanists, zoologists, draughtsmen, horticulturists, all were found ready, in number double, treble, or even quintuple.

This part of the object of the expedition must have acquired considerable interest from the nature of the regions which they were about to visit. Under latitudes correspondent to those of our own climates, on a vast continent, and on the numerous adjoining isles, it was impossible not to discover useful vegetables, and many interesting subjects in animal life, which, if brought into European countries, might easily be naturalized, and supply new resources for our wants, new auxiliaries to our arts, and new luxuries for our enjoyment.

Whatever advantageous results were promised by the arrangement of this voyage, the plan of its operations seemed to ensure all that the experience of other navigators had acquired on the subject of the regions we were about to visit—until the present time; all that theory and consideration could deduce thereupon, and add thereto, had served as a base to this important undertaking; the irregular winds, the monsoons, the currents had been calculated in so exact a manner, that the contrarieties which in the end we experienced were principally occasioned by the obstinacy of our commander, in departing from these valuable instructions.

According to this plan we were to touch at the Isle of

France, and take from thence a third ship, smaller than either of ours, and then to direct our course towards the southern extremity of Diemen's land, to double the South Cape—to visit every part of the straits of Dentrecasteaux—to go up all the rivers of this part of Diemen's land, as far as possible,—to reconnoitre all the eastern coast of this large island—to penetrate into the strait of Bass by that of Banks—to ascertain the entrances and outlets of the first of these straits—to complete the discovery of the Hunter isles, and then to stand right in the S. W. coast of New Holland, and lengthen our course as far as the point where admiral Dentrecasteaux had proceeded before us—to go to the back of the isles St. Pierre and St. Francois,—to explore that part of the continent which lies behind those islands, where it is conjectured there may be a strait supposed to communicate from this point with the grand gulf of Carpentaria, and which consequently would divide New Holland into two large islands of nearly an equal size.

This first part of our labour being terminated, we were to reconnoitre cape Leuwin, and the unknown part of the coast to the north of this point; afterwards to ascertain the principal points of the land of Leuwin, those of Edels and Endracht, which had been but vaguely mentioned by the first navigators, and the geography of which consequently partakes of all the imperfection of the mode of navigation and the instruments of their times; we were therefore to go up the river of Swans, as far as it was practicable: to take a particular chart of isle Rottness and part of the neighbouring coast; to visit the redoubtable Abrothos, so fatal to Pelsar, to obtain a perfect knowledge of the great bay of Sharks), to determine the different bearings of the land of Witt, and the rest of the coast N. W. particularly the entrance of King William's river, the Rosemary isles, &c. and at length to end this first long cruise at the cape N. W. of New Holland; making sail from this last point for the Moluccas, we were to winter at Timor or at Amboyna.

From one or other of these two islands, in passing to the north of Ceram, we were commanded to make the coast S. W. of New Guinea, and to explore it as far as captain Cook had done before us, and where it is supposed there may be a strait dividing New Guinea into several isles; thence turning towards the strait of Endeavour, we were to make the land at the eastern point of the great gulf of Carpentaria, where we were to reconnoitre the principal places, and determine the position of several islands which are

found in old maps. To explore the mouths of the many pretended rivers which are crowded together in the old plans of this gulf, and into which no traveller has for a long time penetrated ; and from thence to go the length of coast from Arnheim, and that of Diemen on the north, we were to terminate this second cruise at the same cape to the N. W. where we had ended the first : crossing the Indian sea, and determining the yet extremely uncertain longitude of the islands called Trials, we were then ordered to go into port a second time at the Isle of France, from whence on our return to Europe, which was calculated to be made in the spring of the year 1803, we were to explore that part of the eastern coast of Africa of which geographers are still in uncertainty ; and this last object was to terminate our long voyage.

Such was the general plan marked out by government to our commander, the literal execution of which would have made this voyage one of the most speedy, and fruitful of information that ever had been undertaken. I shall successively shew, according to the dates when they took place, the different modifications which this plan experienced ; it may however be seen by the succinct account I have here given, how very important the object of this expedition was, under the consideration of the improvement of navigation and geography : above five thousand leagues of coast that was hitherto but little known were to be explored. Never had any navigator, Vancouver alone excepted, a more difficult mission. In fact, it is not voyages in the open ocean, however long they may be, that have in their train such misfortunes and shipwrecks ; it is those, which confined to unknown shores and savage coasts, have continually new difficulties to encounter, and new dangers to experience. These difficulties and dangers, sad appendages to all expeditions calculated and designed to make particular geographical discoveries, received a more eminent character from the nature of the shores we were to explore : no country has yet been discovered that is more difficult to reconnoitre than New Holland, and every expedition which has been made to that part of the world has been marked with misfortune, or very fruitless attempts : thus Pelsar on the western coast, was one of the first victims to the dangers of these shores : Vlaming mentioned the remains of wrecks that covered isle Rottness, when he landed on that island in the year 1697. And there have been found there more recently, similar traces of calamity. The brave captain Dampier, with his long experience, was nearly stranded on the N. W.

coast of this same continent, where Vianen had been shipwrecked. On the east, Bougainville, surrounded by dangers, was compelled precipitately to make sail from these parts. Cook escaped these shores by a kind of miracle; the rock on which his ship struck, being there incrustated, which alone prevented the vessel from going to the bottom; on the S. W. Vancouver and D'Entrecasteaux were not more fortunate in the attempt which they each of them made to determine the geography; and the French admiral was very near losing both his ships on the same coast. But a few years have elapsed since the discovery of the strait of Bass, to the south, and already most of the islands of this gulf are spread over with pieces of the wrecks of ships which have been lost on the coast. Very recently the French ship *Enterprize* was wrecked on the dangerous isles which lie at the eastern mouth of the strait.

The history of our voyage, and the dangers to which we were exposed, will also show the extent of these difficulties; and the loss of the two ships under the command of captain Flinders, who was sent by the English government to rival our endeavours, will but too well furnish an additional and deplorable proof. Notwithstanding so many unfavourable circumstances, the geographic part of our labours will be greatly interesting to the European world, and it will doubtlessly be easy for me to show by the details of our operations, how highly honourable they were to the French service.

Two ships in the port of Havre had been prepared for this expedition; the *Geographer*, a fine corvette of 30 guns, drawing from 15 to 16 feet water, an excellent sailer, but rather too slightly built for such service; and the *Naturalist*, a large and strong built store-ship, drawing much about the same water as the *Geographer*, not so good a sailer, but more seaworthy, and on that account much superior to the corvette.

Particular care had been taken that the stores might be abundant, and of the best quality. The naval stores at Havre were entirely at the disposal of our commander; considerable sums were granted him for the purchase of supplies of fresh provisions, such as wines, liquors, syrups, sweetmeats of different kinds, portable soups, Italian pastes, dry lemonade, extract of beer, &c. some of the filtering vessels invented by Schmidt, hand-mills, stoves, apparatus for distilling, &c. &c. had been shipped on board each of the vessels, with particular written directions for the preservation of health, by M. Keraudren, first physician to the navy.

Our numerous instruments, astronomical, surgical, meteorological, geographical, &c. had been constructed by the most celebrated artists of the capital. Every thing necessary for chemists, painters, and draughtsmen, were carefully selected; a numerous library, composed of the best works on marine subjects, astronomy, geography, natural history, botany, and voyages, was collected for each ship. All the instructions relative to scientific researches were written and prepared by a committee of the Institute, consisting of M. M. Fleurieu, Lacépède, Laplace, Bougainville, Cuvier, Jussieu, Lelièvre, Camus, and Langlès, which is sufficient to prove, how complete and valuable our instructions must have been. M. Degerando, a member of the same learned society, prepared for us an interesting work on the rules to be followed in the observation of barbarous nations; a national medal was struck to preserve the memory of this great undertaking; we were furnished with the most flattering passports from all the governments of Europe; unlimited credit was open to us on the principal colonies in Asia and Africa; in a word, the august chief under whose auspices this important voyage was planned, had commanded that nothing should be omitted that might ensure the health and safety of those who were engaged, assist their labours, and every where secure their independence. In short, the most liberal promises, repeated in every page of the instructions of the government, seemed to ensure to our labours, those honourable rewards, those flattering distinctions, which have ever been the recompense of similar voyages, and which alone can indemnify a deserving man for the privations and miseries which he has experienced.

On the shores to which we were destined were many interesting nations. It was the wish of the first consul, that as deputies of Europe, we should conciliate these uninformed people, and appear among them as friends and benefactors. By his orders the most useful animals were embarked in our vessels, a number of interesting trees and shrubs were collected in our ships, with quantities of such seeds as were most congenial to the temperature of the climates. The most useful tools, clothing, and ornaments of every sort were provided for them, even the most particular inventions in optics, chemistry, and natural philosophy, were contributed for their advantage, or to promote their pleasure.

These numerous arrangements being thus settled, and the ships fitted out, the naturalists received orders in the early part of September, 1800, to attend at Havre; I was

of the number; a fifth place of zoologist, had been given me, from the recommendation of several illustrious and learned characters.

The officers of this expedition were chosen with the greatest care; those who aspired to the distinction submitted to the most strict examinations to obtain admission among us, and all were worthy of the preference. Not only among the officers was this regulation observed, but the most inferior ranks of our company were thus selected, and many young men of respectable families in Normandy joined our crews, attracted by the ardent wish of youth for information, and the particular desire of sharing in the dangers of a distant voyage, which always conveys an idea of something great and extraordinary, which commands respect, and which usually obtains for them the honourable mention they deserve. Among these interesting young men was my worthy assistant, my estimable friend, M. Lesueur, the dear companion of all my dangers, of my privations, and of my zeal.

Independent of the officers of the Naturalist, there was on board this ship, a person well known, called A-Sam, a Chinese native of Canton, who was made prisoner by a French cruiser, from on board of a ship belonging to the English Company. A-Sam had been successively removed from prison to prison, till he came to that of Val-de-Grace. The presence of a Chinese in the capital produced such a sensation, that the chief consul was at length informed of it. From that moment A-Sam was happy and free; every comfort was lavishly bestowed on him during his stay at Paris; and to fill up the measure of his beneficence, the first consul commanded that A-Sam should be restored to his country and to his family; he was embarked on board our ships, he was treated like an officer, and the governors of the Isle of France received an order to continue to him the same care and respect, till a proper opportunity occurred of conveying him to China. Happy it is for those nations, where such care is bestowed on the unfortunate stranger.

CHAP. II.

Passage from Havre to the Canary Islands.—Stay at Teneriffe, &c.

[From the 19th Oct. to the 13th Nov. 1800.]

ON the 19th of October, in the morning, the wind and tide being favourable, order was given for our two ships to depart; the American frigate, the *Portsmouth*, returning to the United States with the ambassadors who came to conclude the peace, went out with us. At nine A. M. we passed the tower of Francois the first; a band of music played on the summit, and cheered our departure; an immense crowd from all parts covered the shore, and with one voice and gesture each of the spectators addressed us with their last adieus and wishes for our safety; all seemed to express, "Ah, may you, more fortunate than Marion, Surville, St. Allouarn, La Peyronse, and Dentrecasteaux, return once more to your country, and the gratitude of your fellow-citizens!"

At ten o'clock we were out of the pier, and took our powder on board, and sailing towards the English frigate, *Proselyte*, which was cruising at the mouth of the port, we communicated our passports to the commander, and pursued our course.

On the 25th the diminution of the fogs which we had continually experienced in the channel, and the rising of the thermometer, sufficiently proved that we were getting into warmer climates. The thermometer progressively rose from 8 to 12; we were then in the gulf of Gascony, almost in the latitude of Bourdeaux.

On the 27th, at noon, we reckoned ourselves to be in the latitude of cape Finisterre, which forms the most western point of Spain and continental Europe.

We soon found ourselves off of Lusitania, which the elegant and sensible author of *Telemachus* has celebrated with so much fascinating eloquence, for its fertility and happy state. The sky was clear; the air was pure, the sea was calm, the temperature was soft and healthful: in a word, every object seemed to unite to recall the smiling scenes of Fenelon. The thermometer at that time was at 15°, the ba-

rometer, since our departure from Havre, had progressively sunk, it was not up to more than 28 5*.

On the 30th we passed the mouth of the straits of Gibraltar, and all that day and the following we continued our course along the coast of Africa, at the distance of about fifty leagues.

At length, on the 1st of November, at 6 P. M. we were in sight of the peak of Teide, the mount Nivaria of the ancients. In the midst of the isles of Palma, Ferrol, and Gomera, on the west, and those of Canary, Fortaventura, and Lancerot, on the east, this famous point, known by the name of the peak of Teneriffe, raises its lofty head. Its large base was at the time enveloped in clouds, while its top, illuminated by the last rays of the setting sun, appeared majestically above them. It is true this mountain is not, as some travellers have asserted, the highest in the world, in fact, is not more than 2000 fathom above the level of the sea, and consequently is exceeded in height in Europe, by Mont Blanc, and several mountains in Sweden and Norway; and in America by ten or twelve points of the Andes, some of which, such as the Antisana, the Chimboraco, &c. are more than one-third higher; but, it must be allowed that the insulated situation of this mountain, in the middle of the sea, its proximity to the celebrated islands which it announces from far, the recollections it brings to mind, proclaiming by its very appearance, catastrophes, of which it is itself a prodigious effect, all concur to give it an importance above all others on the globe.

While every eye was fixed on this stupendous mountain, to which we every moment drew nearer, we presently discovered the islands Lancerot, Fortaventura, and Great Canary, which appeared in the horizon as an immense cone, much flattened on the top. Favoured by a leading wind, we hoped to reach anchorage in the course of the same evening, but we were disappointed in this expectation, and determined to stretch along shore during the night. The next morning at day break we stood in for the land, which we approached very fast.

The coast appeared steep, blackish, and washed by torrents into deep furrows, and without any other appearance of vegetation than a few stunted stalks of the cacialia, the cactus,

* The author not having given a description of the scale or principle of the thermometers and barometers which were used, it is not easy to understand the temperature, which he states to be from 8 to 12. In the original, the height of the barometer is thus designated, "28p 5'", which must, of course, mean, 28 inches, 5 lines.—E.

and the euphoria. Beyond these inhospitable shores were several high mountains rising one above another, and equally destitute of verdure, with pointed projections, barren, and in confused rocky heaps; and again, beyond all these mountains, the peak, raising its lofty head far above them. Such was the appearance of Tenerife from the point Anaga, where we made the land; and from thence as far as Santa Cruz, where we anchored, the same barren and wild scenery was displayed. A few miserable habitations at the foot of these dismal rocks, only served to add to the melancholy aspect of this part of the island. This account is certainly very different from the delightful representations of the Fortunate isles, drawn with such elegance of language by Horace, Viana, Cairasco, the immortal author of the Jerusalem, and the author of the poem Dell' Oceano; but these soft illusions, these cheerful pictures, require the veil of mystery, and the interest which age and distance give, to support them against the reality. The Canaries, now stripped of these brilliant titles of their ancient glory, are no longer truly interesting but for their wines, and the advantageous situation of the physical and political revolutions of which they were the theatre.

In lengthening the coast of Anaga at a little distance from land, we soon discovered the anchorage and the town of Santa Cruz. At ten A. M. we cast anchor in 22 fathoms bottom of volcanic sand, oozy and black.

I had yet to complete too great a voyage to remain long at the Canaries. The situation of these islands, in the midst of the Atlantic ocean, has submitted them to the observations of a great number of modern travellers, whose talents and veracity are equally deserving of respect; there is, besides, a Spanish work in three volumes octavo, on this archipelago, by Joseph de Viera y Clavijo, who seems to have exhausted all that is interesting of the ancient and modern history on this subject, including the revolutions in the Canaries, physical and political, their population, their several productions, their temperature, &c. The history of the conquest of these islands necessarily occupies a great part of the work of Clavijo. In fact, what can be more interesting and affecting than that of the unfortunate Gouanches, who, armed only with clubs and staves, fought during almost a whole century, against the French, Portuguese, and Spanish; opposing courage and perseverance to the number of their enemies, to the superiority of their arms, and the strength of their cavalry; making them purchase the possession of these then wretched isles, with more battles and more

blood, than the conquest of a new world has since cost them.

From all these considerations I shall confine myself to a few details, which seem to have escaped the numerous authors who have written on the subject of this archipelago:

The most general distempers, which we may regard as endemic, are obstinate bowel complaints, putrid and chronic diarrhoeas, fevers, scorbutic cachexies, cutaneous eruptions of different kinds, and the itch, with which most of the inhabitants are terribly affected: this disorder is much more dangerous than, but similar to the elephantiasis. These distempers, with which the lower class of the people are more particularly afflicted, seem to proceed from the common cause,—the unwholesome food which is in general use in the country. This food consists of a sort of paste called *gofio*, which is almost entirely a substitute for bread, and which is said to be an ancient food of the *Gouanches*. It is prepared of barley-meal, or of torried wheat, ground, then mixed with water, milk and honey. The rest of their food consists chiefly of salt fish dried in the sun, and which is caught on the Barbary coast; they deposit this salt fish in vast storehouses, where the want of proper care, and the heat occasioned by heaping it in large quantities, soon causes it to putrify, in a greater or less degree. The infectious smell which continually exhales from these heaps of fish in a state of fermentation, is insupportable to strangers, and annoys them in every part of the town. The very low price of this salt food makes the consumption of it prodigious in all the Canaries; but this advantage is miserably counterbalanced by the many distempers of which it is the principal cause.

It is probably the same cause that produces the greasy and livid physiognomy which is remarked in the inhabitants of Santa Cruz by most travellers. The quality of the water which is generally used in these islands, is perhaps another cause of these maladies; and in fact, the scarcity of the springs, which generally dry up during the hot season, compels the inhabitants to preserve the rain water in large cisterns, where it remains for several months, and must consequently imbibe qualities more or less deleterious to the animal economy.

With regard to venereal complaints, they are very common at Teneriffe; the cause of which may be ascribed to the heat of the climate, the indolence of the inhabitants, their excessive uncleanness, the great number of troops, the quantity of money which the sailors spend who arrive from all quarters of the world, the absolute want of any kind

of police, the little skill of the greater part of the officers of health in the country, and above all, the disgusting amount of the population of common girls, who in the streets, on the quays, and even in the places of worship, annoy strangers with offers of destructive and deceptive pleasures, the source of a long and cruel remorse. The complaints of this description are indeed more dangerous in this country than elsewhere, as they are more frequently attended with inveterate ulcers.

The ancients, who knew but little of the Canaries, having made them the abode of the blessed, some enthusiastic authors fancy themselves obliged to repeat all the ideal and poetical descriptions of the pagan mythology, when writing on the subject of these islands. Hence we have recently seen the fertility of the Canaries celebrated in a manner which is totally repugnant both to reason and experience.

In fact, one of the first elements of fertility, namely, water, is so scarce in all the Canaries, that none of them, properly speaking, have any river: and the springs during the summer are generally so dry, that the inhabitants are every where compelled to make use of cisterns to obtain water for their drink. This scarcity of water is particularly attached to the general disposition and physical nature of the soil, which difficulty is not by any means to be removed. The small dimensions of these islands, their long and narrow form, the stupendous height of the mountains which cover them in every direction, the depths of the valleys, their steep declivity towards the sea, all concur to prevent the formation of rivers, or even of streams, however inconsiderable. At the same time, the nature of the soil, which is almost every where basaltic, prevents the filtration of the waters into the bowels of the earth, and those which fall on the surface soon evaporate, from the action of a warm climate.

These physical obstacles to the general fertility of the Canaries are so obvious, and their effects so powerful, that more convincing proofs are unnecessary to refute all the exaggerations of the enthusiastic writers on this subject. In fact, the contrary to all this has been proved by the following axioms of a work, the original of which is in my possession, and which was sent me by one of the best informed merchants of this archipelago.

1st, That Teneriffe, the most considerable of these isles, as well as Palma, and Ferrol, do not produce sufficient subsistence for their miserable population.

2dly, That Canary, and Gomera, produce only enough for their own consumption.

3dly, That Lancerot and Fortaventura are the store-houses of the Canaries ; but that the *ungrateful and sandy soil* (I use the expressions of the manuscript) requires abundant rains to produce the crops ; and that when these fail, want of bread and famine reign throughout the archipelago.

4thly, That even when the harvests are most abundant the Canaries have no surplus to export ; but, on the contrary, they are compelled almost every year to import large cargoes from Spain, America, or even from the north of Germany, for the purchase of which great part of the wines of the archipelago are employed.

The Canaries, in their actual state, far from enriching their metropolis, cost it a considerable sum for the support of their fortifications and garrisons ; but, in the hands of the English, these colonies would soon become valuable, independently of their situation. Great Britain would be in a great measure freed from the heavy duties it annually pays to France, Spain, and Portugal, for the wines and brandies which these three powers import from thence. This was, doubtlessly, the principal reason which induced the English government to attempt the conquest of the Canaries during the last war. A numerous fleet under the command of admiral Nelson, appeared suddenly before Teneriffe in the year 1796 ; but this attack concluded very differently from that in the year 1657, when admiral Blake succeeded in the attempt. Nelson lost an arm in the enterprise ; part of his troops and stores were taken by the Spaniards, or sunk by the artillery of the forts. In vain, by favour of the darkness, did he succeed in making a landing, and even in taking possession of the armoury ; repelled on all sides by the Spanish militia and troops, he was compelled to capitulate, and to sign an agreement to leave the archipelago. The Canarians still show with pride, the British flags which they took on this occasion, depending from the dome of their principal church ; they also show the long-boat of Nelson's ship, on board of which he lost his arm. In this honourable defence the crews of several French ships distinguished themselves, who at the time of the appearance of the English, hastened to take arms, and who contributed much, by their example, to excite the courage of the militia and troops of the country.

Since this attack of Nelson on the Canaries, the garrisons of these islands have been considerably reinforced. At the time we were there, they reckoned 4500 regular troops well disciplined and maintained ; most of these troops are at Teneriffe, which can also furnish near 8000 militia. In-

dependent of this increase in the number of their troops, an attack on Santa-Cruz would now be very difficult, from the commanding situation of a new fort, which the last governor built on a steep rock, and the batteries of which are pointed downwards to the roadstead, and cross the fire of the square tower which defends the mole.

The nature of our mission, the good intelligence between the two governments, the late successes of France, the recent peace with America, all concurred to ensure us the most obliging and flattering reception from the Spaniards. Our brave allies were particularly pleased in interrogating us on the subject of our last campaign in Italy, the passage of the Alps, the battle of Marengo, and the rapid succession of prodigies of which we happened to give them the first account. All seemed to vie with each other in shewing every demonstration of their respect and admiration for France. Ah ! if it is ever permitted for an honest man to be proud of his country, it doubtlessly should be in such circumstances, when, far from his fellow-citizens, he sees among strangers that every idea of greatness, glory and power, is attached to the very name of his country !

Among those with whom I had the honour of being acquainted at Teneriffe, and from whom I received particular attention, I ought to mention the duke of Bethancourt, colonel of the Ultonia regiment, a descendant of the famous Jean de Bethancourt, a Norman nobleman, who was at once the conqueror and legislator of the Canaries, one of the greatest men of the fifteenth century, which was so prolific in prodigies. John of Bethancourt had all the heroism, all the romantic enthusiasm of his time, without its ignorance, fanaticism and ferocity. His memory, eternally dear to the Canarians, will be, for his latest descendants, an unalienable title to the most flattering consideration ; and the man of whom I speak, is entitled to the esteem of the worthy, for his own particular merits.

The marquis de Nava possesses a beautiful botanic garden at the Orotava ; this nobleman dedicates a part of his large income to naturalize in these isles every species of vegetables which might extend their commerce, enrich their soil, adorn their vallies, and clothe their naked and barren mountains with verdure. The marquis de Nava ought to secure the esteem and notice of all good men, as one of the benefactors of his country.

At Laguna, M. Savignon, physician to the government, is much respected for his general character, and his extensive knowledge in his profession.

M. Cologant, in whose respectable family, benevolence to French travellers seems to be hereditary, gave us every information on the subject of the last eruption of the volcano of Cahorra; and also lent us a tinted drawing, which he had himself made, of the appearance of the volcano at the time: this was at the service of every one among us who wished to copy it. On my return to Europe, happening to notice this representation in a work of M. Bory, I was sorry not to see the addition of the name of the real author, because omissions of this kind, however involuntary they may be, are often sufficient cause of changing, or even destroying the liberal confidence of strangers towards European travellers, a confidence of which I have received so many generous proofs in the course of this voyage.

During our stay at Teneriffe, the barometer continued without any particular change at from 28_p 3¹ to 28_p 4¹; the thermometer on board our ships in the shade at noon, varied from 17 to 20, and gave me then for the mean 18. 5.—results conformable to the precedents obtained by Lamanon, and by M. Labillardière, at the same place, and under the same circumstances.

Of all the hypotheses to which the traditions of the ancients on the Canaries have given rise, doubtlessly the most singular; and the most generally admitted, is that of the existence of a large continent, of which these isles were a part; and which, under the name of Atlantides, then occupied the vast ocean which now separates Africa from the New World. This opinion has been maintained by some travellers, who are themselves deceived by the authority of Plato, or by the sophisms of several modern writers. Volumes of compilations and citations have been made on this subject, and yet the truth remains still in obscurity, and we are bewildered in dissertations and hypotheses, instead of comparing the actual physical constitution of the countries which they pretend were formerly connected. In this last point of view, M. Bailly, one of our fellow-travellers, considered the Canaries, and discussed the important question of the existence of the Atlantides. I shall here present the interesting observations of this enlightened mineralogist.

“Several celebrated writers (says M. Bailly), from the authority of Plato, have spoken of the existence of the Atlantides, the greater part of whom, who admit the fact, affect to see in the Canary isles, described by the ancients under the name of the Fortunate islands, the remains of that land which, according to many, could not have occu-

ped a less space than what is comprised between Africa and America, and probably made part of these two continents, uniting them by its isthmus. The chain of mountains described by the name of Mount Atlas, and which stretches along the north part of Africa, serves very much to support their opinions on this subject, for they see only in the isles of which we are treating, the continuation of that chain, which by an inconsiderable winding could have been connected with the Azores. They might as easily have proved a connection between the Cape de Verd islands, and the mountains of the interior of Africa. The same authority which thus confounded the Canaries, the Azores, and the Cape de Verd islands, might have justified the reunion of all the other Atlantic isles to the lost continent, such as Tristan d'Acunha, Ascension, St. Matthew, Trinidad, St. Helena, Noronha, &c.; for it would not certainly be a bolder conjecture than that of extending the limits of a larger tract of land (according to the high priest of Saïs) than Asia and Lybia together, as far as the last mentioned isles.

“For the establishment of a reunion so extraordinary and important, we are, however, to this day confined to some vague traditions of the ancients; for an inspection of the charts does not assist. The physical state of the pretended remains of the Atlantides, and of the continents to which we would connect or assimilate them, has never been compared; it is this circumstance which I propose here to point out.

“All travellers agree in opinion, that the chains of mountains which run through Africa and America are essentially primitive; that the lands situated between them are of secondary or tertiary origin, and that those parts which are subject to subterranean fires are comparatively few.

“It is not so with respect to the islands dispersed in the Atlantic ocean; these are all exclusively volcanic, whether they are isolated, like Ascension, St. Helena, Trinidad, Madeira, &c. or in clusters, like the Azores, the Canaries, the Cape de Verd islands, Tristan d'Acunha, and those which surround it, &c. These isles appear to have risen from the bosom of a deep sea; their coasts are very steep, and almost perpendicular; the channels which separate them are unfathomable; the banks and shoals which are so common in other archipelagos, are not to be found among these. If sometimes an isolated rock is observed, it either seems to be attached to some neighbouring island, or else it

is entirely distinct; in either case, the same observations which apply to other larger Atlantic islands will also apply to these.—There is not to be seen in any of them granites or real porphyrys, or any such primitive stones; and the calcareous substances which are found in some of them are merely shells collected together, or other similar productions.

“From these simple observations it evidently results, that a difference so general and absolute as that between the actual constitution of the Atlantic isles, and that of the neighbouring continent, should exclude every idea of an origin in common, or even of their being connected in former times. From the same facts we may also conclude, that the hypotheses on which they attempt to establish the opinion that the Atlantic isles are the remains of an ancient continent, is not to be supported, for all these islands being exclusively volcanic, it follows that the Atlantide must have been a continent entirely volcanic, or else that the volcanic parts of this continent were spared in the catastrophe which swallowed all the rest: both one and the other of these suppositions are equally improbable.”

CHAP. III.

Passage from the Canaries to the Isle of France.

[From Nov. 13th, 1800, to March 15th, 1801.]

ON the 13th of November, in the evening, after shipping the provisions for which we had staid at the Canaries, we prepared to continue our voyage. At four o'clock we passed the little town of Candelaria, celebrated for the miracles of the virgin of that name. All this part of the island of Teneriffe appears to be as wild and barren as the coast of Anaga: In the evening we discovered the isles of Gomera and Palma, which we left to the west, and passed in the night.

On the 15th we were already under the tropic of Cancer. On the 18th we concluded ourselves to be in the latitude of the Cape de Verd islands. From this point till we approached the Gambia, the wind was favourable, and we made considerable way, but we now experienced some obstinate

calms, which prevented us from crossing the equator before the 12th of December, and in $21^{\circ} 6'$ only of west longitude.

Notwithstanding the attempts of our commander to pass the line by 10° or 12° , all his manœuvres to effect this were constantly counteracted by the calms, the currents, or the winds. It is worthy of remark, that admiral Dentrecasteaux, nine years before, endeavouring to follow a like course to cross the equator by 16 or 18, experienced the same obstacles, and was, like us, driven by the winds and currents as far as under the 26th degree of west longitude.

On the 30th of December we passed, for the first time, the tropic of Capricorn. From the 23d to the 24th of January, 1801, we cut the meridian of Paris, in 36° south latitude.

On the 3d of February we doubled the Cape of Good Hope, at the distance of eight or ten leagues. We easily distinguished the mountain called the Table, notwithstanding the fogs with which it was at that time enveloped.

From the 3d to the 4th of March we experienced sudden and violent squalls, which, however, did not continue more than 24 hours, but they were so violent that the barometer during the time sunk 10 inches 8 lines. The Naturalist received some damage in her sails. We now found ourselves off the Mozambique channel, a latitude where violent storms are very frequent. On the 10th of March we again crossed the tropic of Capricorn. At length, on the 13th, in the evening, we were in sight of the mountains of the Isle of France, after a voyage of one hundred and forty-five days, reckoning from the time of our departure from Europe, which made this one of the longest passages we could make in a voyage of the kind. The obstinacy of our commander in ranging the coast of Africa, was the chief cause of this delay, and as it had, throughout the whole of our operations, the most fatal influence, I think I ought to dwell an instant on the subject.

Two courses naturally present themselves to the navigator who, on leaving Europe, intends to double the Cape of Good Hope: the one which may be called the coasting voyage, consists in ranging the coast of Africa, and crossing the equator as much to the east as possible. By the other course, on the contrary, after having reached the latitude of the Cape de Verd islands, steering to the west, and making for the eastern coast of America, so as not to cross the line but in 25, or even 30 degrees longitude west from the meridian of Paris.

Being arrived at about the 33d degree of south latitude,

we at first found the wind N. W. then west, by favour of which we could rapidly make to the eastward, to double the famous cape of which we have spoken.

Doubtless if we had only to compare the absolute distance of these two courses, we should not hesitate to chuse the coasting voyage along the shores of Africa; but the well-informed navigator takes into his calculation other circumstances than the idle consideration of relative geographical positions: he is not ignorant that the most considerable distances in appearance make little against him if he is but favoured by the wind and tides; that the shortest passage, on the contrary, may be retarded for weeks and months, if the same winds and currents oppose themselves to its progress, or what may retard him still more, obstinate calms, which keep his vessel almost immoveable on the surface of the waves.

Hence all these inconveniences are attached to the coasting of the N. W. shores of Africa. In fact, experience teaches us that the currents which prevail in this part of the Atlantic, set to the N. W. and in fine, that of all the known seas, the one which washes the equatorial part of the western coast of Africa, is most subject to calms. All well-informed navigators agree on the subject of these facts, and capt. Dampier, whose writings are the fruit of a long experience, and extremely valuable for their exactness, has particularly developed this subject in his treatise on the winds.

By the course, standing out to sea, the currents which are so fatal to the coaster, are favourable to those who bear away to the west; and the calms which are so dreadful on the African shores are seldom experienced in the open ocean, and never last long in the middle of the Atlantic. Whether the shelter of a large continent produces or occasions them in its vicinity, or that this phenomenon may be ascribed to any other physical cause, I cannot decide: in short, the westerly winds which the navigator wants on his way back, towards the 33d or the 35th degree south, are so constant in these last latitudes, that he may very fairly calculate on their assistance.

It is for good reasons that experienced navigators prefer the western course, although it appears to be the longest; that this course is certainly the best, has been sufficiently proved, ever since the first voyages of Schouten. This celebrated traveller relates, that during his first voyage from Europe to the Indies, in the year 1658, the captain of the vessel in which he had embarked, and who was an experienced seaman,

had a dispute with the commander of another ship belonging to the Dutch company, which sailed as consort with him to Batavia. Schouten's captain being influenced by the reasons I have stated, chose to steer to the west; the other, on the contrary, deceived by appearances and his own inexperience, persisted that it was best to lengthen the coast of Africa. Thus, divided in opinion, each pursued a different course; but the experiment was so much in favour of Schouten's captain, that he gained near two months on the inexperienced coaster.

It is from a well-founded knowledge of all these circumstances, that the English ships which are bound to the Indies are in the habit of steering towards the coast of Brazil, so as not to cross the line but in 28° , 30° , or even in 33° west longitude; and the Company's ships have not in that respect a different system from that of private vessels.

Farther, it is not only in doubling the Cape of Good Hope that they have occasion to fear the currents, and the calms on the coast of Africa; the voyages even which are every day made to Malembo, to Loango, or the coast of Angola, frequently encounter the most irksome delays; and here again experience teaches us, that to avoid the calms it is necessary to stretch as far as possible from the gulf of Guinea, and consequently to stand to the west, to return back, and sometimes even to the south, to make the point of destination; the same precaution should be taken by those who go from Loango for the Antilles. Captain Dampier, in fact, says, that it is necessary in such a navigation, to stand right to the westward, for the space of 30° or even 35° , before attempting to cross the line to return northward, and to take afterwards a course N. W. This route, he observes, is that of the most able navigators, and however long it may appear, it is however much shorter in reality, for those who cross the equator too far to the east to coast the shores of Africa, and stand first to the N. W. are almost always obnoxious to obstinate calms, and assailed by tempests, which are more frequent and more dangerous in the neighbourhood of the coast of Guinea than in the midst of the Atlantic ocean.

In short, M. de Granpré, whose evidence we may produce here, because he has traversed these seas for a long time, exclaims with a just severity against those ignorant or timid commanders, who, notwithstanding the fatal experience of other navigators, continue even yet to coast along the shores of Africa. He relates, among other examples of

this sort, that of a vessel, which, detained by the calms, and obstructed by the currents, remained eleven months in its course from France to the coast of Angola. In a word, if it was not foreign to the nature of my work to prolong the discussion, it would be easy to produce such a number of facts and observations in favour of the course to the west, as would amount to demonstration; but it is sufficient for my present purpose, to enable the reader to judge of the extent of the fault of our commander, in persisting to steer along the coast of Africa. We shall soon find, that from this preposterous obstinacy, which was necessarily followed by a consequence plain to foresee and easy to evade, he was forced from the beginning of the voyage to disturb and discompose all the regularity of the operations which had been prescribed for him to follow: Thus, in the execution of the most important undertakings, the slightest faults produce consequences at once grievous and irreparable!

Doubtless, the relation of a passage to the Indies seems to promise but little that can now be interesting, or to furnish any new observations at a time when so many vessels of every nation have so often repeated the voyage in the course of the last three centuries. This, however, is not the fact, and to prove it, we have only to cast an eye over the many relations of the sort that have been written at different periods. We shall there see, that almost every navigator occupied exclusively on the most general or trivial objects, has only repeated what his predecessors had said a hundred times before him, neglecting every new subject of observation which this immense scene continually presents, comprising at once the whole length of the Atlantic ocean, the Indian sea, the two temperate zones, and the whole of the equinoctial line. Moreover, the subject will always furnish many interesting observations on the comparison of the temperature of the atmosphere in different latitudes of both hemispheres, on the variations of the barometer and the hygrometer in similar circumstances; the temperature of the sea on its surface, compared at different times of the day and night, with that of the atmosphere, &c.—Does not this view of the subject present a new field for the investigation of the learned traveller? while the heat of the ocean in great depths below the surface, is another fruitful source of observation and experiment that is highly interesting. Are we not still unacquainted with the depths of the seas, and the relative proportions of the saltness of their waters? Are we not still uncertain of the real cause of the phosphorescence of the ocean, a phenomenon so astonishing, so com-

mon, and nevertheless so little understood? and if we carry our investigations still farther, we shall discover an astonishing number of pelagians, animals hitherto unknown, marine plants, and zoophytes, which seem assembled as it were to present new wonders to the observer, of their organizations, and to the naturalist, of their properties.

It may be preferable to occupy one's self at this day with other objects than flying-fish, gold fish, sharks, &c. &c. and it is voyages of this description, and these alone, which are capable of furnishing the valuable materials of a physical and meteorological chart of the seas; a chart of which science stands so much in need, and where hitherto we have sought in vain for the simple elements, amidst a crowd of subjects which continually multiply themselves, and reproduce each other.

In extending my researches to each of the subjects I have mentioned, I have wished rather to point out this new pursuit, which I do not pretend to have gone through; but the results I have gained from my first attempts appear to be of such utility, that I think it my duty to give a slight sketch of them here, reserving all the details of the observations of which they are the fruit, for a future time and for a future work.

CHAP. IV.

Meteorological Observations—State of the Thermometer—State of the Hygrometer—Of the Barometer—Agreement between them—The Winds—Their Agreement with the Barometer—Atmospheric Phenomena—General Results.

THE meteorological observations were made with the thermometers of Dolland and Mossy; barometers made by the last mentioned artist, and hygrometers by Richer. To compare them as exactly with each other as possible, I made it an invariable rule from the beginning of our voyage to take an observation four times each day, at the hours most opposite; that is to say, at six in the morning and at six in the evening, at midnight, and at twelve at noon in the

open air, and on the poop of our vessel, and as often besides as I conveniently could. This first series of my labours furnished me with the following general results :

1st, The temperature of the thermometer rose progressively as we drew near the equator.

2d, It sunk progressively as we went from the equator.

3d, The proportion of its rising and sinking was not equal in both hemispheres, the mean degree of the heat in the southern hemisphere having been weaker than in the correspondent northern latitudes.

4th, In other respects, every thing being as usual, the temperature of the atmosphere between the tropics is weaker in open sea than in the interior of the continents or even on the islands. We did not really experience more than 25° of heat under the line, and the mean degree is much below this last point.

5th, The variations of the temperature become weaker, and not so frequent the nearer we approach the equator, and *vice versa*.

6th, Not only the variations of the temperature are more inconsiderable from one day, or even from one month to another, between the tropics, and in open sea, but also, in general, there is but little difference between the temperature of the day taken in the shade at noon, and that of the night at midnight: thus, forty observations of this sort, taken from the 22d of November to the 1st of December, 1800, produced me a sum total of 909, 6° of heat: noon produced 233, and midnight 222, 7, which makes scarcely one degree of difference for each day; a phenomenon so much the more remarkable, as it is known from the experiments of Miller, Beze, Pison, Halley, Lister, &c. that the difference of heat in the day and night is greater in the equinoctial regions, on shore, and that we ourselves should have occasion to draw conclusions from these facts suited to the objects of our enquiries.

We shall now proceed to describe the state of the hygrometer, being the first time that this valuable instrument crossed the seas: it was thought beforehand that its observation would furnish many important results; and we shall see that these expectations were well founded.

7th, Every thing in other respects being as usual, the hygrometer shews a proportion of humidity so much the stronger, the nearer we approach the equator.

8th, The absolute proportion of the atmospheric humidity becomes so much the less, the nearer we approach either of the poles.

9th, The variations of the hygrometer are so much the weaker and less frequent, as we observe this instrument nearer the equator, and *vice versa*.

10th, The hygrometer, in the midst of the equatorial regions, remains almost invariably in a state of extreme saturation.

We proceed next to the state of the barometer.

11th, The barometer in general sinks the more we approach the equator.

12th, It rises progressively as we go farther from the equator.

13th, The variations of the barometer are neither frequent nor striking, when this instrument is observed near the equator, and *vice versa*.

14th, The equality of level of the place where the observation is made, the distance or absence of every cause of perturbation foreign to the atmosphere, gives to the barometer at sea, a more regular action, more easily admitting of comparison in its variations than it would do in the midst of a continent. That instrument in this respect is eminently useful to mariners, and our own experience leaves us no doubt on this head.

On the subject of the agreement between the hygrometer and the barometer we observe :

15th, That the variations of the barometer have an incontestible agreement with those of the hygrometer.

16th, The falling of the mercury corresponds in the greatest number of cases with the increase of humidity. It appears as much more considerable as the other becomes greater.

17th, The rising of the quicksilver almost always corresponds with the diminution of the humidity of the atmosphere ; it is as much greater (other circumstances not interfering), as that diminution is marked more considerably by the hygrometer.

18th, The winds become by degrees lighter and more constant, as the navigator approaches the equinoctial regions, and *vice versa*.

The agreement of the wind with the barometer is as follows :

19th, The winds appear to exercise a real action, altogether independent of the variations of the barometer, for I have noticed frequently that the mercury fell almost suddenly 3, 4, 5, 6, or even 8 lines, in spite of the rapid diminution of the humidity of the atmosphere ; a circumstance which, after the two exclusive theories of Deluc, ought to have occasioned, on the contrary, the ascension of the mercury.

20th, This effect of the winds upon the barometer (other circumstances not interfering) appeared to me to be generally in a ratio composed of their least temperature, and of their celerity.

On the atmospheric phenomena I made the following observations:

21st, The vaporous appearance of the sky, to be observed towards the middle of the day, in all the seas of the equinoctial regions, and denominated by navigators, grey sky, thick horizon, vaporous horizon, &c. &c.; the astonishing splendour of the rising and setting sun in the same climates; the serenity of the sky during the night, so strongly contrasted with the vaporous state of the atmosphere during the day; the frequent, and almost instantaneous formation of the menacing clouds, described by so many voyagers; of the tempests known by the name of equinoctial squalls; the prodigious power of the humidity, from which it is almost impossible to preserve any thing, however valuable; the abundance of the rains, and the size of the drops which fall; all these phenomena, inexplicable even to this day in equatorial meteorology, appear to me to depend almost entirely on the hygrometrical state of the atmosphere in these parallels of latitude; and the theory of atmospheric refractions seems to me to depend in an important degree on such observations.

The general results of the above observations are:

22d, If we add to our own observations those of M. de Humboldt, on the diminution of intensity of the magnetic force towards the equator, it follows that all the great physical phenomena experience modifications, the more important in proportion as we approach towards that point: thus, the force of the weight, and the intensity of the magnetic virtue diminish; the barometer sinks, the thermometer rises; the action of the hygrometer tends to the point of saturation. The winds become lighter and more constant; the action of all the instruments becomes at the same time more regular, and their variations in consequence are less.

CHAP. V.

Temperature of the Sea—Saltness of the Water—Its Phosphorescence—Observations on Natural History.

UNDER similar circumstances, and at the time of my meteorological observations, I entered on a course of experiments on the subject of the agreement between the temperature of the sea on its surface, with that of the atmosphere; the results of which experiments I have made known to the Institution.

With an apparatus, such as I judged most proper for the purpose, I attempted to make, at the same time with my friend and colleague, M. Depuch, some observations on the temperature of the ocean, at great depths from the surface, and soon began to doubt the gradual and progressive coldness of the waters of the sea, in proportion as we penetrated deeper into its abyss. I shall have occasion, in the sequel, to recur again to this part of my labours. Among the most important observations on the physical history of the sea, we must doubtless reckon those whose object is to determine the relative and absolute proportion of the saltness of the waters in different latitudes, and at different depths; unto this time, however, few experiments of the sort have been made, and even these first attempts appear to me to be totally wrong in their primary principles, and not of any essential use in their results. In short, the specific weight taken for the basis of their experiments by Ingenhouz, Labillardière, and M. Humboldt, in my opinion, is a method incapable of furnishing any given rule, because of the immense quantity of animalculæ, often microscopic, which breed and multiply in sea-water, and which, though themselves distinct from the salts, perhaps do not in a less degree affect the specific weight of the liquid in which they are suspended, or rather, in a state of solution, on account of the gelatinous mucus which transudes from every part of their surface, and which gives to the purest sea-water that character of viscosity which it is always found to possess.

To collect sea-water, and keep it in bottles, like Sparman, is a still worse method; the putrefaction to which these waters are liable, cannot fail to change all the constituent prin-

ciples, and thus produce, as we have already said, by the spontaneous decomposition, innumerable animalculæ.

To obviate these difficulties, it was my intention to collect, in every five degrees of latitude, a sufficient quantity of sea water, 100 pounds for example, to filter it through paper, and thus determine the specific weight with the areometer of Nicholson; a very defective method, as I have before observed, but which, being only accessory to my other experiments, was so much the more useful, as the water, by filtering, would be previously separated from the greatest part of other substances not connected with it. After this first operation, I proposed to put the water into one of the alembics which we had from government, and to carry on the evaporation to the point of drawing together as much as possible all the saline substances which it might contain in solution, and then reuniting the remainder of each of these distillations, in one or more vessels, hermetically sealed, I proposed at my return to confide such valuable objects of experiment to M. Fourcroy, who would doubtless have analysed them correctly. This method of investigation, independent of the exact results which it appears to be capable of demonstrating, has the additional advantage of requiring only a succession of operations very easy to be pursued even on board a ship, and at the same time to render unnecessary all those minute details of fine analysis which cannot be properly attended to in the midst of the inconvenience that is necessarily attendant on a voyage.—Unfortunately, I was compelled in this instance, as in many others, to yield to the spirit of opposition in our commander: and I should have avoided the mention of this proposed course of experiments; if it had not appeared to me to be necessary to engage the interest of the philosopher and traveller on the subject of so curious a part of the history of the seas, and to make known to them so easy and correct a method of making similar experiments.

The phosphorescence of the waters of the ocean is another curious and interesting subject of astonishment and investigation, and which has, ever since the days of Aristotle and Pliny, engaged the attention of the voyager. However extraordinary the slight sketch which I have here given of the principal phenomena of the phosphorescence of the sea, may appear to the reader, there is not one single word that I have not borrowed from the observations of those not liable to either enthusiasm or exaggeration. It will suffice to mention Cook, La Perouse, Labillardière, Vancouver, Banks, Sparman, So-

lauder, Lamanon, Daprés de la Manvillette, Le Gentil, Adanson, Flourieu, Marchard, Stavorinus, Spallanzani, Bourzeis, Linnaeus, Pison, Hunter, Byron, Beal, Adler, Rathgeb, Martens, De Genes, Hierne, Dagelet, Dicquemarre, Bacon, Lescarbot, Loeffingius, Shaw, Sloane, Tachart, Dombey, Ozanami, Barter, Tarnström, Marsigli, Kalm, Nassau, Pontoppidan, Morogue, Phipps, Poutrincourt, Heitmanne, Kirchmayer, Anson, Frezier, Lemaire, Van-neck, Rhumpe, Rogers, Drake, &c. How numerous and varied are these phenomena! Here the surface of the ocean sparkles and shines as far as the eye can reach, like a sheet of silver, when electrified in the dark—there it unfolds its waters in immense sheets of sulphur and flaming bitumen; in another place it resembles a sea of milk, the extremities of which are not to be perceived. The minutiae of these great phenomena are not less to be admired than the grandeur of the whole. Bernardin de Saint Pierre has described with enthusiasm these shining stars which seem to dart by thousands from the bottom of the waters, and of which, he justly adds, those of our artificial fire-works are but a feeble imitation. Others have made mention of those masses of fire which roll on the waves like so many enormous red balls, and of which we ourselves saw some that did not appear to be less than twenty feet in diameter. Many seamen have observed fiery parallelograms, cones of light inverted, whirling about on their points, shining garlands and luminous serpents. In some places of the seas are to be perceived sparks of fire springing from the surface; in another part bodies of light and phosphorus are seen moving on the waves in the midst of darkness. Sometimes the ocean appears as if ornamented by an immense steep of moving light, whose undulating action seems to reach the edge of the horizon; all these phenomena, and many others which I forbear to mention, however marvellous they may appear, are nevertheless incontestible. They have been many times described by navigators of undoubted veracity, and I have myself observed most of the appearances which I have described, in different parts of the seas.

How many theories have been written in explanation of these prodigies. Sometimes, the supposed spirit of the salts, the bitumen, the petroleum, and animal oils, have been mentioned as the causes of these phenomena; sometimes, the spawn of the fishes, and other marine productions; the remains of marine animals have been thought sufficient to produce these extraordinary effects: the gelatinous mucus

which continually transudes from fish, zoophytes, &c. &c. are by others said to occasion such brilliant appearances. Some naturalists have admitted a kind of moving putrefaction in the superficial beds of the sea; while some have thought it to proceed from the motion of light and shade; and others have considered it as occasioned exclusively by reflection. Electricity has also supplied some celebrated voyagers with ingenious conjectures on the subject; and more recently, phosphorus and similar productions have opened a new field for new hypotheses; some have supposed these phenomena totally distinct, others have attributed them to the influence of hydrogen. In a word, there is no sort of conjecture, probable or even absurd, which has not been adopted; and nevertheless the best naturalists remain still in uncertainty of the real cause of such grand phenomena of nature.

In the physical and meteorological part of my work, I shall have occasion more particularly to discuss each of these theories, and I hope I shall easily demonstrate the futility of each of them, one only excepted. I shall here merely mention a few of the results of my experiments and long study on this subject.

1st, That phosphorescence essentially belongs to all waters: it is observed in the midst of the waves of the Mediterranean, in the Norwegian seas, those of Siberia, and those of the antarctic poles.

2dly, The phosphorescence is generally stronger and more constant between the tropics, or near the tropics, than in latitudes nearer the poles.

3dly, The temperature, almost continually higher in the equinoctial seas, seems to be the *mediate* cause of this difference.

4thly, The phosphorescence is greater and more constant along the coasts, in confined seas and straits, than in the middle of the ocean, and at a distance from land.

5thly, In general this phenomenon is so much the more visible as the sea is more agitated, and when the darkness of the night is more profound.

6thly, We may, nevertheless, observe, that when the sea is calm, and when the moon shines bright and clear, it does not always eclipse the phosphorescence.

7thly, All the phenomena of the phosphorescence of the waters of the sea, however multiplied, however singular they may appear, may be nevertheless deduced from one single principle:—the phosphorescence peculiar to marine animals. My numerous observations, and the beautiful

collection of coloured representations of phosphoric animals, by M. Lesueur, will, I hope, place this beyond a doubt.

8thly, This active phosphorescence of animals, very different in every respect from that faint brightness produced in certain cases by putrid decomposition, is so dependent on the organization, and of life, that it increases, grows weaker, and becomes extinct with the latter, so as never to be re-produced after death.

However various my physical and meteorological observations may have been, they did not occupy the whole of my time; so many undisturbed hours may be devoted to study when on a voyage, far from the noise of cities, and entirely abstracted from all the duties belonging to family or to friendship, and even from every connection with society. The study of marine zoophytes, &c. particularly engaged my attention in my leisure hours; this had been more especially recommended to me by M. Cuvier, whom we may esteem as the author of this classification of the animal kingdom, and whose advice and instructions served me as a rule in my investigations. My colleague, Maugé, and my friend, Lesueur, acted in concert with me, and we had the satisfaction of making discoveries of this kind, both interesting and numerous. But it shall suffice here to sketch slightly the picture of some few of these animals, so long neglected by naturalists, and which, from the strangeness of their form, the singularity of their organization, the beauty of their colours, and the variety of their character, so well merit the attention of the natural philosopher.

At the head of this class of animals I shall place the *Physalis*, a kind of zoophyte, which, by means of a membrane or bladder, similar to that of certain fish, floats always on the surface of the water. A kind of membranaceous muscle in folds or plaits fixed longitudinally on the back of the airy vesicle, furnishes the animal with a real sail, which it can at pleasure expand or contract, in suitable proportions to the force or direction of the wind. From this singularity, it has frequently been named, the frigate, the galley, the schooner, &c. by these names it is generally known to the seamen of every nation. This vindictive animal spreads on the surface of the waves its sinewy snares or nets, several feet in length, and of a pure and lively ultramarine blue. Woe to the hand which attempts to seize them! the sensation of burning is not quicker than that of the venom which is concealed in these instruments of prey. This sensation is attended

with an intolerable smarting in the part touched by them, with a kind of numbness or stupefaction of the whole limb. Such are the almost instantaneous effects of the slightest touch of the physalis. Sometimes an appearance on the skin, similar to that produced by stinging nettles, is the consequence; this is accompanied by extreme pain, which generally continues twenty-four or thirty-six hours. What can we think of the nature of this subtil poison? No direct experiment has yet been made on the subject, and all that I can say from my own experience, is, that when this animal was plunged in water strongly acidulated, with any kind of acid, but especially with the sulphuric, or muriatic, the beautiful blue colour of the sinewy nets became immediately red, as if the principle of the colour was really of a vegetable nature. I ought also to add, that the poison seemed to exert a more particular stupefying power on those animals which seemed to be the food of the physalis, for it is impossible otherwise to conceive how an animal so small, could contain in its nets, and in some sort devour alive, fish of four or five inches in length, as we had often opportunity to observe. In devouring its food, the physalis makes use of a prodigious number of suckers or feelers which depend from the lower part of the airy vesicle, and which is surrounded by the venomous snares already described.

Next to the Physalis may be mentioned the Physosphoris, a gelatinous and soft species of animals, of the most beautiful colours, which support themselves on the surface of the waves by means of a vesicle shaped like a very small olive, with a thick gelatinous coat or skin, the inside of which is generally filled with air. When the animal would dive into the ocean, immediately a valve opens, the air with which the vesicle is filled is let out, the specific weight of the animal increases, and it plunges into the depths of the waters; when the animal would again rise to the surface, a new bubble of air seems to swell out, or rather to be formed instantaneously, the small reservoir is filled afresh, the valve shuts, the physosphoris again is lessened in weight, and rises again on the bosom of the waves.

In the Vellelles, the next of the class, the means differ, but the results are the same. On the back of the animal, which resembles the form of a little skiff overturned, there rises obliquely a kind of crest, extremely thin, light, transparent, and cartilaginous: this is a large sail, which serves the animal to direct its motions, to alter or hasten them; always close hauled, this beautiful azure vessel makes its way

through the water, changes its course at pleasure, and rarely fails to catch its prey, which it holds fast in its numerous nets or snares with which it is surrounded, and soon devours by the help of the innumerable suckers which depend from its lower surface. The elegant shape of this animal, the transparency of the sail, the beautiful azure blue colour with which it is adorned, all unite to make it one of the most beautiful species of the class to which it belongs, and it is very picturesque to observe in calm weather, thousands of these zoophytes manœuvring on the surface of seas, which seem like so many beautiful flotillas in miniature, directed according to the principles of our naval tactics.

In the Béroés, nature seems to have exhausted all that elegance of shape, richness of colour, and variety of motion, can present of grace and beauty. Their substance, more transparent than the purest crystal, is generally of a fine rose colour, opal, or azure; their form is always more or less spheroidical; eight or ten longitudinal sides are disposed in a circumference, each formed by a prodigious number of small transverse leaves or folds, excessively thin, and capable of astonishing motion; these constitute the essential organs of the animal's movements. It is with the help of these small oars, moving at pleasure, that the animal guides itself towards its prey, escapes from its enemies, whirls about on its own axis (if I may be allowed the expression); in a word, performs all its necessary evolutions. What is still more admirable in the motions of the béroés, is, that the light, being separated by the effect of these rapid and changeful motions, all the longitudinal sides become so many living prisms, which seem to enclose the animal in eight or ten animated undulating rainbows, of which language, or even painting, can give but a very imperfect idea.

How shall I be able to describe the next species of zoophyte, which like a beautiful garland of azure-coloured crystal, moves on the surface of the waves, successively raising its transparent folds, which resemble the leaves of ivy; its beautiful rose-coloured feelers are stretched out seeking the prey on which the animal feeds, which is no sooner caught than it is enveloped in a fatal net. This zoophyte immediately contracts itself, forming a sort of circle around the animal it has conquered; thousands of suckers, like long leeches, spring at the same instant from under the leaves which I have just described, and which in a state of repose serve to cover and protect these suckers. In a few mo-

men's the prey, however large, is devoured. I cannot avoid mentioning the admirable phosphoric property so general among most of the animals of this class, and which in that I have now described, is more lively and brilliant than in others, and causes it to appear in the midst of darkness like a beautiful garland of flame and phosphorus!

In what terms shall I describe those Janthines of a purple colour, which move on the surface of the sea, suspended by a white bunch of airy vesicles! Or what can I say of those numerous legions of Salpa, of rose-colour, azure, or opal, which form banks of thirty or forty leagues in extent, and which glitter in the midst of darkness! Or of those Medusæ, equally phosphoric, which present so many singular forms in their organization, so many delicate shades in their colour! Or those Pyrosomæ, which are formed like the finger of an enormous glove, and which do not appear to have any of the organs of loco-motion, digestion, respiration, or even re-production, but which nevertheless cover the sea with their innumerable swarms. The substance of these animals is so brilliant, even in the darkest night, that it has the appearance of red hot iron! Nor should I omit to speak of the beautiful Glaucus, of a fine ultramarine blue, with a stripe of silver on the back: these resemble so many small sea-lizards, their limbs branching out in ramifications like shrubs, serving at the same time as fins and lungs: Nor of those Pncumodermæ, which the celebrated M. Cuvier (for whom I had intended several of the curious marine animals) considers as constituting a new order in the class to which they belong; these have their organs of respiration in the hind part of the back! The Hyaleæ, which abound in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, are also a curious animal, protected only by a shell, which is extremely thin, fragile, light, transparent, and of a horny appearance. These are to be seen playing on the stormy waves of the southern ocean. As they unfold their beautiful purple fins, they might be taken for so many little tortoises in miniature, and indeed by this name they are generally called by the seamen.

Here I may be allowed to mention the discovery of the living Spirulea, which at length resolves the problem of the formation of these singular shells with several apartments, and which under the name of nummulites, belemnites, horns of ammon, hippurite, lenticular stones, turrilite, &c. &c. bear no inconsiderable part in the history of the revolutions

of our planet, of which so small a quantity appear to have escaped the great catastrophes of nature, and of which species not any of the living animals have been hitherto known to naturalists.

I shall venture to speak of those azure-coloured Porpites, in the membranous head of which species, the learned M. Cuvier thought he had discovered the type of some kinds of nummulites, with concentric spires, which are found in a state of petrification on the summit of the highest mountains of our continent. But I must conclude this subject; for to point out only the new and interesting objects which we collected during this long passage from Europe to the Indies, would exceed the bounds which I have prescribed to myself. It must suffice to add, that our collection consisted of upwards of eighty new species of different animals; and that among these is a remarkable fish, not only for being variegated with brilliant gold and purple, but also for the pustulous conic vesicles with which its teguments are bristled, and which compel the animal to float continually on the surface of the seas.

CHAP. V.

Our Stay in the Isle of France.

[From the 15th of March to the 25th of April, 1801.]

AFTER so long a voyage, the sight of any portion of land is doubtless delightful to the traveller; but how much more does it appear interesting, when he knows that he shall find on it the men, manners and language of his native country. Besides, the picturesque appearance of the Isle of France, the singular shapes of its mountains, the verdure which clothes the whole surface of the island, the numerous habitations which he discovers at a distance, all contribute something to the charm of having reached the first goal or resting place of his voyage.

The Isle of France was first discovered by the Portuguese, who named it Cerné; it was afterwards in the possession of the Dutch, who called it Isle-Maurice; it now belongs to

the French, who again changed its name to that it is now known by, the Isle of France. It is a small island in the Indian sea, and is generally called a part of Africa; it is situated near the tropics, being only three degrees from that of Capricorn; it is of an irregular oval form; its greatest length is not above eleven leagues; it is in breadth hardly eight; the circumference is reckoned about forty-five, and the surface, according to the abbé de Lacaille, is 432,680 toises; it is thirty leagues N. E. of the Isle Reunion, the soil of which, like that of the Isle of France, is entirely volcanic, but the mountains are more lofty; one of them is also a burning volcano. The prevailing winds at the Isle of France are, the E. S. E. the S. E. and the S. S. E.; that is to say, the most pleasant and healthy that we can possibly have in these latitudes. Those which blow from the N. and the W. and particularly the N. W. are generally rainy, and almost always attend the hurricanes which from time to time lay waste the colony. But it is said that these hurricanes happen but seldom since the lands have been so much cleared. The hurricanes of these latter days, which have been most spoken of, are those which happened in the years 1786, and 1789. The first took place on the 15th of December, when the sea rose three feet eight inches above the level of the highest tides; the barometer sunk 12, 3 lines; and there fell in the course of twenty-four hours, 73 lines of rain water; and independent of the thunder and lightning, which was almost incessant the whole time of this dreadful hurricane, there appeared a meteor like a globe of fire, which followed the direction of the wind, which was then N. W. and went behind the mountains of Mocha. This meteor was very high in the atmosphere, and appeared half as large as the moon.

The second hurricane, still more disastrous than the former, happened at the same time in the month, namely, on the 15th of December, 1789; it lasted about twenty three hours, during which time the barometer sunk 14, 9 lines; and the mercury in the tube was so strongly agitated, that its oscillations were considerable, and there rose from its surface sparks of pale light, which filled all that was empty of the tube. The sea raged horribly, and the waves were so impetuous, that several ships were driven on the rocks and wrecked; some were even overset that were at anchor in the middle of the port. The quarters of Mocha, of Flacq, of Pamplemousses, and the Riviere du Rempart, were more particu-

larly devastated by this last hurricane, during which there fell 104 lines of rain water.

Notwithstanding the momentaneous disasters which are the consequences of these hurricanes, experience seems to prove that they are a real benefit to the country; and that this sort of periodical revolution gives new strength to the soil, and makes the atmosphere more salubrious. Thus Nature, benevolent in all her works, makes evil itself one of the most powerful agents in producing good.

Earthquakes happen but seldom in the Isle of France; but in the morning, on the fourth of August, 1786, two strong shocks were felt, which, however, did not do any damage.

As in our own climates, it thunders in the hottest months, that is to say, it generally happens in October, November, December, and January. The mean term of nine years' observation on this subject, gives about fifteen days of thunder in each month.

Hail is a phenomenon which rarely happens, but, nevertheless, there are some instances; for example, it hailed in the plains of Mocha on the 10th of December, 1799.

Rain falls very frequently, and in great abundance. At the N. W. port, the days of rain amounted in a year, from 105 to 140, and in the plains of Mocha they were still more numerous. In the year 7 of the revolution, they were reckoned at 198; in the year 8, 193; which, on an average, makes above half the days of the year rainy.

This frequent rain, the height of the mountains, the forests which cover the summits, and the basaltic nature of the soil, which prevents the earth imbibing much of the water to any great depth, seem to be considered as the chief causes of the multiplicity of the rivers, of which there are above forty, independent of smaller streams, springs, and numerous torrents in every part of the island; the rivers, indeed, are not very considerable, but they nevertheless contain an immense quantity of water, if we suppose them collected together in one mass. This great number of rivers and streams powerfully assists the natural fertility of the soil, and that strength of vegetation, of which we cannot have a perfect idea in climates not so much favoured by nature.

However abundant the rains may still be in the Isle of France, it is the general opinion of the country, that they have much diminished in the course of the last twenty-five or thirty years, and the clearing of the lands, which latterly is

particular, has been done without proper consideration, is universally thought to be the principal cause of this diminution. And the oldest and best-informed agriculturists assert, that the rivers convey much less water than formerly; that several springs have dried up, and that vegetation is not so quick; and this last effect is ascribed not so much to the soil being exhausted, as to the deficiency of its natural humidity. It is certainly not impossible, that the inconsiderate act of clearing the forests may have been one great cause of the diminution of the quantity of rain; but it is also possible, that if the quantity be still the same as formerly, it may not now be sufficient for the vegetation, because the first effect of the denudation of the soil, is to occasion a quicker and greater evaporation. But whatever weight this last observation may have, it is nevertheless incontestible, that the clearing of the lands has been followed in most parts of the island by the effects above mentioned. In the environs of the port N. W. there are now scarce any woods, and M. Céré told me, that he had seen in his youth the whole of the great plain of Pamplemousses covered with forests; it is now crowded with habitations.

The temperature of the Isle of France is not so hot as its latitude seems to denote, for after a course of daily observations during three years, made with particular attention to the subject, on the estate of Minissy, belonging to one of the brothers of the family of Monneron, a name as much respected in India as in Europe, I found that the maximum of heat was scarcely 22° in the year 7; $21^{\circ} 8'$ in the year 8; and 22° in the year 9; the minimum was from 13° to 14° for each of these same years. It is generally in the summer as high as from 18 to 20° , and during the winter from 15 to 18° . Thus, in all this part of the island they are generally in the habit of lighting fires in winter; the evenings particularly are very cool, and I have myself felt cold for want of more covering in the night.

In the plains of Pamplemousses, the temperature is not hotter than in the plains of Wilhems and Mocha. M. Céré, who for thirty years carefully observed the variations of the thermometer, told me that this instrument very seldom rose so high as 25° ; that this scarcely happened once in a year for five years together; that it was still seldomer that it rose to 26° , and that in this case it happened during the time of very extraordinary heats, violent storms, or even hurricanes. When exposed to the heat of the sun, several times at twelve o'clock at noon, his thermometer did not

rise higher than 40° . This remarkable circumstance of the little elevation of the temperature of the Isle of France, in the interior of the country, depends, First, on the small size of the island; Secondly, on its isolated situation in the middle of the seas; Thirdly, on the nature of the prevailing winds; Fourthly, from the high mountains which cover part of its surface; Fifthly, from the forests, which in the interior are yet very extensive; Sixthly, from the frequent and abundant rains; and Seventhly, from the multiplicity of the rivers and springs, which usually occasion a cool air in the valleys.

To the N. W. of the port the temperature is much warmer than in the rest of the island; in fine, from a long course of observations on this subject by M. Lislet correspondent of the Academy of Sciences, it appears that the maximum of heat experienced in the city of the port, is annually $28^{\circ} 29$, and even $29^{\circ} 5$. The thermometer however never rises so high as 30° ; at least M. Lislet himself never observed it at that height. The months of December, January, and February, are the hottest. It is not only from the temperature being warmer, that the atmosphere of the port N. W. occasions lassitude and fatigue; it is caused more by the stagnation it sometimes suffers, and which increases sensibly as the heat of the imprisoned air becomes greater, land locked as it is on all sides by the mountains of La Decoveste, Du Pouce, Du Pittes-both, and the long mountain, a disposition which prevents the immediate action of the fresh and salutary gales from the S. E. and S. S. E. of which I have spoken.

Except in the time of a hurricane, the barometer, in the N. W. part of the port remains generally from 27 inches 9 lines, to 28 inches 3 and even 4 lines; but in the more elevated plains of Mocha, the barometer rarely ascends above 27 inches, and it is almost always below this point.

These considerations on the physical situation of the Isle of France, are not only necessary to be known as connected with the meteorology, they also apply particularly to the health of the inhabitants. It is easy to conceive, that from all these observations, the elasticity, freshness, and lightness of the air in the vicinity of Mocha, the plains of Wilhems, &c. is much more salutary to persons in an impaired state of health, or to convalescents, than the close air of the port N. W.; and that for the same reason, the elastic air of the plains of Wilhems is not so proper for those individuals who suffer under any stomach complaint. Experience con-

firms the justice of these observations. Notwithstanding this objection, it would be very unjust to think it a cause of complaint, because it is to these qualities of the air that the particular salubrity of the Isle of France is to be ascribed, as well as the climate being free from the dreadful fevers which are so common in Batavia, the Philippines, the Moluccas, Madagascar, and most of the countries near the equator.

We must not, however, believe with some enthusiasts, that all endemic distempers are unknown in the Isle of France; for unfortunately there are several, so much the more to be feared, as they seem difficult to be avoided. In fact, independent of stomach complaints, which are here very frequent, and of the leprosy, which, although formerly unknown in this island, now prevails among many even of the white population, all the distempers of the urinary passages affect the inhabitants to an extraordinary degree: they seem to proceed from the quality of the water, which, according to the chemical analysis of M. Delisse, contains a great proportion of carbonate of lime.

I have thus, from my own particular observations, and according to the general results which I could deduce from those of Messrs. Céré, Monneron, and particularly those of M. Lislet-Geoffroy, hastily given a meteorological sketch of the Isle of France. The geological and meteorological details which follow, appear to me to be equally new as interesting; they are the observations of our mineralogist, M. Bailly.

“ The Isle of France is entirely volcanic; but many centuries have elapsed since the fires have become extinct; and a great revolution seems to have changed the original state of this ancient crater. Indeed all the mountains of this island surround it like a girdle of immense ramparts; they have all a declivity more or less towards the sea-shore, whilst towards the centre of the island, they each present an irregular mouth or cup, which cavities are often on the peak or top.

“ All these mountains are formed of parallel strata inclined towards the sea from the centre of the island. These strata correspond exactly one with another, and wherever you see them interrupted by valleys or deep fissures, they are again observable on the other side of the mountains which they form. From these observations it is incontestably proved, that they have all the same origin, and that they may be dated from the same epoch; that, united in former ages, they could

only have been since separated by some sudden and violent revolution of nature.

“ Let us consider a moment what this last revolution could have been ! Every fact proves, that in former times the whole island was but one enormous burning mountain ; and that exhausted by the eruptions, and sunk down by its own weight, it swallowed in its abyss the greatest part of its own mass, and that of this immense vault there now remains only the foundations, of which the half-open, broken parts in different places, form the present mountains of the islands. Some points or peaks of a conic shape, which rise towards the centre of the country, bear the character of an origin posterior to the sinking of the crater, and seem to have been the last spiracles or vents through which the subterranean fires exhaled their vapours.

“ Such, in general, is the physical organization of the Isle of France. I shall not unnecessarily enlarge on the subject, but I must take notice of the rocks which compose the soil : they generally belong to the class described by M. Dolomieu under the name of argilo-ferruginous lava : these are more or less porous, almost always porphyritic, with crystals of a green colour in divers shades.

“ These rocks are easily broken, and the earthy particles driven by the rains, form in the low places of the island, beds of some thickness, of a sort of clayey, reddish earth, which is used in the potteries, for water coolers, &c. &c.

“ There is to be found in the pores and cavities of some of the strata, carbonated and crystallized lime of various shapes and different sorts. In some low marshy places a species of iron is found, in grains as large as nuts ; in these places mines were formerly attempted to be worked, but a scarcity of wood, and the great price of manual labour, soon caused the attempt to be abandoned.

“ To conclude this geological account of the Isle of France, I ought to add, that it is surrounded on every side by a girdle of madrepores, which makes the landing very dangerous. These madrepores become every day more extended ; several small islands are formed therewith, and others are continually forming of the same elements ; while the principal island is also thus enlarging more and more. We have ourselves seen a remarkable instance of the rapid increase of the zoophytes. The port admiral's ship was stranded some time after our departure ; and at our return, that is to say, two years and a half after, the madrepores had increased in such a manner all over the hull of the ship,

that it had become but one substance with the rock on which it rested."

The soil of the Isle of France is, as we have noticed, essentially volcanic: but at the same time very different from that of Teneriffe: it is almost every where covered with a bed of earth, which at once absorbs the waters and assists the vegetation. If I can judge from my own observations on this subject, it appears to me evident, that the principal source of this valuable earth is derived from the lava itself, decomposed by the united powers of time, heat, moisture, vegetation, &c. I have seen in the compact masses of lava, which form the mountains of the island, a progressive change, which, from the hardest basalt by a number of intermediate modifications, became vegetative earth. The action of a strong fire on this earth changes it to the colour of deep red ocre, which is doubtless caused by a stronger oxydation of the iron it contains, which is almost in a metallic state in the basalt.

But whatever may be the origin of this vegetative earth, it is nevertheless of a very excellent quality, and where it is of any considerable depth, vegetation is produced with an extraordinary degree of vigour; and the number and quantity of plants cultivated with success in the Isle of France is truly prodigious; and what is still more remarkable in the midst of this abundance, is, that almost the whole of the vegetables are foreign to the soil, and yet all succeed equally well. To have a just idea of this fertility of the country which is the subject of these observations, we ought to visit the gardens of the government in the plains of Pamplemousses; where the respectable M. Ceré has skilfully naturalized, in the space of thirty years, a prodigious number of trees and shrubs, some from the ardent climates of Africa, others from the humid shores of Madagascar; some from China and Pegu, and again, others are natives of the banks of Indus and the Ganges; several are the produce of the summits of the Ghants, others flourished originally in the rich valleys of Cashmere; and in the isles of the great archipelago of Asia, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Bouro, the Moluccas, and the Philippines: Taiti itself has contributed to the richness and beauty of this garden. The Canaries, the Azores, the orchards and groves of Europe, and the forests of America, are there combined, and we may there also find several plants of Arabia, Persia, Brazil, of the coast of Guinea, Cafraria, &c. and we ourselves added to the collection numerous specimens of the curious vegetables of the south.

In this garden we may ramble through long and silent walks, contemplating these inestimable natives of different shores assembled together, a subject of pleasing astonishment. Here we see the giant of the equinoctial forests, the teak, with which ships are built in India, almost unperishable; the bread-fruit tree, with the produce of which all the population of the countries in the southern ocean are supplied with food; the *rafia* of Madagascar, a valuable species of palm, which furnishes a delicate kind of sago; the nutmeg-tree, which, lately imported by the respectable M. Poivre, may soon be expected to free us from the duty we yet pay to the Dutch monopoly; the clove-tree, whose innumerable and beautiful red fruit so much delight the eye, and which also already supply our isles with a much greater quantity of cloves than is necessary for our own consumption; the badam-tree, with large leaves of beautiful verdure, and which bears a small almond of a long shape, and of a finer flavour than any of our nuts; the ebony-tree, which produces the wood so valuable for its beautiful polish, and shining black colour; the Pamplemouss tree, with fruit which is a species of orange, of the size of a small melon, of the rind of which is made excellent sweetmeats; the tamarind tree, bearing a fruit well known as being both pleasant to the taste, and medicinal; the dwarf orange tree of China, only one foot in height, and the fruit of which is scarcely so large as that of the coffee-tree, but which, like that of the coffee, is red. This tree is remarkable for its agreeable scent, similar to that of the lemon; The *hymenaea*, a beautiful tree, bearing leaves by two and two, opposite to each other—the symbol of a happy union; the areka tree, which produces the areka nut, so much in estimation on account of the betel, of which these nuts are the principal ingredient; the carambole, the fruit divided into four projecting quarters, containing a quantity of lightly acidulated juice; the jacquier, not unlike the bread-tree, and which bears a very large fruit of the shape of a long gourd, or pumpkin, and is the valuable food of the slaves; the litchi, whose tough swelling coat contains a pleasant scented pulp; the mangoustan, originally from China, in these regions thought to be the finest fruit in the world; the coffee-tree, so well known in Europe, whose little berries, containing two seeds each, are covered with a husk of fine scarlet; the mango, similar to our pear, and which improved by culture, produces numerous varieties; the banana tree, whose name alone makes the mouth water

of any one acquainted with its excellence; the cocoa tree, so celebrated in the writings of all travellers, and which produces such effect in equatorial landscape; the palmist, or cabbage tree, which only bears once in its life, the choice fruit which ends the existence of the tree, and which is used in so many different ways; the velongos of Madagascar, whose fruit is disposed in large regular branches, representing an enormous bunch of lobsters; the jambos, whose ripe fruit is not unlike the damson, but much sweeter in smell and taste; the jam-malac, of which is formed the most beautiful hedges; the thorny bamboo, for impenetrable enclosures; the raven-tsara, the leaves and fruit of which would furnish a very cheap and agreeable spice; the avocacier, the fruit of which somewhat resembles our mellow pears, but being more insipid, requires some addition to make it pleasant to the taste; the guava tree, which in the midst of woods furnishes a wholesome refreshment; the cinnamon tree of Cochin China, the bark of which is not inferior to that of Ceylon; the baobab, or monkey bread, the famous Adansonia, the grandest and largest kind of tree known; the vacois, whose branches wantonly descend, and again take root: the leaves of this tree are collected for many useful purposes; the frangipane tree, whose beautiful corollas, white as alabaster, exhale a sweet and delicate perfume; the cotton tree, which yields a soft and admirable down, after the maturity of the seeds which it covers; the valuable tree of the iron-wood, which is of such rapid growth, and which thrives in the most barren soil as well as in our southern climates; the attier, whose fruit contains under a thick hard rind, a delicious pulp, compared by many travellers to sugared cream; the rose tree of China, which growing wild in the middle of the woods and forests, unites its flowers with those of the jasmine and the beautiful pervench of Madagascar; the papaw tree, the milky and caustic juice of which is used as an excellent vermifuge, and whose fruit is seen at the best tables; the ravinal, or the traveller's tree, so named from the singular property which it has of producing a large quantity of very good soft water, when the base of the leaves is pierced; the jam-rosa, which bears fruit of a fine rose colour, from which is obtained by fermentation and distillation, a finely scented alcohol; the cassia tree, which furnishes medicine with one of its most gentle and innocent purgatives; the date tree, the caroub tree, the myrobotan, the behen tree, the varnish tree, the frankincense tree,

the tallow tree, the tea tree, the coffee of Eden, the wax tree of Cochin China, the soap tree, the cubeb tree, the cacao tree, the tree of Cythra, the milk tree, the roucou tree, the velvet tree, &c. &c. But such is the profusion of useful vegetables which industry and activity have brought together in so small a theatre, that it would much exceed the limits of this chapter to continue the enumeration: and when we consider that this prodigious multiplication of interesting vegetables, is the result of a few years' experience and labour, we cannot avoid being penetrated with gratitude towards the authors of such benefits to society, at the head of whom appear Labourdonnais, the immortal Poivre, Hubert and Céré, Commerson, Du Petit-Thouars, and Martin. The importation of the cherry immortalized the name of Lucullus among the Romans, and it is esteemed among us to the present day. How many modern naturalists have done a hundred times more than Lucullus for the human species, and nevertheless have lived unfortunate, and have died unknown, even among their own countrymen!

To conclude this general account which I have sketched, it remains for me to mention the animals and inhabitants of the Isle of France, for other climates and other people must be the subjects of our farther observations: let us therefore finish what remains to be said of our stay in this island. However the individuals belonging to our expedition were pleased with the reception they experienced from the inhabitants of the colony, our commander had reason to repent having touched at this place: but without entering into the sad details of this part of our story, it shall suffice to say, that the third ship which was to have joined us there, was refused us, and that we could not procure any of the most necessary provisions: that we lost forty excellent seamen, who here deserted, and that a great number of officers, naturalists, and artists belonging to our two ships, already tired and disgusted with the ill usage they had experienced from our commander, or justly alarmed for the future, chose to remain on the island.

It is generally allowed, that the wood of hot climates is heavier and stronger than those of more temperate regions. The experiments of M. Lisle support this opinion; and in fact, it proved that the European oak, thus compared with 22 kinds of equatorial wood, is but 17¹ for the weight, and 19¹ for the relative strength. See the following table:

Table of the Weight and Relative Strength of several Kinds of Timber of the Isle of France, compared by M. Lislet Geoffroy, Captain of Engineers, and Correspondent to the Academy of Sciences.

General Name.	Botanic Name.	Weight of the Cubic Foot.		Relative Strength.
		<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	
Black Iron Wood - -	Stadtmania - - -	87	12	3872
Stinking Wood - -	Fœtidia - - -	75	2	3141
Wood of the Natte, small-leaved - - -	Imbricaria - - -	74	1	3100
Wood of the White Olive - -	Olea - - -	63	2	2917
— of the Red Teck-tackamaka - - -	Tectona Grandis - -	53	2	2720
— of the Natte, large-leaved - - -	Imbricaria - - -	72	1	2660
Red Iron Wood - -	— - -	84	10	2367
Wood of the White Cinna-mon - - -	Laurus - - -	56	8	2317
Wood of the Black Cinna-mon - - -	Eleocarpus - - -	41	14	2290
— of the Red Olive - -	Rubentia - - -	56	6	2037
— of Red Colophane - -	Colophonia Burseria -	59	2	2037
— of the White Apple - -	Eugenia - - -	61	4	2015
— Natte, Monkey Apple - -	Syderoxylon - - -	57	3	1900
— Lousteau - - -	Antirrhœa - - -	56	8	1750
— Benjoin - - -	Terminalia Benjoin -	57	4	2005
— of Marbled Cinnamon - -	Eleocarpus - - -	38	14	1880
White Iron Wood - -	Syderoxylon - - -	58	4	1789
Wood of the Red Apple - -	Eugenia - - -	60	0	1750
— of the Oak - - -	Quercus robur - - -	56	1	1702
— of Tackamaka Red Fir - -	Calophyllum Caloba -	52	5	1618
— of Bigaignou - - -	Eugenia - - -	64	3	1500
— of Bassin - - -	Blackwellia - - -	47	11	1500
— of White Colophane - -	Morignia - - -	49	3	1350

Experiments to decide the relative strength of the woods may be made several ways: that used by M. Lislet was, choosing the pieces, as much as possible, of an equal size in every respect, of each of the sorts of wood which he wished to compare, and then to fix them by the two extremities on two substantial points of support—for example, two notched posts—and then to suspend from the middle of each of the pieces of wood, a weight of sufficient force to break them. The agreement between this quantity of weight, determines that of the strength of the wood. For example, if to break a piece of timber of the black fir, it requires a weight equal to 3872, and to produce the same effect on a similar piece of oak, it only requires a weight equal to 1702; it appears that the strength of resistance of these two timbers ought to agree, as 3872 with 1702; or more simply, that the strength of the oak is to that of the black fir as 1 is to 2,22.

BOOK II.

FROM THE ISLE OF FRANCE TO TIMOR, INCLUSIVELY.

CHAP. VI.

*The Passage from the Isle of France to New Holland,
Lewin's Land, &c.*

[From April 25th to June 19th, 1801.]

ON the 25th of April we took our departure from the Isle of France, to direct our course towards New Holland. We were scarcely under sail, when we were informed by our commander, that from that time we should have but half a pound of new bread once in ten days; that instead of the allowance of wine, we should have three-sixteenths of a bottle of bad rum of the Isle of France, bought at a low price in that colony; and that the biscuit and salt provisions should be our general food. Thus, from the first day of a voyage which must necessarily be both long and difficult, we were abridged all at once of bread, wine, and fresh meat—a sad prelude, and chief cause of all the miseries we in the end experienced.

On the 26th and 27th, we had some squalls and rain; on the 29th, we found ourselves in 25° south latitude, and the barometer rose from $28^{\circ} 3'$ to $28^{\circ} 4' 5'$: all night of this day we had a small continual rain. From the 30th of April to the 5th of May, we proceeded as far as the 29th degree of latitude, and to the 64th degree of east longitude. From the 5th to the 11th, we had constantly dark, moist, and rainy weather, occasioned by the winds from the N. E., the N., and the N. N. W., which at length ended with a gale of wind that lasted three days, and during which the barometer sunk nine lines. The night of the 9th instant was particularly bad: the sea was high, with a prodigious swell; the wind blew in impetuous squalls; and heavy rains succeeded, that continued till the following day at noon.

From the 11th to the 15th, we continued our course under

the parallel of about 33° of latitude, the barometer being from $28^{\circ} 4'$ to $28^{\circ} 5'$, and the thermometer having successively sunk from the 22d to the 12th degree. The temperature of the sea, on the surface, was very little different from that of the atmosphere.

From the 15th to the 20th we made but little way towards the south, being only on this last day in 35° ; but our longitude was 100° to the east of the meridian of Paris, and consequently, we were not more than about 150 leagues from the west point of New Holland, where our commander had determined to land.

In fact, the length of our passage from Europe to the Indies, and our stay in the Isle of France, which was certainly longer than it ought to have been, had lost us part of the favourable season for our expedition. Our commander feared to be driven towards Diemen's Land, and therefore resolved to begin his exploration by reconnoitring the N.W. of New Holland, reserving for the ensuing spring the voyage to the South. This important determination gave us much concern, because it was not absolutely necessary from our actual situation. The season, though advanced, was not so much so as to prevent us from doubling the South Cape; and as from this point we should be getting nearer the equatorial regions, it appeared to us more prudent to pay respect to the instructions we had received from government, which we well knew were the result of the most learned deliberations and the most extensive knowledge on the subject. We shall see in the end the consequences produced by this first deviation from our orders.

From the 21st to the 25th of May, we continued to approach the western shore of the continent which we had come thus far to explore. We were, however, still at the distance of more than 100 leagues, but our meteorological instruments already began to shew the influence of the land we were approaching. During the first part of our voyage I had observed that the east winds constantly produced moist weather; that they were almost always attended by thick fogs and rains, which sometimes fell in torrents. All the instruments had varied with the state of the atmosphere. By these same winds the thermometer rose, the hygrometer changed to the point of saturation, and the mercury sank in the tube; but no sooner were we sheltered by New Holland, than these winds, which could only reach us in crossing the whole breadth of this land, appeared to have an influence totally contrary to that which I have mentioned; for when

these winds prevailed the atmosphere was pure and serene, the hygrometer indicated a progressive diminution of humidity, the barometer rose; the thermometer alone remained at the same temperature, or hotter. Surprised at so sudden and so entire a change in the action of meteorological phenomena, I considered all the circumstances, and thought that I might draw the following singular conclusion—that the part of New Holland which we were drawing near, was in general a low country, with no high mountains or extensive forests, and with but little fresh water. It does not belong to my present subject to enter on the details of the memorial which I then made on the matter: it is sufficient to say, that our commander, the astronomer, and all those of my friends to whom I communicated the work several days before we saw the land, although struck with the agreement of the consequences with the phenomena, refused however to admit the conclusion, until experience compelled every one to acknowledge the importance of this new method of applying the meteorological observations to the physical character of large continents. I shall at a future time return to this subject, as towards the southern extremity of New Holland we experienced from the N. W. winds the same phenomena as those we here experienced from the E. and N. E.

On the 27th at day-break we made New Holland; a blackish stripe from the north to the south, was the humble profile of this continent: we endeavoured to near the land; but the winds and currents were so contrary, that the remainder of the day was spent in useless efforts. In the evening we lay to; my colleague, Maugé, and myself profited by this circumstance, and threw out the drag; this instrument, which is more particularly used in fishing for coral, is so constructed that it will bring from the bottom of the sea to the surface, every thing which it there finds. We hoped therefore by this means to obtain the first objects of our southern collection, and we were gratified beyond our hopes.

Deceived by the charts which had been put in our hands in Europe, we believed that we should double Cape Leuwin in the evening of the 28th. This cape forms the most western point of New Holland, on the north of which the unknown part of Leuwin's Land, which we were to explore, immediately begins. This important cape should have been placed, according to these charts, in 34. 7. 50. south latitude, and 112. 26. east longitude from the meridian of Paris; but in the course of our labours we were convinced that in this first dis-

covery of land we were mistaken with respect to the point which ought really to be considered Cape Leuwin.

On this day, the land which we had in sight appeared to be low, sterile, sandy, and of a dark colour, mingled with some whitish specks. Several whales passed very near our ships. About midnight we again cast the drag, which brought up a collection of interesting curiosities, which to draw and describe, occupied M. Lesueur and myself all the remainder of the night, as similar descriptions had done the night preceding.

During the whole of the 29th we sailed along the coast at a very little distance, which had almost entirely the same appearance as it had on the preceding days. My estimable friend, M. Depuch, describes it in the following terms:—"All the length of land which we coasted appeared to be low, or at least very little raised; the inequalities of the shore are gradual, the coast is in some parts so regular, that a line slightly undulated would describe a considerable portion of it. Near the shore are many hills of gentle declivity; these appear blackish and barren. In many places we observed whitish spots, of more or less extent; one of which spreads above half a mile from the shore, up the land, and makes it an excellent land-mark for the navigator. In my observation of this point I remarked all the characters of a sandy soil; a property which seemed to belong to the whole of this unknown coast. The blackish aspect which is pretty general, is occasioned by a dark and languishing vegetation; the parts without any vegetation are of a whitish colour."

On the morning of the 30th, we doubled a cape, a-head from which projected a reef where the sea broke with violence, and which stretched out into the sea above a quarter of a league. We soon discovered that it formed the point of entrance south of a large bay, which, from the name of our principal corvette, we named Geography Bay; the cape I have just mentioned, received the name of Cape Naturalist: it lies in $33^{\circ} 28'$ south latitude, and $112^{\circ} 35' 7''$ east longitude. Farther out, and almost in the middle of this bay, is a reef which stretches to a great length, and is very dangerous; this we called Naturalist Reef. In the evening, about five o'clock, we cast anchor, towards the entrance of the bay which we had just discovered. The barometer during the last five days remained at from $28^{\circ} 3, 5$, to $28^{\circ} 6, 0$; the thermometer varying from 14 to 17° ; and the

hygrometer from 78 to 90°. The atmosphere was perfectly clear and pure, thanks to the cold drying winds from the south, which prevailed at that time.

On the 31st, in the morning, our commander sent the chaloupe, under the orders of M. Picquet, to discover determinately, the real situation of Cape Naturalist. M. Boulanger, who was employed on this occasion, says as follows: "We found this point protected on every side by large rocks, against which the sea broke with much violence: these breakers extended the length of one part of the coast in the bay; and some of them even stretched out a good way into the sea. We endeavoured to find a passage in the midst of these breakers, but the attempt was vain, the shore was every where inaccessible; we were thus compelled to pass the remainder of the day, all the night, and part of the next day, without being able to regain the ship, from which the wind had incessantly driven us, carrying us out to sea."

While our unfortunate companions, overcome with fatigue, and drenched with the sea-water, were thus contending with the waves, a second boat under the command of M. H. Freycinet, at length reached the shore. Messrs. Depuch and Riédle were the only two who had gone in this boat, and were the first Europeans who had the pleasure of touching these unknown shores. They could only remain there a few hours, during which they made many observations on the physical nature of the soil and the vegetable productions. We shall have occasion to return to this subject more particularly another time; it will suffice at present to say, that M. Depuch found in the bottom of the creek where we landed, a very fine sort of granite, which formed numerous regular beds, a disposition of such substances conjectured by Saussure, but before this time much disputed. This remarkable phenomenon gave a particular interest to this part of Geography Bay: we thought it but right to name it after the Naturalist who first had occasion to observe and describe it; we therefore called it Depuch Cove, it is a small distance E. of Cape Naturalist.

On the first of June, after having manned our chaloupe, we prepared to continue our voyage to explore the south coast of Geography Bay. At noon we met with a large point, which we named Point Picquet, after one of our most estimable officers. At seven o'clock we cast anchor towards the farther end of the bay. Until this time we had not perceived any trace of these melancholy shores being inhabited,

but on this very evening there appeared a large fire beyond the downs, which convinced us that some of the human race were the inhabitants of this barren spot.

At this period we experienced the most singular and extraordinary effects from the looming of the coast. Sometimes the most level and the lowest parts of the land appeared to us to be raised above the surface of the waters, and then to be torn to pieces; sometimes their very summits seemed overturned, and thus to remain on the waves, and every instant we thought we saw out at sea long chains of rocks and breakers, which seemed to retire before us as fast as we approached them. This phenomenon, in other respects so curious, had its bad consequence, as it naturally affected the refraction of the atmosphere, to which astronomical observations in a greater or less degree owe their correctness: it therefore followed, that all our observations at the time partook of the deception. Those of the evening, for example, gave us more way to the E. than those of the morning. This phenomenon of the looming of the land, appeared to me to depend particularly on the prodigious variations of the temperature and humidity which at the same time acted on the state of the atmosphere of these regions, in a manner which I shall have occasion more particularly to enlarge on elsewhere.

On the 2d and 3d we continued to explore the bay: on the last mentioned day we anchored at eight o'clock in the evening, about two leagues from the land, in 12 fathom water, with a bottom of fine whitish sand.

On the morning of the 4th I set off in our little boat, commanded by M. Breton: M. Leschenault, botanist, accompanied us. As soon as we landed on the beach I ran towards the interior in search of the natives, with whom I had a strong desire to be acquainted. In vain I explored the forests, following the print of their footsteps, of which I saw here and there the recent traces. All my endeavours were useless, and after a three hours fatiguing walk to no purpose, I returned towards the sea shore, where I found my companions waiting for me, and rather alarmed at my absence. We now embarked to return to our ship, which, however, we could not reach before six o'clock in the evening; so much were the currents and the calm against us.

Messrs. Bernier, Riédlé, Depuch, and Maugé, had also landed on another part of the coast, and returned to the ship soon after us. They had been more fortunate than us, as they had found one of the natives fishing on the sea shore,

very near the spot where they landed. This native seemed to them to be an old man; he was bearded, his skin was of a brown colour, and he was entirely naked, excepting that he had the skin of a kangaroo over his shoulders, which hung about half way down his back. The appearance of these Europeans did not seem to give him any great concern at first, but soon perceiving that they meant to join him, he gathered together hastily three sagais which he had laid on the ground, and then presenting himself before them with great spirit, he addressed them in a very animated manner, pointing often to our vessels, and seeming to desire us to return to them: much surprised at the countenance of this new Scythian, the warmth of his harangue, and the boldness of his gestures, our comrades one and all made a stand, that they might not interrupt him. When he had finished, M. Depuch advanced towards this savage, alone and unarmed, calling to him: *taïo, taïo*, a friend, a friend, at the same time presenting him a glass necklace, the shine of which appeared to excite the most lively admiration in the old man, but nevertheless he shewed the same unwillingness to come any nearer, and when M. Depuch himself attempted to advance, he retreated, and disappeared with a degree of swiftness that astonished our party. While this was passing on one part of the shore, five or six other savages had approached the chaloupe, which at that time was only guarded by a single seaman: at the appearance of these wild people, he hallooed with all his might, to proclaim his fears to his companions. At their approach the savages set off full speed, and fled with the same rapidity as the fisher had done before.

M. Riédlé, in the course of his walk made a tolerable collection of plants, and this tax levied on these shores, he returned by sowing some wheat, maize, barley, oats, pear-trees, apple-trees, apricot-trees, peach-trees, olive-trees, and a great number of different sorts of European pulse and culinary plants—An interesting exchange, which might always serve as the basis of a friendly intercourse with different nations, and which we ourselves practised in divers places where we landed.

Following the example of our commander, captain Hamelin had sent some boats to reconnoitre the bay, to the S. S. E. The officer of one of these boats, M. Heirisson, reported on his return, that he had discovered the mouth of a river which seemed to go a considerable way up the land. This intelligence was received with so much the

more pleasure, as we had not been able to find any appearance of fresh water in Leuwin's land, and we were not ignorant that those navigators who had been before us on different parts of the coast N. W. of New Holland, had not been more fortunate than ourselves. It was therefore determined, that on the morning of the following day, the chaloupe of the Geographer, under the command of the captain of the Lebas frigate, and the little boat belonging to the Naturalist, with captain Hamelin, should reconnoitre this river, and go up it as far into the interior of the country as was possible. Messrs. Depuch, Leschenault, Riédle, Lesueur, and myself, were permitted to make a part of this expedition, in which our doctor, M. Lharidan, chose to join.

As we drew near the shore, our two captains agreed that the chaloupe drawing too much water for an expedition of this kind, should be moored under the care of a few men; and that part of the crew should on foot pursue the banks of the river, while the little boat should go up as far as it could navigate.

As soon as these preliminaries were settled I left my companions, to pursue the shore; the water was low, and the time propitious for me to collect its produce. I hastened to procure a number of new subjects, among which was a beautiful species of living Orbulite. It is well known that the orbulites are a small kind of hard zoophyte, which before the time of M. de la Marek was confounded with the real nummulites, and that these extraordinary animals had never been found but in a fossile state. This discovery is not the only one of the kind which we shall have occasion to lay before our readers in the course of this relation. The shores of New Holland often furnished us with additional proofs of the great catastrophes of nature.

However, the desire of viewing the inhabitants of these regions soon drew me from the banks. I passed the sands, and found myself stopped by a marsh, the borders of which were every where covered with Salicorne, and on whose salt waters were several companies of black swans, sailing with great elegance. Beyond this water, the supposed river, whose mouth my friends were in search of, bent its course. A great number of the marks of the footsteps of the natives, seemed to declare that several of them had recently passed that way, and I resolved to seek them on the opposite side. While I was in search of a favourable place to cross over, I heard a gun at a little distance, and thought I might

find among these hunters some of my adventuring companions ; but Messrs. Levillain and Bailly, to whom I spoke on the subject, far from being willing to share my enterprise, endeavoured to dissuade me. I had taken my resolution ; I undressed, crossed the river in their sight, and plunged into the forest, which extended along the shore on the other side. It was about eleven o'clock, the sky was serene, and the air pleasant : with these circumstances in my favour, my ardour increased, and full of the hope of soon meeting with some of the natives of these shores, I endeavoured to follow their steps, when a singular discovery stopped my course for a time.

At a little distance from the place where I landed, I perceived a valley, which, extending towards the interior, seemed to describe the course of a small stream ; I thought that it was an indispensable duty to ascertain the truth of this conjecture ; unfortunately I was soon undeceived, and I was going to continue my way when my attention was attracted by a thicket of large trees, which by their colour seemed to be very different from others that were near. They were all white, from the roots upward to the very extremity of their branches.

Surprised at the appearance, I went hastily towards this extraordinary kind of scenery, which had strongly excited my curiosity, but which was considerably increased when I observed twelve large trees, irregularly intermingled with several others of a smaller size, forming a half circle, with the extreme points almost reaching the banks of the river. All these trees were of a new species of *Melaleuca*, with a very thick rind or bark, and an extraordinary degree of moisture on the inside : this bark adheres so slightly to the wood, that it may be easily stripped off in long bands from the bottom of the trunk to the very ends of the branches. It was thus that these trees had been stripped of their bark, and as the wood underneath was of a shining white, and all those which were on the exterior of this half circle had been thus cleared of their rind, it appeared as if they had all been of the same colour.

In the open part of this half circle of white trees, were three more semicircles, one within the other, whose concavities also turned towards the banks of the river. The first of these was formed by a sort of green bank, about two feet in breadth, raised only six or eight inches above the ground, and made of a soft, short, and fine herbage, that grows in great abundance on the spot ; this kind of green

seat was scolloped on that side that faced the river; each of the spaces between two of the scollops had evidently been the seat of one person, and twenty-seven scollops seemed to point out the places of twenty-seven individuals.

In front of this green bank, was a semicircular clear space, about two feet and a half in breadth; which was covered with a black sand, found in great abundance on the sea shore, and which makes a part of the soil of the interior; it appeared to have been trodden by the feet of those who had sat on the green bank.

A border of rushes separated this second half circle from the third; these rushes, which were planted between them in regular lines, had been cut off about six inches above the ground.

The third and last half circle was larger than the others, and newly covered with the kind of sand which I have already mentioned, and which is to be found in many places on the shore, and distinguished at a distance by its shining whiteness. On this fine smooth sand, had been planted a great number of rushes, all placed at equal distances one from another, and so distributed as to form a succession of figures, or rather of regular characters; all these rushes had been burnt down to the edge of the soil, so as to present so many black points, made round, which so separated them from the groundwork of white sand, where they were planted, that the characters designed by these were distinguished in the clearest manner.

These figures, however odd and coarsely executed, had, nevertheless, much of design and originality, which struck me very forcibly; they represented a number of triangles, lozenges, and irregular polygons, some parallelograms, very few regular squares, and not any circles.

The rest of the spot, as far as the river side, was covered with fine grass; and on the very edge of the water was a large tree, the venerable patriarch of this wood; its white trunk inclining towards the waves, spread majestically above them, and its branches, displayed more horizontally, formed a sort of verdant terrace. This remarkable tree seemed to have been more elegantly ornamented than any of the others, for it had not only been whitened like them, but the trunk and the principal branches had also been decorated with garlands of verdure.

The river formed the boundary of the landscape, adding to the beauty of the scene its cool and limpid waves softly flowing towards the ocean; the numerous fish that sported

on the surface, the lively verdure which covered the banks on each side, all united in this simple but charming landscape, to call forth the softest emotions of the heart. Oh! with what pleasure I gave myself up for a few moments to the reflections such a scene naturally inspired. "This charming place," I repeated to myself, "is probably dedicated to some public or private mystery. The worship of the gods may be the particular object. It is from this river and the marshes adjoining, that the inhabitants of these shores in a great measure derive the food for their subsistence.—A new race of Egyptians, who probably like the ancient inhabitants of the Nile, have consecrated by their gratitude the stream which supplies their wants. Perhaps on particular solemn occasions, they assemble on its shore to pay the debt of gratitude, and offer up their thanksgivings!"

Recurring again to the singular figures so ingeniously traced on the sand, I recollected those famous Runic characters, formerly used by the nations of the north of Europe, and which, like these, consisted of a succession of figures roughly designed, of circles, squares, triangles, &c. which were nevertheless, by different combinations, capable of transmitting all the ideas of the people who made use of them; like those which I had now discovered, they were traced on the earth, on the barks of trees, and on the rocks; these last alone have reached posterity, and descended to our time: I also recollected those hieroglyphics with which the Mexicans conveyed their ideas, and by which they used to write the annals of their history; several of these consisted only of figures roughly formed, of circles, squares, parallelograms, &c. I called to mind also those grotesque designs discovered by captain Philip, on the rocks and on the trunks of trees, towards the southern part of the continent of New Holland; those also, which, at the southern extremity of Africa, the Bosjesmans are in the habit of engraving in the depths of the caverns; with those, still more to be admired, and much more ancient, which are to be found in many parts of Ceylon, and are the curious monuments of a people who seem to have no existence in these days; and from these recollections I drew the conclusion—that the desire of communicating our ideas and sensations is general among all nations, in all climates, and in all ages; and that the valuable art of writing belongs to a time much more remote than can now be traced, either from tradition, or any historical monuments that may remain to the present day; and I much regretted that I could not discover in the

characters before me, the ideas and sentiments of the rude race who had formed them.

After having examined this wood with all the attention it deserved, I turned from the shore and sought the interior of the forest. The way was plain and easy, as there were but few trees, and the surface of the earth was generally covered with a short, fine, light grass, but I could not discover any fresh water. In some places, where the earth appeared to be moist, I dug into the soil, and there oozed out some brackish water. This saline quality of the land seemed to have driven from thence every kind of animal, at least I did not see any, and the traces of the kangaroo were but seldom observed on the sand. Even the insects seemed banished from these shores, with the exception of the black ant, which was very numerous, and extremely troublesome. Of these I collected several new species, one of which was remarkable for its size, and very similar to the *Formica Guloso* of Fabricius; but the history of these animals shall be treated of more at large in another part of this work.

A second remark that I made on this extraordinary soil, is, that notwithstanding the prodigious variety of trees and shrubs of which the vegetation chiefly consisted, there was not to be seen any fruit that seemed at all proper for food, either for men or animals. We had occasion to make the same remark on all the rest of the vast continent of New Holland, and this almost without any exception. Is it not owing to this extraordinary scarcity of eatable fruit, that we must attribute the non-existence of animals which are entirely fructivorous, on the continent which we are now describing? It is certain, that to this day, no species of the kind have ever been seen there, nor even the smallest vestige of any such. The monkey, for example, which in such innumerable legions, covers, almost every other part of the world, which is seen on so many islands, and as we shall soon have occasion to mention, is found in such numerous troops in all the Moluccas, and consequently, very near to New Holland, does not appear to exist on this vast continent; and indeed it would be difficult to conceive in what manner animals of this kind could subsist. We will now return to the interesting subject of the nature of the soil, with its divers productions.

However, the chief object of my present excursion seemed to avoid me as I advanced. The small pathways from the river side had disappeared; and I could now only discover the mark of a footstep here and there: no habitation pre-

sented itself to my sight; the most profound silence reigned throughout the interior of this vast forest, and nothing proclaimed it to be the usual abode of any of the human race. But as it were to make me amends for this disappointment, I every where found burnt trees and extinguished fires, near some of which I observed a kind of mattress, made of that singular sort of bark of *Melaleuca* which I have before mentioned, and which seemed to have served as a bed to some of the natives, either together or singly. In a word, every thing confirmed me in the opinion, that the savages had not settled their habitations in this situation, so far in the wood, but that they resided in preference on the borders of the salt river, and the adjoining places near the sea, where they could more easily procure their necessary food, for it was exclusively in those parts that any of their huts were to be found, or their wells or springs of brackish water, to the use of which we ourselves were very soon reduced.

Determined by these reflections, and the time of the day, which began to decline, I returned towards the river; which I reached after walking about an hour and a half: I again stripped and crossed the stream with the same ease as before; but it was not so with the marshes on the other side, one of which was so deep, that at one moment I feared for my life. On reaching the sea shore I could no longer find our chaloupe. This alarmed me so much the more, as it was now five o'clock, while the weather, which had been so fine in the morning, had changed, and a strong wind from the sea now beat against the shore. I knew that exploring the river, as it had appeared to be, could not have taken up much of the time of our geographers and seamen, for I had proved to a certainty, that this river was nothing more than a sort of very narrow creek, which went a few leagues into the interior of the land, the bottom of which was oozy like that of the neighbouring marshes, and of which the waters had no other sensible motion than that of the flux and reflux of the sea, with which it had an immediate connection by the sort of mouth we mentioned before; moreover, the waters were all as salt as those of the marshes. From all these circumstances I had reason to think that my shipmates had concluded their reconnoitring for that day at an early hour, and I was afraid that I was too late to embark with the rest. How agreeably then was I surprised to meet my friend Lesneur and M. Ronsard, who were also seeking our chaloupe, which had during our absence unfortunately gone too near the mouth of the river, and by this bad seamanship, had got embayed on a lee shore.

Messrs. Lesueur and Ronsard had just had a somewhat extraordinary interview with a female savage, and M. Lesueur hastened to tell me the following particulars: Independent of the small boat belonging to the *Naturalist*, commanded by captain Hamelin, in the course of the day there had followed another boat from the same ship, which, under the command of M. St. Cricq, was going to return on board, when Messrs. Lesueur and Ronsard went down to the beach. While they were conversing with the men of the *Naturalist*, they discovered at a distance two persons who were coming towards them along the sandy shore. At first they took them for some of their own sailors, but were soon convinced that they were two of the natives. The savages on their part, believing doubtless that they were among their own countrymen, continued to advance without any suspicion of the contrary. When they were near enough to give us the hope of being able to join them, Messrs. Lesueur, Ronsard, St. Cricq, and some others, ran precipitately towards them, but with all their speed they could not prevent one of the two, whom they observed to be a man, from getting over the sands, running among the brambles, and disappearing in the middle of the marsh. The other was a woman, who was very far advanced in a state of pregnancy. Despairing from her situation of being able to escape from strangers, whom she saw running full speed, she stopped from the first moment, and sitting down on her heels and hiding her face with her hands, she remained as one stupefied and overcome with fear and astonishment, perfectly without motion, and seemingly insensible to all that passed around her. This wretched woman was entirely naked; a small bag, made of the skin of a kangaroo, and tied round her with a kind of string made of rushes, hung on her back. Our friends found nothing in this bag but a few bulbs of the *Orchidia*, of which the poor inhabitants of these shores appeared to be extremely fond, but which, unfortunately, are very scarce and very small, the largest among those we had seen being scarcely as large as a common nut.

The colour of the skin, the nature of the hair, the proportion of the body, of this woman, perfectly resembled that of other savages of New Holland, as we shall have occasion to describe more at large hereafter. In other respects she was horribly ugly and disgusting. She was uncommonly lean and scraggy, and her breasts hung down almost to her thighs. The most extreme dirtiness added to her natural

deformity, and was enough to disgust the most depraved among our sailors.

After viewing this miserable child of nature with all the interest such an object naturally inspired, our friends offered her numerous presents: they gave her biscuit, some looking glasses, knives, snuff-boxes, necklaces, &c. and what was of more value, a hatchet and two handkerchiefs. But she continued her position on her heels, and indeed the poor creature seemed totally stupefied, and it was impossible to make her accept of any of their presents: when they left her these were left also on the spot near her.

As we were still but a little distance from the place where this scene had passed, M. Lesueur conducted me to the spot, but the woman had disappeared, leaving behind her the most unequivocal proofs of her great trepidation, and which, as it appears, is manifested among savages in the same manner as among more civilized people, by the same spontaneous evacuations. Moreover the frightened creature had not taken with her any of the presents which had been placed around her, and to which we now made several additions.

We now, M. Lesueur and myself, again returned towards the shore, where we hoped to find the chaloupe; the night advanced, and we had near two leagues to go to rejoin her; we were therefore obliged to hasten our steps, and notwithstanding this forced march, I could not avoid feeling extremely cold, as my clothes were wet. On the way M. Lesueur informed me that he had seen several huts of the natives, which were all built on the humid banks of the salt marshes that covered the shore on the right-side of the river; that they were roughly constructed of slender branches of trees stuck in the ground and fastened together at the points, somewhat like an harbour, and covered on the outside with the useful sort of bark which I have before noticed; that they were each about three feet in height*, about the same in breadth, and five or six feet in length. In front of each of these huts were observed the remains of extinguished fires; and among the ashes some remnants of fishes, of kangaroos, and some beaks of black swans. M. Lesueur had made a drawing of these miserable cabins, which he shewed me, and I was of opinion that it was impossible to find elsewhere more wretched habitations; I was nevertheless mistaken in this respect; for we were far from having seen the

* This description of the *height* must evidently be erroneous; but it is so stated by the author.—Ep,

last stage of ignorance and misery in these wigwams, and other particulars of physical and social existence observable on these shores.

My companion also informed me, that he had seen several holes dug in the earth, which were some feet in depth, and which served as wells for the inhabitants; near these holes were generally found a sort of small tube, which doubtless served to raise up the water; these were the pipy parts of a wild and scarce sort of celery, which is to be found in some places near the bay. M. Lesueur made use of one of these tubes to taste the water of the wells, but he found it so brackish, that he thought it impotable; we shall soon see, however, that we were glad to have such for our own use.

As we continued our forced march, we perceived a group of our companions, walking before us at some distance; these were captain Hamelin, with most part of the crews of the chaloupe and the small boat belonging to the Naturalist, and also my two colleagues, Depuch and Leschenault, the doctor, L'Haridon, and the horticulturist, Riédlé.

We learnt from these gentlemen, that the chaloupe was so much embayed on a lee-shore, where the wind set in strongly, that it was not possible for her to turn to windward with any advantage; it was therefore resolved to bring her up to the party, while part of the crew, the officers, and the men belonging to the Naturalist, walked on foot along the shore. As the chaloupe made way very slowly, and the wind was very fresh, we thought proper to get to the downs while we waited for her, and to light a large fire. Every hand was employed in this work, and in an instant we had an enormous pile in a blaze. Some of our friends had killed birds of different kinds, and these were sacrificed to satisfy the hunger of the party.

While this frugal repast was preparing, Messrs. Depuch and L. Freycinet, related to me all the particulars of their incursion, and their account confirmed me in the opinion I had previously formed of the river. In fact, they were both convinced that it was nothing more than an immense marsh which went some leagues into the interior of the land: they had had some difficulty, even in the small boat, in clearing a dangerous bar at the mouth of it, and after going four or five miles up into the interior, they were compelled to return, as the water was then become too shallow for them to proceed farther.

This wearisome incursion produced nothing to any purpose, except a long and extraordinary interview with the

savages. M. Depuch, whose name and exertions are so often mentioned in this work, having related the particulars at the time, in his words I shall give this remarkable episode of our adventures in Geography Bay.

“After attempting in vain to land on the left side of the river, which we were exploring, captain Hamelin thought proper to return the same way we had come; and we were going to land on the right side, opposite the point which we supposed to be a small island, when shrill and repeated cries made us turn towards the forest which stretched out from the other shore; we there perceived several savages, who appeared to look at us with much curiosity; their cries were directed to us; captain Hamelin steered towards them, but the shallowness of the water soon stopped our progress; the natives kept their eyes upon us, and ran about on the shore in every direction, continuing to scream, and make a great noise. With the permission of captain Hamelin, Messrs. Freycinet, Leschenault, L’Haridon, Heirison, and myself jumped into the water, and fording the space that lay between us and the shore, we soon came to the spot where we had seen the natives; but they had now gone into the forest. M. Freycinet and myself without hesitation directed our steps towards the borders of the wood, which was at this part of the shore about two or three hundred paces from the beach; our companions followed at some distance, so as always to keep sight of the spot where we had landed. We had scarcely reached the edge of the forest, when we again heard the voices of the natives, who seemed to be calling to each other; they spoke in haste, and extremely quick, and I could only distinguish the word, *véloù, véloù*, which they repeated often. We also thought we heard the barking of a dog; but soon we seemed to think that the animal was commanded to be quiet, and the barking ceased.

“To make these men understand that we had not any hostile intentions, we all immediately laid on the places that were most in their sight, some looking-glasses, knives, and other trifles. We then retreated, leaving by design some few similar objects here and there, as we went. But we soon perceived seven or eight natives, each armed with two sagaies and a club-stick; these were advancing in a hasty manner to cut off our retreat towards the river. Fortunately we were in time to prevent the execution of this manœuvre; but as we were very near together we united our forces, and kept our daring adversaries at bay, who were doubtlessly

unacquainted with our formidable weapons : we thus stopped them at the distance of sixteen or eighteen paces. They brandished their sagaies with all their strength, shaking their clubs at us in a threatening manner, and calling in a terrible tone of voice, *mouyé! mouyé!* In their gestures they appeared to invite us to retrace our steps ; they even seemed to point out the way we had come, and that which we supposed led also to the sea : however, pressed as we were by these savage people, there was not a moment to lose ; it was necessary either to fire immediately, or to make good our retreat : we preferred the latter, determined however to answer the first attempt on us, by a discharge of small shot, and to the second by a few bullets, giving them thus the advantage of the first blow, against the superiority of our arms."

It is here to be observed, that we did not know that these sagaies, however weak and simple in appearance, were really very formidable weapons, and our company were very far from even suspecting the extent of their danger : it is, in fact certain, that at the distance which they were from the savages, they must all have been victims to the first discharge of these weapons, for the attack of which they so generously waited, before they had intended to fire. The particulars which we shall have occasion to detail hereafter, on the singular arms of the people of New Holland, will leave no doubt on this subject.

"Not knowing how the number of the natives who assailed us, might increase, and convinced that it was easy for another party of them to surround us and entirely cut off our retreat, we continued to draw back by degrees, facing the savages the whole time, and answering their gestures, their menaces, and their savage howling, by gestures not so violent, but which nevertheless left no doubt of our perfect security and disposition to repel violence by violence. In this manner we reached the spot where we had landed, without any accident, notwithstanding we were opposed with so much animosity.

"However, neither the noise nor the menaces had ceased ; the sagaies threatened us nearer and nearer, and the clubs were brandished at us with more violence than before. We continued our retreat through the river in the same order, and with the same courage. We were in the water almost up to the waist, but we were certain of the river being fordable in this place. At this time the savages had come very near ; all our guns were in readiness, and our safety, which had been for some time at hazard, had put us to the necessity of repelling the attack we were just on the point of meeting, when we perceived captain Hamelin, followed by the boat's

crew, who having landed on the other side of the island, were coming in haste to our assistance.

“At the sight of this powerful reinforcement the savages halted, and we made use of the moment to join our friends. We were now together, only separated by the small arm of the sea or river, which we had just crossed, and which was every where fordable. Nevertheless our enemies seemed to pay some respect to this insignificant barrier, but they continued making the same noise, and calling out as before, *mouyé! mouyé!* and daring us to return. To all which, we replied by signs of friendship; shewing them the presents which we had left for them, and those which we designed for them; and invited them to come and fetch them, by laying down our arms; but no means we used seemed to inspire them with any confidence. However, one of them, who seemed to be the youngest, and consequently had more temerity, advanced to a third part of the distance between us and then, taking the attitude of a warrior, placing one *sagaie* behind his back with his club, and brandishing another *sagaie* with all its force and suppleness, looking at us with much assurance, and at the same time with great contempt, seemed to provoke us to single combat; the other savages at first were disturbed at this bold proceeding of their companion, but soon applauded him with all their voices and actions. At every pause we cried out to him, *taïo, taïo!* a friend, a friend! He repeated the word to himself, as if to try and guess at the sense, and then repeated it to his companions, who also repeated it, at the same time laughing with all their might. We again called to them in a few words of French, which they repeated, looking at each other as if asking the meaning, and again laughing heartily, they repeated our words with great exactness; those which they pronounced best, was, *oui, non, viens ici, amis*, and many others. Some one called to them, *pourah*, (go your way; or let us alone): the manner in which they received this word of the Malabar language, seemed to imply that they were not quite so unacquainted with it as the French; nevertheless they did not move, and their champion kept his post, and maintained the same contemptuous and martial air.

“Willing to try the last method of conciliation that was left us, I advanced as far as the edge of the river, and laid down my arms at some distance, shewing them to this native, who watched my motions with great attention. After this I approached him, carrying in each hand the branch of a tree. I proceeded thus about half the distance between him

and myself; and then called, *taïo, taïo!* a word well understood among most of the inhabitants of the South Sea; and at the same time making all the signs of friendship that I could devise, or that I thought might create any confidence, but all was in vain, the savage retired by little and little before me, and his companions immediately joined him, menacing us at the same time as before. On our part, we repeated our invitations, and demonstrations of friendship; we laid down our arms, and carried green boughs in our hands, with white handkerchiefs; but nothing could overcome the obstinacy with which the natives repelled every attempt of ours to become better acquainted with them. We again shewed them looking-glasses, &c. &c. and making signs that these things were for them, and that we were going to leave them, which in fact we did. Curiosity determined two of them to pass the water, the hero who had defied us, and another who was remarkable for the redness of his hair and beard: they both advanced with great precaution, picking up as they went the things which we had left for them, particularly a very handsome pocket handkerchief, which they threw down again, not seeming to care at all for any of them. It was the savage with red hair who picked up the looking-glass: surprized at seeing his face, he hastily turned it on the other side, but finding nothing there, he threw it on the ground in a pet, appeared more provoked than before; and menaced us with more passion than ever. Captain Hamelin then shewed them a red snuff box, which seemed to surprize and interest them, as appeared from a very loud exclamation. Captain Hamelin threw it towards him who was the nearest, and we retired to give him the opportunity of picking it up, which he immediately did, but he had so sooner taken it, than the noise and menacing gestures were renewed with as much frenzy as ever.

“ We were then on the same land as the savages, and all our attempts to obtain their confidence, had only served to redouble their audacity, which so much increased, that it became absolutely necessary to fly or give fire; reduced to such an alternative, we hastened to our boat, and all of us got into it without any attempt of the savages to prevent us. Probably it was what they wished, and perhaps they were impatient to examine the rich presents which we had made them.

“ The savages we had seen on this occasion were entirely naked, excepting a sort of cloak made of the skin of a dog, or kangaroo, which covered the shoulders of a few of them;

the others had only the natural parts concealed, and a sort of girdle round their loins. Several were tattooed; and they all appeared to us to be of a middling stature. I did not observe any that were very well shaped, or at all fat. In colour they seemed to me to be not so black as the Africans; their hair was short, smooth, straight, and glossy; their beards were long and black, and their teeth very white."

I have here preserved all the particulars of the account given by M. Depuch, to enable the reader to judge of the obstinacy of these people in avoiding, or even repelling strangers. We shall have occasion elsewhere to recur to this peculiarity of character, so different from the eager solicitude with which all the nations of the Pacific Ocean meet and receive Europeans who visit their shores for the first time, and which may also be observed in most of the savage hords, when they first see navigators among them.

M. Depuch had scarcely finished his relation of the particulars of this extraordinary interview, when we saw one of the seamen belonging to our chaloupe, who came to tell us the sad news of her being driven on shore by the waves, and that the men who had been left with her to guide her, had much ado to save themselves. From that moment we thought no more of the frugal supper which was preparing for us; the affliction was general; but as the imminence of the danger left no time for reflection, we immediately set off altogether, seven or eight persons, with captain Hamelin, to go to the place where they told us this misfortune had happened. The night was dark, the sky very cloudy, the wind blew with much violence, and the sea was very rough. These circumstances added much to the unpleasantness of our situation. We were not long before we met with captain Hamelin's little boat, which was coming along shore towards our fire, whose light had served to direct them. Captain Hamelin ordered them to go and wait for him opposite this same fire, and to moor off the shore, that it might be safe from a similar accident to that which had occasioned the loss of the chaloupe belonging to the Geographer. We soon came to the place where she was, where we found our unfortunate seamen, who had been left in charge of her: they related that the winds blowing very hard and strong on shore, and the current setting in at the same time, it had not been possible to keep her off; that they had in vain thrown out the graplin, and veered away the hawser: that a heavy sea, in passing over the chaloupe, had thrown her on her beam ends, and that at the same moment another wave had filled her and

upset her on her side; and that all they had been able to do, with much trouble and danger, was to save a barrel of powder, a small quantity of biscuit, which had been wetted by the sea water, and a few pounds of rice; but that all their endeavours to right the chaloupe, had been totally in vain, and it was to be feared, that if it could not be done immediately, it would soon be filled with the sand which every sea threw into her as it passed over.

Captain Hamelin, after examining her situation with attention, judged it impossible, without some assistance from on board, to save this valuable boat; and the state of the waves made him fear that if some succour did not soon arrive to the men, who were now compelled to remain on shore, something yet more deplorable might happen, he therefore thought it proper for himself to depart immediately, to return on board the Geographer, explain to the commander the distress of our situation, and to send directly some prompt and effectual assistance. According to this resolution, he took the way to his boat, and gave orders to the rest of the crew to come and join us.

It was ten o'clock at night by the time we were altogether; we were then about twenty-five men, all eager to save the chaloupe; but the sea ran so high, and the waves broke with such violence on the coast, that we were convinced that it was in vain to attempt it till the next morning. When we had come to this resolution, we thought only of making a great fire, around which we all lay down to pass the night, after preparing our arms, and placing sentinels to prevent any surprise from the savages, whose howlings were still heard from the interior of the neighbouring forest.

On the morrow, which was the 6th of June, we were all on foot very early; we again examined our chaloupe, but it was already partly filled with sand, and buried under the waves, which broke over it with a degree of violence, with which it was in vain to contend. The sea rose more and more; the winds blew with great force; and during the whole day we could not distinguish any trace of our two ships, or discover any boat coming to our assistance.

Moreover it became absolutely necessary to construct some kind of habitation or shelter, for the preceding night had been so extremely cold, that not one of us had been able to sleep even for a moment, notwithstanding our great fatigue. A tent was formed with the sails of the chaloupe; but unfortunately among our wants, that of a shelter from the weather was not the most pressing at the moment; as I before said,

nothing could be saved from the chaloupe but a few biscuits, souked in the sea water, a small quantity of rice, three bottles of arrack, and twelve or fifteen pints of water; such a small stock of provisions would not furnish a meal for so many persons; it was therefore agreed that some of us with fusils should go out shooting, while others with lines and hooks should fish on the banks of the river: our botanists and our doctor went themselves to seek some vegetable production of the earth which might serve for food; and some to examine the wells of the natives, to discover if it was not possible to find some water that was potable. In the mean time we each received a very small allowance of biscuit, a little arrack, and half a glass of water.

These different cares occupied us almost the whole day; but as if misfortune attended all our endeavours, they were all alike unsuccessful; our huntsmen only brought with them one worthless goëland; our anglers lost their lines, which were all carried away seemingly by a large kind of voracious fish which they found in the river, but of which they could not catch one. I was of the number of those who went to seek water, but we could not discover any that was drinkable, and we were reduced to the necessity of filling our vessels with that detestable brackish sort which I have mentioned before; and glad enough to find even that, bad as it was, in our present cruel situation. At length our botanists and doctor brought us a very small quantity of a bad kind of wild celery which they had found in the woods, and at the same time told us, that we must not depend on any other resource than that of a certain kind of salicornia, which grew on the banks of the marshes, and on the right shore of the river. This plant is well known to contain a strong proportion of soda and a very acid juice.

All these discouraging accounts spread sadness among us; moreover, it became absolutely necessary to eat something; and as we had no choice of food, we filled a large porridge pot, which had been saved from the wreck, with the salicorne I have just mentioned, adding to it a little rice: this was put on the fire with some of the brackish water which we had brought. Hunger made us put up with the badness of our provisions, which caused violent colics and stomach complaints, with which I myself was attacked in the course of the night.

All this time we received no news from our ships; every eye was directed towards the beach, in hopes of seeing some boat coming to our assistance. In vain we looked, for no

help appeared, and the evening surprized us in this cruel state of anxiety. Oh! how many sorrowful reflections we had time to make during this long and tedious night. The sea rose higher and higher, the wind blew hard, and was extremely cold; it was impossible for us to sleep, and the noise of the waves, which came as far as the foot of the sand-banks against which we had rested our tent, would alone have been enough to deprive us of rest. We were every instant picturing to ourselves our unfortunate ships compelled to set sail, and abandon us on this inhospitable shore.

On the 7th our anxieties continued to increase; no news of our ships, no boat to bring us the succour of which we stood in so much need. Captain Lebas now proposed, that those among us who felt strong enough to undertake it, should go to the end of the bay, and get on one of the highest sand-banks, and there light a great fire, as a signal to the ships of our distressed situation. Messrs. Depuch, Leschenault, Riédé, Lesueur, and myself, offered to go, preferring leaving the seamen on the shore, that they might be ready, if occasion served, to raise the chaloupe. We departed directly to gain the spot agreed upon, but by the way M. Leschenault found himself so much affected by the sad effects of the food which we had eaten, that he was unable to walk, but fell down every instant, sighing deeply, and seeming to suffer extreme agony. The greatest number of us were not much better; but necessity impelled us to exert the remains of our strength, and we at length succeeded in reaching the spot to which we had been directed.

With what pleasure we perceived our ships; but at the same time we were much concerned to observe them so distant, for we could scarcely see the tops of the masts. We lighted a great fire, and also stuck a long pole in the sand with several of our handkerchiefs and shirts tied to the top. At length we perceived one of the vessels setting sail, and steering towards the land; we soon knew her to be the Geographer, and overjoyed we descended the bank, to go and proclaim this happy news to our afflicted companions. But before we had reached the tents the Geographer had been perceived by them all, the wind setting so strong in shore, and driving the ship towards us with great rapidity. They soon fired a few guns, the sound of which echoed in our hearts. A few moments after we saw the Naturalist following the Geographer; at length, about four or five o'clock in the evening we observed our long-boat standing towards us. It was commanded by M. de Montbazin, an officer of known

prudence and courage, who, unwilling to trust his boat to the violence of the waves which broke on the beach, kept off the coast. He had the charge of landing some men, among others the carpenters of the ship, to discover if it was possible to save the chaloupe; for this purpose they brought a great quantity of cordage, graplins, hogsheds, tackle, &c. At the same time M. Montbazin called to us, that he was ordered by our commander, to take on board the *Naturalist's* men, who were on shore. I did not hesitate, notwithstanding the state of the sea, to lay hold on the rope, by means of which they had landed the things which I have mentioned, and was drawn on board the boat by the seamen, through the waves, which covered me every moment, and several times had nearly carried me away. I comforted myself under this fresh mortification, with the hope of enjoying some hours rest on board the ship; which was so much the more necessary to me, from my having spent the two nights preceding our unfortunate shipwreck, in describing the interesting subjects of our nocturnal fishery.

M. Montbazin was extremely glad to see me again; he informed me, that captain Hamelin, after embarking as we have before related, with his two officers, Messrs. Freycinet and Heirisson, to regain his ship, had been hindered by the state of the sea, and the strength of the winds and currents; that not being able, in the middle of a dark night, to steer his course aright, he had lost the ships, and had been forced both himself and his officers, to row the whole of the night, and encounter great peril; that during all the next day he had to contend with the same obstacles; that it was as much as two men could do to bale the water out of the boat with their hats, as it filled, and that it was eight o'clock in the evening before they reached the ship, all of them overpowered by fatigue and famine, not one of them having either ate, drank, or slept during thirty-six hours, all which time they had been on the open sea, subjected to the severest labour, and in a miserable skiff always half full of water; it was not till this time that those on board were informed of the loss of the chaloupe; they had never ceased firing guns during the whole of the preceding night; they threw up sky rockets, and carried lanterns at the mast head, &c. On the day after the return of M. Hamelin, at three o'clock in the morning, the commander sent out the long-boat to our assistance, but it was compelled to make to the *Naturalist*; the commander then made signal for this ship to set sail, but perceiving that they could not get up the anchors, he himself

made sail towards the coast; the anxiety on board was general, and so much the greater, as the barometer after our departure, had sunk 5 lines a half, and the sky threatened an approaching storm.

The waves, in fact, were already so rough that it was very difficult to make any way against the wind, notwithstanding the continued exertions of the long-boat's crew; nevertheless we got on board about ten o'clock at night. I was then in such a state of debility, and so extremely ill, that my friends scarcely knew me, so much had I suffered from the want of sleep, fatigue, and the colic, occasioned by the unwholesome food.

I found our commander in the greatest affliction; at his request I gave him an account of all the particulars of our unhappy adventure, and frankly told him that our chaloupe was in such a situation that it appeared to me to be impossible to get her off. He was so much the more anxious concerning the consequences of this event, as it was impossible to be mistaken in the appearance of a violent storm, which threatened to rage before the men on shore, of whom there were now a considerable number, could be brought on board. He therefore ordered M. Bougainville to be called, whose zeal and courage he well knew, and commanded him to go on shore at three o'clock the next morning, with more help, and to bring the people all on board without fail, in case the chaloupe could not be raised in the course of the day. The boat of the *Naturalist*, under the command of M. Freycinet, jun. had similar orders, and departed at the same time with our long-boat.

I shall here introduce the account given me by my worthy friend M. Freycinet, senior, of the dreadful situation of captain Hamelin and his companions, in the boat, on the night and during the time they were endeavouring to make the ship.

“Our men were therefore obliged constantly to labour at the oar. Several times in the day we were obliged to moor, that they might rest. Their strength was almost exhausted, and they were faint to an extremity; their dejected appearance, and the livid colour of their flesh, sufficiently shewed the state of famine they were in; their persevering exertions only exhausted them more and more. At one time, they sunk from their seats, overcome with want and fatigue, perishing with emptiness, and almost bereft of sense. Their strength no longer assisted their will, and all our attempts to animate them, were in vain. At this time our little boat

become the sport of a turbulent sea, was adrift in the open ocean. Our situation was truly terrific, and although we had now the sight of our corvette, she was still near three leagues distant from us. It was necessary to make one last effort to reach her, or to decide on the alternative of perishing in the sea. The hope of succeeding did not quite forsake us, so true it is that hope always assists the unfortunate. We laid hold of the oars ourselves, assisted by the feeble endeavours of some of our men. At sun-set, the wind fell a little, and the sea became something smoother. We now perceived that we drew nearer the corvette, which we at length reached in the course of the night, being all entirely exhausted, and appearing like so many risen from the dead. Several times we were on the point of giving ourselves up to the fury of the waves, preferring death itself to the sufferings occasioned by our uncommon exertions. The weakness of our boat's crew in consequence, was so extreme, that most of them never entirely recovered from the effects of their sufferings; some of them were afflicted with grievous distempers, and some died of them."

We will now return to our narrative. All the day of the 5th instant was spent in the greatest anxiety on board our two ships. The sea continued to rise, the barometer sunk more and more, the wind increased, the horizon was darkened with heavy clouds, and our guns were fired every hour to hasten the return of the boats. At length, about ten o'clock at night we had the pleasure of seeing them both. All our companions were in the same deplorable situation as myself, and such had been the effects of the food, and the brackish water which we had used, that we appeared like so many men just out of our beds after a severe illness; and I had no doubt but that a very few days living on such food would have sunk us all into the grave.

Independent of the chaloupe, we were obliged to leave on shore about thirty fusils, several sabres, and pistols, with a barrel of gunpowder, a number of cartridges, all the sails of the chaloupe, the cordage, the casks, the tackle, and other things which had been brought for the purpose of raising the chaloupe, besides a small quantity of provisions, and an excellent hunting dog. But what was most deplorable in this last disaster, was the loss of one of the best seamen belonging to the Naturalist, whose name was Vasse, a native of the town of Dieppe. Three times carried away by the force of the waves at the moment when he was endeavouring to embark, he disappeared in the midst of them, without there

being any possibility of affording him assistance, or even being assured of his death : the violence of the waves, and the darkness of the night being so great at the time. And as every circumstance united to make his death inevitable, not one person of the expedition retained the least doubt on the subject, till the time when a paragraph was published repeatedly in all the French newspapers, that interested the public in the fate of the unfortunate Vasse, and awakened some hope in the breasts of his companions.

It was asserted in this paragraph, that having escaped as if by miracle from the fury of the waves, Vasse, after the departure of the two ships, joined the savages of that part of Leuwin's Land, adopted their manners, learnt their language, and thus passed two or three years with them. This paragraph then made him meet with an American vessel, three or four hundred leagues south of the part where he had been wrecked ; that he had been received on board this ship, which some time after fell in with an English cruizer ; and it was even added, that he had arrived safe in England, where, contrary to the law of nations, he was detained.

However improbable such an adventure might seem to be, Messrs. Freycinet, Lesueur, and myself, thought that we ought not to neglect enquiring into the truth of such a public rumour ; we therefore hastened to call the attention of the ministry to an event, which in every respect, would have been so interesting if it had been true. Unfortunately, this pleasing delusion was soon removed by the result of the enquiries made by the orders of the minister at the head of the naval department of the state ; the whole of the account in the article concerning our unfortunate companion was entirely fabulous. To preserve the memory of his misfortune and our sorrow, we named the river or creek which occasioned us so much misery and such losses, the River Vasse. But let us return to the narrative of the continued dangers which we experienced in this fatal bay.

When our boats had returned, as I have before said, we endeavoured with all speed to get them on board ; there was not a moment to lose ; the pitching and rolling were so violent, that we had much ado to prevent our long-boat from beating to pieces against the side of the corvette. At half past ten o'clock we were under sail. The Naturalist had lost one of her anchors in the evening, and another at the instant of getting under way. At half after three in the morning we reached the cape, with all the reefs of the main top-sail taken in. Just at this time the wind blew in squalls ;

there fell a small rain, and the thickness of the fog was such that we could not distinguish any object around us. It was at this time that we lost company of the *Naturalist*, which not going so well to windward as ourselves, could not double the point of entrance into the bay. We only succeeded by encountering great danger, and by steering in a perilous navigation of no more than from 12 to 20 fathom water.

On the 9th the storm continued through the whole day; and the winds still blew violently, and carried us towards the dangerous and inhospitable coast which we wished to avoid. In putting about when it was requisite, we were in imminent danger every moment.

On the 10th we saw several large whales, which played about in the midst of the troubled waves; one of them, which we met with about ten o'clock in the morning, was fighting with a sword-fish, and the rage of the combatants seemed to increase with that of the tempest. This same day at noon, we thought during a clear interval, that we perceived Cape Leuwin, which then bore about nine miles to the west. The barometer at this time had sunk to the lowest point, and remained at 27 inches, 7, 5 lines; it consequently had sunk 10 lines 9 tenths, since the 5th of June, which agreed very well with the violence of the storm and its duration. At six o'clock in the evening, a sudden alteration in the soundings, added to the nature of the rocky bottom on which we found ourselves, increased our fears; we were running on that dangerous reef which we had discovered on the 30th of May, and which we had then named after the *Naturalist*. We had much difficulty in avoiding this reef, and to succeed, we were obliged, notwithstanding the squalls, to set all our sails at the risk of losing our masts.

From the 11th to the 16th, this horrible storm continued without interruption; the sea ran so high, that the water came over the gangway to leeward; it was almost impossible to keep our feet on the deck, and several of our seamen and officers, and our commander himself, had some severe falls.

On the 16th, at noon, we found ourselves in $32^{\circ} 42' 57''$ south latitude, and in $111^{\circ} 46' 14''$ east longitude. M. Maugé and myself profited by a few minutes calm to throw our drag once more on these shores, and this attempt procured us some new marine riches, and particularly a curious kind of sponge, of a bright purple; out of which a liquor of the same colour issued on the slightest pressure, and which

liquor, when spread over different substances, entirely resisted the action of the air, and even that of several kinds of alkali.

On the 17th, in the morning, the sky became clear and pure, the sea calm, and the winds from the N. N. E. a pleasant breeze. So many favourable circumstances seemed to promise us an opportunity for making interesting discoveries; but another chain of breakers in the first place, and afterwards a storm of wind from this same N. N. E. again compelled us to bear away from the coast. The part of the land that we had had in sight, was like all the rest, flat, without any particular form, but not quite so barren as that in Geography Bay: and in a second prospect, we distinguished a ridge of hills or mountains, higher than any we had seen, but almost as regularly lengthened as the shore.

The 18th neither brought us back the fine weather, nor the smooth sea, which we so much wanted: our ship labouring considerably, it was resolved to carry her to the north: at two o'clock, we perceived the isle Rottness; we then reckoned ourselves to be at the distance of 6 or 7 leagues. As this was the first rendezvous appointed by captain Hamelin, we had always intended anchoring, either to meet or wait there for news of our consort, concerning which we were very anxious, as her being so bad a sailer subjected her the more to the dangers we had experienced in Geography Bay. How great then was our consternation and surprize, when at the very time that we first discovered this island, we heard our commander give orders to steer our course to the bay of Seadogs, in Endracht's Land. From this time we despaired of ever seeing any more of the Naturalist during the rest of the voyage, and this presentiment was but too well fulfilled.

In the afternoon the wind changed from the W. to the W. S. W. the heavy rains began again; the squalls became violent, and our masts were often in danger. At eight o'clock in the evening, the wind having all at once changed to the S. E. the rain fell in torrents; flashes of lightning succeeded each other without intermission; and the noise of the thunder added to the horrors of the darkest night: it appeared impossible to imagine a more dreadful situation. Nevertheless, a greater and more imminent danger soon threatened us, and overwhelmed us with new terrors.

From 25 fathom water, with a sandy bottom, the soundings diminished so rapidly, that at half past nine we drew no more than 12 fathom with a rocky bottom. This created a general consternation; there was not a moment to lose; officers, the scientific men, and the seamen, all rushed in

haste upon deck. Never were manœuvres performed with more expedition; never was the zeal of every individual manifested in a more striking manner. And indeed it required the united exertions of every individual to evade the dangers that threatened us during this dreadful night.

The next day, which was the 19th of June, the sea still continued to rage and swell exceedingly, and the crew were so much exhausted by fatigue, that the commander resolved at length to quit these fatal latitudes, and to bear away towards those that lay nearer the equinox, and which were consequently warmer and less liable to storms.

Thus ended our first discovery of Leuwin's Land, on which I made several observations that are worthy the attention of the reader; but as we shall have occasion to visit these shores again, I shall defer the particulars till the time when I may return to the subject of the great southern continent.

CHAP. VII.

Endracht's Land, &c. &c.

[From the 19th of June to the 12th of July, 1801.]

AFTER having made the island Rottness, as I have just said, we bore away to the N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. W. to avoid the Abrolhos of Houttmans, so unfortunately celebrated from the unhappy shipwreck of Pelsar, and on the 22d of June, in the morning, we perceived Endracht's Land. This part of New Holland presents much the same kind of aspect as Leuwin's Land, that is to say, a lengthened flat coast, almost level, sandy, barren, with reddish or grey earth, furrowed in different places in the form of superficial ravines, almost every where pointed, defended often by unapproachable reefs; in one word, very well justifying the epithet of Iron Shore, given it by Boulanger.

The following days we lengthened the coast of the great island of Dirk-Hartighs, even yet more barren and inhospitable than the space of which it seemed to form a part: with the same natural characters, it did not appear less inacces-

sible, and the surf broke furiously the length of the coast westward.

Presently after we made the Isle of Dorre, if possible more wild than that of Dirk-Hartighs; then doubling to the northward a second sterile island, which, in the general system of the nomenclature of that part of the country of Endracht, M. L. Freycinet has called the Isle Bernier. On the 26th of June, in the evening, we found ourselves at the north entrance of the great bay of Sea-dogs.

On the 27th, in the morning, we ran in left of the continent, having on the right the isles Dorre and Bernier: the appearance of the continent in this part was as barren as that we had seen on the preceding days. We observed not the least appearance of mountains, rivers, streams, or even torrents: the shore consisted of either white or red sand, and had no other verdure than here and there a few miserable looking shrubs.

To this dismal sterility of the continent and the isles, may be pleasantly contrasted the productions of the sea, which are astonishingly numerous and in very great variety. We were every where surrounded by shoals of Salpa, Doris, Medusæ, Beroes, and Porpites; different kinds of testaceous animals, and zoophytes, of which we have made some mention in the third chapter, and of which we shall have to speak hereafter. The amazing number of these animals, their strange and whimsical forms, the beauty of their colours, the facility of their motions, and the agility of their evolutions, furnished an agreeable spectacle to all our ship's crew, and to myself, and my friends Lesueur and Maugé; their number and diversity afforded an inexhaustible fund of pleasure, and were the subject of philosophical enthusiasm.

Among these numerous and harmless animals, were also a great many venomous reptiles, which gliding lightly on the surface of the waves, seemed to be eager in the pursuit of a shoal of small Clupeæ, which fled precipitately towards the open sea.

These sea-snakes or serpents, of which we shall often have occasion to speak hereafter, are so little known to natural philosophers even at this day, or even to voyagers themselves, that it is indispensable for me to enter into some more particular description of them in this place. All these marine animals differ from land reptiles by their flattened tails, somewhat in form of a small oar; by their bodies, which are like that of an eel, and in the lower parts almost angular; some of them are entirely of one colour, either grey, or

yellow, or green, or bluish; others are striped in rings of blue, white, red, green, black, &c. &c. some are varied with large spots, more or less regularly disposed; others again are beautifully marked with very small specks all over the body. One species is particularly remarkable for the colour of the head, which is of a bright purplish red; this is the sea-serpent with the red head, mentioned by Dampier, who first discovered it in these latitudes. Like land reptiles, they are some of them perfectly innocent, and others appear to be armed with venomous stings. With respect to their size, we found some that were from 12 to 16 inches in length, and others from 9 to 12 feet.

They do not invariably live near the shore; we observed numbers at the distance of three or four hundred miles from any land; and what is still more astonishing, is, that we never saw any of them either on the continent or on the islands. From this observation I do not pretend to assert, that they do not live on land, but that we never saw any of them; and when animals so remarkable and so little known, are the subject, the impartial observer ought not to omit any fact of importance, though at the same time he may be unable to understand or explain it.

It is in seas in the hottest part of the globe, particularly in the Indian Ocean, in the Persian Gulf, in the Red Sea, and in that which washes the shores of the N. W. and N. of New Holland, that these sea-serpents are exclusively found; at least, such is the result of my own observations, and of the numerous researches which I made on the subject in the accounts of other voyagers. The warm temperature of these seas, the calm weather which generally reigns, with the multiplicity of animals which propagate in the waters, and which are the food of the sea-serpents, seem to me to be principal reasons for their predilection for the equinoctial seas.

On opening the stomach of several animals of this kind, I generally found them filled with small fish, and divers crustaceous sea productions; but they also in their turn become the prey of numerous sharks, which live in these seas; in fact, I several times had occasion to observe sea-serpents in the stomachs of these fish, more or less changed by the action of digestion.

It was difficult at first to conceive how such nimble animals could become the food of large fish, whose motions are comparatively so heavy and slow; but afterwards observing a greater number of these reptiles, I thought I discovered the real cause of this phenomenon. These serpents were

often to be seen asleep, floating on the surface of the waves ; their sleep is so profound, that our ship sometimes passing quite close to them, did not awaken them, neither by the noise of her motion, the strength of the swell she made, nor by the constant singing-out, as it is called, of the seamen. It is doubtless in this state of lethargy that they become a prey to the unwieldy shark, at least it appears to me to be impossible to account for it any other way. As to the cause of this deep sleep, it may probably proceed from the kind of stupor which may also be observed in several kinds of land reptiles, and is occasioned by fulness and the operation of digestion.

These sea reptiles swim and plunge with equal facility ; many times when we thought we could catch them with our nets, they suddenly disappeared, and sinking deep into the water, remained half an hour or more without appearing again on the surface, or coming up, except at a very great distance from the spot where we had seen them plunge.

All these remarkable propensities, all these diversities in their organization, combine to mark the difference between the sea-serpents and those of the land ; I therefore think they ought to constitute distinct species : we shall see in another part of this work, more particular reasons for this classification.

While the general attention was still occupied on so many different objects, we discovered all at once a vast shoal of whales, which came towards us with great rapidity. Never had we seen so extraordinary a spectacle. The amazing number of these sea monsters, their gigantic size, their quick evolutions, and their spouting up the water, all appeared to me to be surprizing, but still less so than to see these mighty Colossi springing perpendicularly above the waves, and standing, if I may be allowed the expression, on the extremity of their tails, spreading their vast fins, and then falling again on the bosom of the waters, and thus sinking beneath the waves in the midst of torrents of foam and eddies. Presently a numerous company of these whales seemed to advance in a line ; and we might have said, that they were contending for superiority in swiftness and activity ; sometimes, on the contrary, some of them crowded into the rank of the others, and swam together in a sort of calm, alternately plunging under the waves, and re-appearing on the surface. And often we saw them two and two playing together, and seeming mutually pleased, which made us conjecture that it might be the season of their amours.

The evening wasted fast while we were observing these stu-

penduous objects ; and night compelled us to let go the anchor, when every eye was still fixed on the whales sporting on the ocean.

However formidable these animals may be, from their size and the strength of their fins and tails, as well as from the swiftness of their natation, nature has nevertheless given them some rivals, and the terrible sword-fish abounds on these shores, to contend with them in perpetual and implacable warfare. This sword-fish of the South Seas differs particularly from that of the North, by two long fringes or lashes, which are from 9 to 12 inches in length, and more than proportionable in breadth ; these are placed on the sides of the saw, towards the middle, and float in an easy manner in the midst of the waters. Like that of the North, the sword-fish of the South Seas grows sometimes to an enormous size, and several among those I have seen, appear to be from 12 to 15 feet in length. In the chapter on Leuwin's Land, I have already mentioned a battle between one of these animals and a whale ; and in the bay of Sea-dogs we saw another ; it happened in the course of the night, the sky was clear and the moon shone. The two adversaries, which were very near our ship, appeared animated with equal fury. The whale in particular repeatedly leaped to an astonishing height, spouting up water, almost without intermission ; it seemed much fatigued with the exertions of the contest. We could not see the issue of the combat, as the champions insensibly got to a great distance from the ship.

The extraordinary number of whales in the bay of Sea-dogs, cannot fail at some future day, to be of great importance, from the consideration of the fishery ; which would there be as easy as lucrative. For the whales in these parts are fearless of man, and do not know from experience that he is an enemy ; they have not learnt to fly from his presence, or fear his appearance ; and such was their confidence with respect to us, that as we sailed in the interior of the bay, we were often in fear that our boats might be struck by these enormous animals, which came even close to us at times when they wanted to breathe.

The absolute want of fresh water is unfortunately as general on all this part of Endracht's Land, as in other parts of the same continent, and this is probably the only reason why no settlements are established, the produce of which might be as considerable as certain. This obstacle, however, is not insurmountable, and we shall see hereafter, that captain Hamelin, by distillation of the sea-water, procured with only

one alembic, above forty quarts of fresh water daily, and thus supplied most part of his crew with water for their daily consumption.

It would belong more particularly to our merchantmen of the Isle of France, to practise this hitherto untried branch of commerce; and if the nature of this work did not exclude all particulars relative to an undertaking of the kind, it would be easy for me to prove that it would be a speculation both honourable and lucrative; but let us return to our passage towards the interior of the bay.

On the 28th of June, we anchored opposite the Isle Bernier, on which I landed the following day. It is a long narrow island, about 15 miles in length, and 5 or 6 in breadth. Its western coast is every where exposed to the rage of the winds from the sea, and is armed with breakers the whole length of the shore; over which the surf breaks with a frightful noise. At a small distance from the northern extremity is the little island Koks, a barren rock, which a long reef seems to unite to the principal island. All the eastern coast is broken and steep; but the waves do not break against it with so much violence as on the west; therefore it is easy enough to land on this side in some of the small creeks.

The sand of the shore is mingled with a large proportion of calcareous particles. The substance of the isle itself in its lower beds, is of a sort of brownish calcareous stone, but sometimes whitish and sometimes reddish, which lies in horizontal strata, of a thickness from 7 to 11 inches, and which being all equal in length, might be very useful as stones already hewn by nature for building.

The shells encrusted in these solid rocks are almost all univalves: they belong more particularly to that species of shellfish described by M. de Lamark, and have some similarity to the almost motionless species which are found alive at the feet of these rocks. They have doubtless been in this state of petrification for many centuries; for, besides that it is very difficult to separate them clear from the middle of these strata, with which they are so immediately connected, they may also be seen 150 feet above the actual level of the sea. Whatever regularity there may be in the general formation of these banks, they are not however all of them homogeneous in their substances; there is in particular, a remarkable variety in the structure of these rocks. This consists of a sort of calcareous pebble, which is incorporated in the sandy earth, which adheres to them so strongly, that it is scarcely possible to separate the earth from the pebble, without breaking

the latter. These pebbles are of a globular form, and are composed of a great number of concentric zones, which are spread round a central nut, of a brownish sparkling stone. These different stripes are narrow, and display beautiful shades of colour, from the deepest red to the palest yellow. The general formation of this pebble gives it therefore some rough similarity to the globulous granite of the isle of Corsica; and from its concentric striped divisions, it has also some resemblance to the Agathes-onyx. It is moreover capable of taking the finest polish, and therefore might be used to make many ornamental articles of luxury.

The banks of brownish stones which I mentioned above, constitute, generally speaking, the entire mass of the country; but, even on the rocks there is a bed of sand more or less deep, which sand spreads over the whole surface of the island, rising towards the sea shore in a sort of girdle of moveable downs, from 60 to 80 feet in height. This sand, of the same nature as that on the beach, is very calcareous, and of a very fine grain, which gives the winds the power of easily whirling about these masses, and thus to change at the sport of these tornadoes, the appearance of the surface of the island according to their violence. We shall soon see how nature counteracts this power, and prevents such revolutions.

The mineralogical account I have thus sketched of the isle Bernier, is strictly applicable to the isles of Dorre and Dirck-Hartighs; the account of the animals and vegetable productions will also apply to each of these islands. Under this head, its history becomes more general, more interesting, and well deserves the particular development which I have thought proper here to give to each of the subjects of which it consists. Let us only add to these first considerations, that there is not to be found any fresh water, nor any signs of settled humidity. On such a soil it is easy to perceive that the vegetation must necessarily be languishing and poor; nevertheless it is not so much so as at first might be thought. For we find there various kinds of shrubs and small trees, among which is a sort of fig-tree, the fruit scarcely so large as a nut, and very insipid; two or three kinds of small Mimosa with beautiful and sweet smelling blossoms, a small Melaleuca, a few of the Atriplex, a Rumex, &c. But of all the vegetable productions, there are three on which it appears to me to be necessary more particularly to enlarge, as their description is connected with that of the soil itself.

The first of these three plants is a kind of *Spinifex*; at least it was thought to be so by our botanists. It grows in the most barren places; and displays a sort of moss that sometimes spreads over the ground to a considerable extent, and which describes a thousand agreeable forms, here spreading into long regular walks; these again presenting a number of little waving paths, describing at the same time divers figures that are more or less whimsical, resembling, in a word, the most picturesque and diversified *parterre*. This extraordinary plant is composed of an innumerable quantity of leaves, capillary, radical, sessile, inflexible, and so thorny, that it is impossible to touch any of these thickets of verdure, without being immediately pierced with a number of small darts which remain in the flesh, and cause a considerable degree of pain. The prodigious thinness of these leaves, or rather of these thorns, makes them liable to a decomposition as rapid as absolute; and this plant may be a principal cause of there being so small a quantity of vegetative earth in some parts of the island.

The second species of extraordinary plants which thrives on these shores is a *Mimosa*, whose stunted knotty trunk scarcely rises to the height of 2 or 3 feet above the ground, but which bears a great number of branches from 15 to 100 feet in length, which spread horizontally a small height above the soil, and which are so thick and entangled one among another, that the small animals which go thither to find shelter, are forced to eat their way to the middle of this inextricable net-work of branches, leaves, and boughs.

While by such extraordinary means the vegetative bed is thus prepared, while the plants unfold themselves and spread over the surface of the earth to brave the fury of the winds, and in some sort to concentrate the rains and dews under their shade, the moveable downs of sand are also thus confined and kept within an immense natural netting of green cordage. These are the spreading roots of a large kind of *Cyperus*, whose brittle stalk rises not more than 2 or 3 feet above the ground, and is terminated with a globular bearded ear, about the size of a man's fist. This species of *Opamen* or cow-grass, the knowledge of which is so much the more valuable as it produces a farinaceous grain, something similar to that of wheat, is also found in many parts of New Holland; unfortunately most of its flowers are abortive, and sometimes there are not more than four or five seeds in each of these large ears. Probably this plant might become valuable in a more congenial soil; but without ex-

larging on a subject that is so doubtful, we will content ourselves with the observation, that the acquisition of this kind of grass would not be without advantage to European countries; and certainly it would be worth while to take from the steril shores of New Holland these natural net-works, capable of confining the devastating sands in the environs of Cadiz and Bourdeaux. The worthy Riédle had entertained this useful design; but death selected that estimable industrious man for his first victim, and many projects equally ingenious died with him.

Whatever may be thought of these particulars on the subject of the vegetation of the isle Bernier, it must be allowed that it shews a succession of phenomena that is worthy of observation. These thick and capillary plants, which form the vegetative soil, these singular shrubs spread on the surface of the land like so many immense parasols, to concentrate the rain water and the dews; this depression of all the plants, which alone could encourage their growth, on so moveable a soil; these downs of sand raised all around the island, as if to protect the weak poor vegetation from the rage of the winds from the sea; these chains of strong roots, usefully confining the sands; all these curious singularities present interest, and possess charms for the botanist, and might throw light on the science itself; from this consideration, no country probably is more curious than that which is our present subject.

These shores are totally uninhabited, nor did we perceive any trace of a human being having ever been on this island.

One single species of Mammiferæ was all we remarked; this was the striped Kangaroo (*Kangurus faciatus*, N.) the smallest and most beautiful among the species of this extraordinary kind of animal in New Holland; this species is characterized more particularly by the conic form of the body, by the disproportion of the feet, and by the pouch in which the young ones are carried and suckled.

The species we are now describing, is distinguished at first sight from all those which were hitherto known, by twelve or fifteen stripes across the back; these are narrow, and of a reddish-brown, not so regular or straight on the shoulders, where the appearance of these bands or stripes begin, but becoming more distinct and browner towards the tail, at which part they terminate. These bands do not continue on the sides, and there is not the least appearance of them on the belly; the face and the feet are yellowish, and the abdomen of a whitish grey; the rest of the coat is of the same greyish colour as the skin of a hare, lighter or darker in different indi-

vidual animals. The ears of this species are proportionally shorter than those of the other kinds; the tail also is shorter and weaker, and without hair, which makes it have a similarity to the tail of a large rat. In every other respect it resembles all other kangaroos in the conic form of the body, the disproportion between the fore and hind feet, the number of fingers, nails, &c. &c. All these particulars will be noticed more at large in the zoological part of this work. It is at present sufficient to have mentioned the chief particularities of this pretty little animal.

The striped kangaroo breeds in great numbers on the three islands of Bernier, Dorre, and Dirk-Hartighs, but we could not discover any of them on any part of the continent, or on the other islands which we successively explored. We shall see hereafter, that a similar observation may be made on every other kind of kangaroo; that is to say, that we see each separate species placed by nature on such or such islands, and on such or such land, without any individual kind appearing to be any where beyond the limits peculiar to their species.

Like all other animals whom nature has left unprovided with the means of attack or defence, these kangaroos are mild and timid. Like the hare of our climates, the slightest noise alarms them—sometimes even the whistling of the wind will put them to flight. For this reason, it was very difficult to catch them on the isle Bernier, although they there abound in such great numbers. In the impenetrable thickets which I have described, these animals could safely brave the skill and activity of our sportsmen. If compelled to forsake one of these asylums, they get out by ways not perceived, and quickly dart under some other neighbouring thicket, while it is impossible to imagine how they so easily disappear out of one and get into the middle of another of these inextricable bushes; but it was soon discovered that they had small covered ways through each of these thickets, which, from divers points of the circumference, meet in the centre, and thus furnished different ways out, according as they found themselves invaded from such or such point. From the moment this discovery was made, their destruction was certain; our sportsmen collected themselves together, and while some beat the bushes with long sticks, others were on the watch at the entrance of each little path, and the animals flying through the usual places of retreat, thus became the victims of enemies inevitable. The flesh of this animal

much resembles that of the wild rabbit, as Dampier remarked before us, but more aromatic, which is probably occasioned by the peculiar property of the plants it feeds on, and which are almost all odoriferous. It certainly was by much the finest flavoured flesh of the kangaroo that we ever tasted, and therefore this species would be a valuable acquisition to European countries.

At the time when we were on these shores, all the full grown females had each a young one of a tolerable size, which they carried in their pouch, and endeavoured to save from harm with a degree of courage that was truly admirable: if they themselves happened to be wounded, they fled, carrying their young one in the pouch, and never abandoned them till they were overpowered by fatigue, and exhausted by the loss of blood. When from these causes they were no longer able to bear their weight, they stopped, and squatting on their hind paws, they, with their fore feet, helped the young ones to get out of the maternal bag, and endeavoured by some means to shew them the places of retreat, where they might have the best chance of saving themselves: they then continued their flight with as much speed as their exhausted strength would permit; but if the pursuit was given up, or even relaxed, they immediately returned to the thicket which protected their nursling, calling them by a sort of grunting noise, which is peculiar to them, and caressing their young affectionately, as if to dissipate their fears, and replacing them in their pouch, sought with their precious burden, some new thicket, from which the sportsmen might neither drive nor discover them. The same proofs of sagacity and affection, appear in a still more affecting manner in the actions of these poor mothers when mortally wounded: all their cares are directed towards the preservation of their nursling; far from endeavouring to save themselves, they stand still and receive the blows of the sportsmen, and their last efforts are to save their young. The history of animals in general furnish so many examples of this generous impulse, that we are sometimes compelled to acknowledge them as superior to us in parental affection.

During our stay on the isle Bernier, we caught several of these young kangaroos, but most of them were too helpless, and died soon after their captivity. One only lived and became familiar; this animal was fond of bread, and particularly seemed to enjoy the sweet water we gave him. This preference appeared so much the more extraordinary, as

none of the islands where these animals are natives, have any kind of fresh water. This young kangaroo was killed by accident at Timor: his loss was not so much regretted, as having but one, we could not have any hope of naturalizing the species in Europe; but this first attempt is sufficient to prove to a certainty, that this kind may easily be tamed, and would thrive with a little care; and I repeat, that it would be a valuable acquisition.

On this wretched island there are very few kinds of animals except some that are troublesome and hurtful; these we shall proceed to mention; and first, of the birds, for example, there are some cormorants, with divers kinds of petrels, goëlands, sea eagles, &c. which multiply their voracious species on these barren rocks. Of land-fowl there are only a few fly-catchers and speckled magpies: but, however, there is a beautiful species of tom-tit, with a blue ring round the neck, which deserves particular notice.

The reptiles consist of a kind of Scinque (*Scincus Tropisurus*, N.) one of the largest of the species with such a short thick tail, that at first sight, the animal appears to have two heads; a beautiful species of *Tupinambis* (*T. Endrachtensis*, N.) which is four or five feet in length, and a Gecko (*Gecko Dorreensis*, N.) about four or five inches long. The history of these species, which are all three new, shall be given in the zoological picture of New Holland, with all the particulars.

Probably no country in the world abounds with fish so much as the great bay of Sea-dogs; but near the shores of the isle Bernier there are but few. It is in the depths of the neighbouring harbours, that these animals seek their food and enjoy the calm; we shall return to them at a future time; we will only add here, that our fishery was almost without success, and that to our collections of this kind, we only added about six new species.

In the midst of the crags of the rocky shores of the isle Bernier, are found many different species of the *Polypus*, some of which grow to an amazing size; I saw several that were not less than three or four feet in length when the arms were spread out.

In these latitudes are found many testaceous animals; but if we except the muscles and oysters, which abound among the rocks and breakers, all these shell fish were univalves. In the depths of the bay, among the mud and sand, are many sorts of beautiful bivalves; these at a future time we will drag from their quiet retreats; but not to an-

ticipate the natural order of the facts, we shall here only slightly notice a few of the most remarkable shells which we collected on the shores of the isle Bernier.

Of all the species of muscles yet known, that which I here discovered, is incontestibly the most beautiful and brilliant : stripped of its marine clothing, it exhibits all the most lively colours of the prism, and the brilliancy of precious stones ; if I may be allowed thus to express myself. I have described this muscle under the name of *Mytilus Effulgens*. The oyster of these latitudes, (*Ostrea Scyphophilla*, N.) also deserves particular mention ; the under shell is a sort of cone, about six or seven inches long, and more or less regular in form. Fixed on the rock by the point of this cone and one of the sides, it is covered by the upper shell, which is very similar to that of our common oysters, and which serves as an operculum or cover to the kind of horn which I have described. The oyster does not fill the whole depth of this remarkable shell, but is confined in the upper part of the cone, all the lower part of which is occupied by a great number of small partitions transversely placed ; these something resemble watch-glasses, and are continued to the very extremity of the point which fixes the shell to the rock. Their concave face is turned upwards, leaving a space between each, filled with a sort of gelatinous fluid, the nature of which it would be curious to determine. How extraordinary soever this oyster may seem to be, it is nevertheless a great delicacy, and was thought delicious by every one of our ship's company.

Among the curious univalves which belong exclusively to this part of Endracht Land, I ought to mention a beautiful species of *Trochus* or *Sabot* (*Trochus Smaragdinus*, N.) of the deepest and most lively green ; also a kind of *Patelle*, which from its size I named *Gigantea* ; a very beautiful *Volute* (*Voluta Nivosa*) covered with small white spots, which look like so many little flakes of snow ; and particularly a *Cone* or *Rouleau* (*Conus Dorreensis*, N.) about an inch and a half in length, of a light orange colour, and distinguished by a narrow stripe which winds round each of the turns of the spiral shell, and which when quite fresh is of the brightest blue. In the interior of the island, is found an astonishing number of land shells ; one of these was a kind of small *Helix*, the other belonged to the genus *Bulima* of M. de Lamarck.

Crustaceous animals on these shores are not very numerous ; but there are two of the genus *Portunus*, of M. Latreille

(*Portunus Pleuraëanthus* et *P. Enchromus*, N.) which abound on the rock in great numbers. Some of these crabs are 4 or 5 inches in breadth; and the meat being excellent, they might in times of necessity supply an inexhaustible store of wholesome food.

Of insects on this island there are but few kinds, with the exception of the ants, of which there are 5 or 6 different species, and are to be seen in millions on every part of the land. After the Ants, we should mention the *Blattes*, or *Kancrelas*, which are a kind of worm or moth, such as eat cloth, &c.; one species of these are large. The Grass-hoppers, the Crickets, &c. furnished us with some species that were curious. I should on this subject observe, that the class of the *Orthoperes*, which generally abound most in dry barren places, presents numerous kinds on the continent of New Holland, and each of these kinds appears to be amazingly multiplied. We shall have occasion more than once to point out the interesting agreement of the nature of the soil with its divers productions.

In the midst of the rugged rocks which I have described, are also several species of *Oursins*, which are sometimes very difficult to be separated from the calcareous places in which they seem to be incrustated. In the same places are also to be found several kinds of star-fish, of the genus *Ophiura*; one of these (*Ophiura Telactes*, N.) is distinguished by its long arms, which are from 8 to 10 inches in length, articulated, fragile, and standing upright like little thorns. Hid in the fissures of the rocks, this animal spreads out its long arms, and with much address seizes and drags the prey to the bottom of its little cavern. A second species of *Ophiura* (*Ophiura Phosphorea*, N.) shines during the night like a bright star, by means of five glands or tubercules, placed on its disc.

Among the class of hard zoophytes, besides a few kinds of *Millepora*, is a branching *Madrepore*, 6 or 8 inches in height; the points of this, when it is quite fresh, are of a very beautiful rose colour.

From all the observations I have made on the zoology of the isle Bernier, it results, that of land animals there are but few, and those of a noxious kind, with the exception only of the kangaroo; that, on the contrary, the sea abounds almost beyond conception, from the whale down to the microscopic polypus. All the classes of the animal kingdom in this island, present numerous and interesting families; and where, in another part of this work, we shall

notice the many productions of the great gulf, at the entrance of which we will now rest, it will doubtless be admitted, that few parts of the seas are richer than those which wash the shores of New Holland.

All these observations, with the collections which I have here described, are the fruits of many labours, and many dangers, which twice had nearly cost me my life. I have mentioned that on the 29th of June, in the morning, I landed on the Isle Bernier, with the commander and several of my friends. While they were occupied on the sea-shore, I went alone towards the interior of the island, to pursue my researches for the divers productions, and on the nature of the soil. Impelled by my zeal, and the pleasure I had in the important discoveries which I was making, if I may be allowed the expression, at every step, I lengthened my course almost as far as the southern point of the island. The sun already began to sink beneath the horizon, when I perceived the necessity of returning to the spot where our long-boat was moored. Unfortunately night comes hastily upon us in these latitudes; and to add to the misfortune, I missed my way among the downs and brambles. Although I was loaded with different subjects which I had collected, I walked at a great pace till about eight o'clock in the evening; but instead of finding myself at the eastern point, where I had set out, I discovered by the dashing and force of the waves, that I was on the western shore. I felt myself exhausted by fatigue, and fell to the earth overpowered by weariness and emptiness, not having either eaten or drunk since the morning, and having walked the whole of the day. The extremity to which I was reduced, for an instant re-animated my courage and strength: I rose and continued my course to the east, by crossing the north point, and again pursued my way until eleven o'clock at night; when entirely overcome by fatigue, and perspiring at every pore, I again sunk on the ground, and, totally unable to proceed, I resolved to pass the rest of the night on the spot, even though I might perish in the midst of this frightful desert. I soon fell into a sound sleep, and did not awake till three o'clock in the morning, when I was almost frozen with cold; the air was extremely sharp, and though it was as much as I could do to raise my benumbed limbs from the earth, I determined to continue my way.

The twilight began to appear, when I heard the report of a gun at a distance. This filled my heart with emotion and joy, and renewed my hopes and my courage; and about

six o'clock in the morning, I found myself among my friends. I then learnt, that finding I did not return in the evening, and expecting that I had lost my way, they had requested the commander to let some of them remain on shore to wait for me; and that M. Picquet, the ship's lieutenant, had been ordered to stay on the land till the rising of the moon, which would be about ten or eleven o'clock at night, and then they were to repair on board, whether I had returned or not; that, notwithstanding these orders, M. Picquet could not resolve to abandon me; but had caused great fires to be lighted in every direction, to shew me my way, and that, as soon as the day broke, himself at the head of his men, had set off to seek me, all determined not to quit the island till they had lost all hopes of ever seeing me again.

These particulars made me sensible, how much I was indebted to the generous zeal and affection of my shipmates; and the contrivances which their foresight had suggested, deserved my most grateful acknowledgments.

The Naturalist did not appear, and our commander resolved to go farther into the bay of Sea-dogs to seek or to wait for her. Therefore, on the 30th of June, in the morning, we set sail for that purpose. During the whole day we made but little way, sailing all the while in the midst of great shoals of fish, of which we caught a considerable number, though we were under sail; all the different kinds were new to us, and belonged to the classes Labrus, Balistes, Cortes, Ostracions, Chetodons, &c. All the evening of this same day, we were in sight of an amazing number of whales, many of them came very nigh our ship. We also saw several sea-serpents that were five or six feet long.

On the 2d of July, in the evening, we cast anchor in Dampier's Bay, which is situated north of a land, which we, like former navigators, took for an island; but which M. L. Freycinet has since discovered to be a large peninsula, as we shall have occasion to mention in another place. We had scarcely time to moor, before the sky was overcast with heavy clouds; and on the next day, which was the third of July, we were attacked by such a violent squall, that we were obliged hastily to set sail and go to the north, from whence we had come but the evening before. From this hurricane we experienced great danger during the whole of the night, because in avoiding the islands on the west, we were thrown on the numerous shoals on the eastern coast, in the midst of which we were obliged to turn to windward till the morning; and if we had missed stays in going about, we

must infallibly have been lost on the point of the high land, which forms Cape North in the Bay of Dampier.

Fortunately this hurricane was as short as it was violent, and on the morrow, which was the 4th of July, we again anchored opposite the isle Bernier, where our commander resolved to wait for the *Naturalist*, which we now expected every day. According to this determination we pitched two tents on the other side of the downs, one for the naturalists and astronomers, and the other for the commander himself.

On the 6th at day-break, I set off to visit the eastern shore of the island, which being more sheltered from the fury of the winds, seemed to promise some numerous and important additions to our collections. In this respect I was not deceived: but, as if the isle Bernier was to be fatal to me, I nearly escaped being buried there under the waves. After having walked about, on different parts of the shore, without finding any of the beautiful species of trochus, patelles, cones, and volutes, which I formerly mentioned, except a few that were dead and shrunk, I resolved to go beyond a dangerous reef which projected some distance out into the sea, and in the clefts of which, I hoped to find some of these shells that were alive. In truth, there were great numbers, but while I was busily engaged in carefully detaching them from the rock, a strong surge broke with such force over the top of the breaks, that I was driven against the neighbouring rocks, and over these frightful reefs; all my clothes were in a moment torn to pieces, and I was in an instant covered with wounds and weltering in blood: I recovered myself, however, and exerting all my strength to escape from the surge, which, as it retreated, would have carried me back against the reefs, I clung to the point of a rock, and thus succeeded in avoiding this last misfortune, which doubtless would have been my destruction. Having thus got clear of the waves, I with great difficulty reached the shore, where I sank fainting, with pain and loss of blood. In this condition I remained till night, not having strength to walk, or to attempt to reach our tents. My right knee in particular was much torn and very painful, which made it at first impossible to walk; but insensibly the pain became more supportable; I again took courage: a great fire on the summit of a sand-bank directed my footsteps, and about midnight I was once more among my companions.

On seeing me thus covered with wounds and contusions, and weltering in blood, several of my friends even shed tears,

and the commander himself seemed touched with my deplorable situation. I was soon attacked by a fever, which at first was very violent, but most of my wounds, being but slight, I soon recovered, and if not quite able to continue my researches, I was at least well enough to make a suite of observations, and curious experiments on the temperature compared with the atmosphere and the interior of the soil, at different hours of the day and night: the results will be produced with more interest, at the time when we shall speak of the natives of Endracht Land and their curious habitations.

In the mean time our labours had drawn to a conclusion; our astronomers had from numerous observations, determined the situation of the island on which we were encamped. Messrs. Boulanger and Maurouard, in a long and troublesome voyage, had reconnoitred all the eastern coast; all the productions of the soil had been collected by my colleagues and myself. Nothing, therefore, now detained us on these shores, but the expectation of being joined by the Naturalist, and she did not appear: at length it was decided that it was in vain to wait longer, and on the 12th of July, we set sail to the north, to reconnoitre Endracht Land.

On the same day we doubled a large cape, which forms the N. E. point of the great bay of Sea-dogs, and which appeared like a great bastion; we called it Cape Cuvier, in honour of the learned naturalist of that name.

From the 14th to the 15th of July, we for the fourth time passed the tropic of Capricorn: the thermometer remained at from 15° to 18° , and the barometer at from $28^1 1^1$ to $28^1 3^1$. The part of the land which we now lengthened, was like the rest of these shores, naked, barren, low, level, sandy, and of a whitish colour. The 15th at noon, we thought ourselves to be about $22^{\circ} 17'$ south, $110^{\circ} 46'$ east longitude.

From the 18th to the 22d, we were in sight of King William's river, which does not on any account deserve the consequence one might be tempted to attach to it from the old charts of this part of New Holland. The mouth of it is narrow, and barred by reefs, impeded by rocks, and from the direction it seemed to take, made me think that it was only a sort of canal, like all the other supposed rivers of this continent, through which the waters of the sea penetrated more or less into the interior of the lands. Besides, we did not observe any change in the colour of the waves; at its mouth we experienced no sort of current as we lay off this canal or river, and the continent shewed us the same appear-

ance of sterility and monotony, which I have so often been obliged to present to the reader.

The environs of the cape N. W. of New Holland, of which we had a sight on the 22d of July, bore the same barren aspect: this we named Murat. A-head of this cape projects a long reef, against which the sea broke with great force. To the north, and, as we may say, on the same line, are seven sandy islands, low and barren, which were called the isles of Rivoli, in remembrance of the celebrated battle of that name. These isles are but small, the largest being not more than three leagues in length; but they are easily reconnoitred by navigators, and their situation a-head of the great cape Murat, gives them a more particular degree of importance.

Immediately beyond this cape and these isles, the Land of De Witt begins. Our labours and dangers on this new theatre will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

Land of De Witt.

[From the 23d of July to the 16th of August, 1801.]

ALL that part of New Holland, which from the cape N. W. extends as far as the cape N. of this vast continent, is comprised generally under the name of the Land of de Witt, including also about 10° of latitude by 15° of longitude; it was first discovered, according to general opinion, by William de Witt, a Dutch navigator, who gave it his name; but the precise time is not generally ascertained: some make it as far back as the year 1616; others bring it to the year 1623, or even to 1628. This last date is also said to have been the time when the shipwreck of Vianen happened on this coast. In 1699, Dampier appeared on these shores; but repelled by the same obstacles that so soon multiplied around us, he was compelled to quit them. At length, in the year 1705, three Dutch ships were sent from Timor to reconnoitre the Land of de Witt, and Diemen's Land to the north; but the account of this last voyage never having

been published, all the particulars are yet unknown. It appears only, that it is to this enterprise that we are indebted for the very imperfect accounts from which this part of New Holland is pointed out in the charts. From this epoch, a century had passed away since any European vessel had appeared in these seas, and we shall soon be able to judge, that it was not without reason, that voyagers had so long abandoned so dangerous a navigation.

On the 23d of July, we passed in sight of a low barren island, about three leagues in length, which was called isle L'Hermite, from the brave sea officer of that name.

From the 23d to the 25th there was but little wind, and sometimes dead calms, which prevented us making much way, and the currents drove us so far from the lands, that we no longer had them in sight. The temperature of the sea on the surface, was at that time at 20° of Reaumur, and numerous animals multiplied beneath the waves. For independent of a prodigious number of Medusæ, Salpas, Porpites, &c. we were surrounded by fish of many different kinds, particularly Balistes, Chetodons, Clupeæ, &c. which we may place at the head of equatorial fish. Our ship was every instant surrounded by large sharks, and whales and tortoises were seen in great numbers: we also observed two new species of sea-serpents, one of which was from 8 to 10 feet long, of a green colour spotted with red and brown; the other was only from 3 to 4 feet in length, of a darker green, and distinguished by large spots of yellow and black on the back.

On the 27th, we were in sight of a small cluster of islands, which were named Forestier's Archipelago, in honour of the minister at the head of the first division of the naval department of the administration. These isles, which we have since reconnoitred in a more particular manner, are at a small distance from Rosemary island, and the archipelago of Dampier. We reckoned six principal ones, neither of which were more than 3 or 4 leagues in length; they were generally low and barren, like those of Rivoli; but one of them, which we called Depuch Island, and which lies in $20^{\circ} 35' 30''$ latitude, and in $115^{\circ} 12' 50''$ longitude, appeared to be deserving of being noticed in a more particular manner; our commander, consequently sent M. Ronsard with the long-boat, but though permission was earnestly entreated, none of the naturalists were permitted to go on shore.

M. Ronsard returned on board the next day about ten o'clock: he reported that the island Depuch was not above

4 or 5 miles in length; that the landing was easy for a boat; and that, from several marks of the tide on the rocks, the maximum of their variations seemed to be about 25 feet, &c.

From the aspect alone of this island, it was easy to perceive that it was of a different nature from all those we had already seen; the lands were higher, and the shape of these high lands more decided; as we approached nearer, the difference was still more to be observed. Instead of that length of level coast, without any eminence or elevation on this island, we saw pointed rocks, standing alone, which resembling so many needles, seemed darting out of the surface of the land. This island was entirely volcanic; prisms of basalt, generally with five sides, and heaped one on another, laying most on their angles, constituted the entire mass of the soil. In one place, standing upright like walls of hewn stone; in other places, might be seen a sort of basaltic pavement, similar to those of the famous Giant's Causeway. In some places are to be seen excavations more or less deep, where the waters from the adjoining parts collect together, and thus form so many natural cisterns, in each of which our people found a small quantity of excellent ferruginous water. In these humid parts, vegetation was more active; we might here see many beautiful shrubs, and some larger trees, making very pleasant little groves; the rest of the island being of a different character, presented a coup d'œil as different. Among these confused heaps of lava there is an absolute sterility; and the black colour of the volcanic rocks add to the melancholy aspect and monotony of this little island. Walking is here very uncomfortable, on account of the basaltic prisms, which laying horizontally on the ground, present their sharp projecting angles upwards. "The colour of this basalt," according to the account of my esteemed friend Depuch, who had several specimens in his possession, "is of a bluish grey; its contexture is very compact, the grain fine, and apparently petro-siliceous, or of a transparent yellow; little brilliant and irregular waves are dispersed through the whole mass; it makes no effervescence with acids, and does not sensibly affect the magnetic needle; its exterior part experienced something of an alteration produced by the ferruginous particles. This decomposition does not extend ordinarily to any great depth."

M. Ronsard supposed, from the general conformation and colour of part of the neighbouring continent, that it was of a similar nature, and also volcanic. This would certainly have been so much the more important to ascertain, as, till

that time we had seen nothing of the kind on the shores of New Holland, and we have not since found any production of the sort; but our commander paying little attention to a phenomenon which, however, belongs essentially to the geography of New Holland, gave orders for us to continue our course.

Depuch Island is the most western of those which constitute the archipelago of Forestier, and is also one of the smallest; but its volcanic nature gives it a more particular degree of importance. It is not constantly inhabited: but it seems that the savages of the main land sometimes pass over, for M. Ronsard found some remains of fires that had formerly been made on the ground, and some pieces of basalt newly broken, which must have been done by some human effort. Only one quadruped was seen, which seemed to be a dog, a conjecture so much the more probable, as this animal is frequently found in every part of the neighbouring continent. One of the seamen also thought he saw a small kangaroo. The birds consist of only a few kinds of flycatchers and water-fowls: we also saw a grey serpent, about five feet in length, of the *Boa* kind. There were numerous kinds of ants, grasshoppers, crickets, and particularly a small species of flies, which from their great numbers were very troublesome to our people. Among the shells we must mention a beautiful species of *Pyrule* (*Pyrula Eospila*, N.), which is elegantly adorned with small blue spots.

Behind Forestier's archipelago, the continental lands seemed to form a great bay, which we also named Forestier's Bay.

On the 28th of July, about five o'clock in the evening we discovered a large shallow, which we had some difficulty in avoiding; the sea broke over it with much force, and the soundings had decreased so rapidly as we approached, that in a few moments we drew less than eight fathom water: we named this shallow after the Geographer.

On the same day we had sight of land at different points: these lands appeared less elevated than those we had seen on the preceding days; and although we were sailing in only ten fathom water, we could scarcely perceive them from the deck of the ship. We, nevertheless, distinguished here and there some large columns of smoke, which convinced us that these melancholy shores were inhabited.

On the 30th, in about $19^{\circ} 33' \text{ S.}$ and about $116^{\circ} 31' 45''$ we discovered a low sandy island, which we named the Isle PERON.]

Bedout, in honour of the brave officer of that name, who sustained on board the *Tyger* one of the most glorious combats which the French navy can boast.

On the 31st we again had sight of land, which we were soon obliged to abandon on account of the shallows, which were perfectly similar to those on the preceding evening, and were only distinguished above the waves by a bluish line: we also saw here some columns of smoke.

On the 1st of August we met with a violent storm, during which I had an opportunity of observing some *Medusæ* of an amazing size, most of them being near two feet in diameter, and weighing fifty or sixty pounds. Several species of the same kind furnished us some valuable observations for the history of the phosphorescence of the sea.

At this time we found ourselves in eighteen degrees south latitude, and consequently near the equator; and notwithstanding the temperature in these latitudes was scarcely from 14° to 17° of Reaumur, which gives a mean term less than that which we had taken in corresponding latitudes in the northern hemisphere.

The barometer, on the contrary, remained at from $28^{\circ} 2'$ to $28^{\circ} 3'$, which gave a mean term warmer than that which the same instrument had given in corresponding northern latitudes.

At this same epoch, we had also the opportunity of confirming from our own experience, a valuable remark of Dampier, on the atmospheric variations of these climates: strong winds arose from midnight till about six in the morning, blew fresh part of the day, began to calm towards the evening, and during the night were succeeded by a dead calm. These singular circumstances in the meteorology of these latitudes add much to the dangers of reconnoitring them, particularly at this time of the year.

Similar observations will also apply to the general serenity of the atmosphere in these regions. Never, indeed, had the sky appeared so clear, so entirely free from vapours and humidity. This phenomenon did not escape the observation of the celebrated navigator I have just mentioned. "From the time of our departure from the bay of Sea-dogs," says Dampier, "we had always fine weather, and this continued for some time, the sky being all the while perfectly clear and serene, and without a single cloud."

These meteorological observations I shall not enlarge upon here; we shall return to them in another place, where we

shall find them in an extraordinary manner connected with the natural history of the vast continent which makes so great a part of our subject.

On the 3d of August, during the whole day, we sailed in very shallow water; however, we did not see the lands, even when night drew near, which induced our commander to continue the course towards them; but about ten o'clock at night, the appearance of a great fire on the coast, made us sensible of our danger; we hastened to tack about, and lay to, the rest of the night.

On the 4th, we were constantly in sight of land, but obliged to keep at a great distance because of the shallows; indeed, often our lead drew but 8, 7, 6, and even 5 fathom, which compelled us to keep away. The lands which we had in sight, though they were generally low, level, sandy, and whitish, seemed, however, not so barren as all those we had successively reconnoitred before, and the other side the downs was pleasantly shaded by a curtain of verdure, and diversified with shrubs. These shores appeared to have more numerous inhabitants, and if we might judge from the multiplicity of fires that were alight on the coast, and by their spreading to a distance, we might have supposed them to be so many forests on fire. On this point the coast forms a large bay, which we called Gulf Laplace, from the celebrated scholar of that name, to whom natural history and astronomy are indebted for so many useful and valuable discoveries.

On the 5th we discovered another group of small sandy islands, but nevertheless covered with some verdure, which we named the Lacepede Isles. These isles, of which we shall have to speak elsewhere, have four principal, which are situated a little distance from the continent; the largest has not more than three leagues in length, they develop themselves from the north to the south on a line of more than twelve miles in breadth. The situation of the vessel at noon was about $16^{\circ} 43' 30''$, and in the longitude of $119^{\circ} 33' 30''$.

From the Lacepede Isles projects a long reef and immense sand-banks, which we named the Whale Shoals, on account of the great number of those animals which we found there: we saw also during the day, quantities of Molusques, various fish and sea-serpents. Our collection was considerably increased by numerous species of each of these classes of animals.

To the north of the Lacepede Isles, appears a large white clefted cape, which we called Cape Borda, from the great geometrist, who by the perfection to which he brought the

reflective circle, acquired to himself such due honours from the grateful recollection of navigators of every country.

Cape Borda is situated about $16^{\circ} 36'$ south latitude, and $120^{\circ} 8'$ longitude east from the meridian of Paris.

The 7th of August, we found ourselves very near the continental coast. It appeared to us at this point extremely low, sterile, and sandy. There was a small deep bay, which we called Berthond Bay, from the estimable artist to whom the navy owes its best chronometers.

The north point of this bay is formed by a very large cape, which we named Cape Mollieu. Here all at once the coast changes its direction, to turn more to the east.

In front of Cape Mollieu is a small island, and several sand-banks, which we saw very near on the 8th; we called them the Geographic isles and banks, from the name of the vessel, which would be the first to make them known to Europe.

The 9th and the 10th of August we lengthened an archipelago of islands, which we named the Archipelago Champagne; all the isles of which it is composed, are sterile and chalky; the greater part of them present a bizarre and picturesque conformation; one of them particularly remarkable for its form, which perfectly resembles a bowl reversed. We gave it the name of Freycinèt Isle, from those two much esteemed brothers to whom our expedition was indebted for so many useful labours. It is easily distinguishable from all the other isles, not only by its singular form, but also by its height being greater.

Not far from the Isle Freycinèt, there is another which presents the appearance of the top of an immense edifice, and which we named the Isle Lucas, in honour of the captain of the vessel, who signalized himself in the engagement of the Redoubtable against the Victory.

Some other islands of this archipelago received the names of the Isle Forbin, the Isle Commerson, the Isle Agüesseau, the Isle Dugueslin, &c. &c.

All the isles of the Archipelago Champagne are small; the largest of them is little more than three leagues in length, and we counted fifteen or sixteen, of which several were scarcely half a league. The continental coast which is discernible beyond these islands, represents the same uniform, tiresome, and invariable picture of sterility.

Every part of the sea hereabouts abounds with fish, and our collections were increased by numerous species of Balistes, Chetodons, Lophies, crustaceous productions, and soft zoophytes.

The 11th, in about $14^{\circ} 47' 50''$ of south latitude, and $122^{\circ} 11' 32''$ east longitude, we discovered another group of islands, before which we came to anchor. An officer was immediately sent to reconnoitre it nearer, and to seek a landing place; but in vain did M. de Montbazan prolong his stay to explore these formidable isles; he found them defended at every point by long chains of shoals, against which the sea broke with violence, and which did not leave any passage between them. These islands are of the number of ten or twelve, and make a part of the great north west archipelago, of which we shall speak hereafter more in detail. They were called the Arcole Islands, and the most remarkable among them received the names of Colbert, Isle Buffon, Isle Desaix, Isle Theraudien, Isle Bernouillé, &c. &c.

During the time that we were anchored off the Arcole Islands, we found from the difference of the soundings that the tide rose from 20 to 25 feet, an observation which seemed to confirm that of M. de Ronsard at the Isle Depuch, and which is also in agreement with that of Dampier. That celebrated navigator, as we have been told, must have been the victim of these extraordinary tides, his vessel being high and dry at the same place, where the evening before he had five fathoms water. This circumstance adds considerably to the danger of the navigation in these seas, and seems to be the principal cause of the violent currents which are here experienced.

The 12th, we continued to lengthen the great archipelago, which we had reconnoitred at all points the evening before. It presented an aspect altogether the most whimsical, and savage, at all parts raising itself in a thousand different shapes of sandy, sterile, and chalky isles, many of them resembling immense antique tombs; some of them appear united by chains of reefs, others protected by immense sandbanks, and all that one could see of the continent, displayed the same sterility, and the same monotony of colour and appearance.

In the midst of these numerous islands, there is not any thing to delight the mind. The soil is naked, the ardent sky seems always clear and without clouds. The waves are scarcely agitated, except by the nocturnal tempests of which we have spoken; man seems to fly from these ungrateful shores, not a part of which, at least as far as we could distinguish, had the smallest traces of his presence. The dismayed and astonished navigator turns away his eyes, fatigued with the contemplation of these unhappy isles and

hideous solitudes, surrounded as he views them with continual dangers; and when he reflects that these inhospitable shores border those of the archipelago of Asia, on which nature has lavished blessings and treasures, he can scarcely conceive how so vast a sterility could be produced in the neighbourhood of such great fecundity. In vain would he seek the cause from the ordinary laws of nature, the true principle of a contrariety which he cannot discover, nor even conjecture; but this is not the only phenomenon in the natural construction of New Holland, and we shall find the same subjects for astonishment and meditation in each of the various parts of the history of this vast continent.

The 13th of August, we continued to lengthen the archipelago N. W. passing successively fifteen or twenty larger or smaller islands, absolutely resembling those we had seen the preceding days, and which we named Isle Forbin, Isle William Tell, Isle Suffrein, Isle Berthier, Isle Tournefort, Isle Corvisart, Isle Jussieu, &c. &c. We may see in the large chart of New Holland every thing which may concern the exact or relative positions of these numerous isles, and M. L. Freycinet in his nautical account, will give all the details of their situations.

The 14th, we continued to range near the coast, which seemed to make a part of the archipelago, every where bordered with reefs and quick-sands, against which the sea struck with violence, and varied itself as it were in sheafs of foam.

"Objectæ salsa, spumant aspergine cautes."

VIRGIL'S *ÆNEID*.

Never was such a spectacle before presented to our observation. "These breakers," says M. Boulanger in his journal, "seem to form several parallel lines at the shore, and little distant one from the other, above which the waves are seen raising themselves, successively breaking with great fury, and forming a horrible cascade of about 15 leagues in length.

We navigated at this time in the midst of shallows; the lead found only at times six fathoms. Then, though more distant from the land, we were not out of sight of it. At noon the calm having become settled, the currents drove us against the reefs; we let go an anchor, in which we lay until six in the evening. It was not until after we had anchored, that we could reconnoître the extent of the dangers we had

just escaped. The current formed two knots, and we were close upon that horrible chain of rocks which I have just described. This part of New Holland is truly frightful; all the islands that we could reconnoitre, presented alike hideous characters of sterility. The more considerable among them, were named Isle Molliou, Isle Monge, Isle Laplace, Isle Cassini, &c. &c.

During the whole of the day on the 15th, we continued to sail in the midst of shallows and sand-banks, compelled repeatedly to tack, and avoiding one danger only to fall into another.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of this navigation, our perilous situation did not deter M. Lesueur and myself from our usual labours, and this day was marked by a discovery of some value, a new genus of fish (*Balistapodus Wittensis*, N.) something resembling the *Balistes*, but differing by being totally without the ventral bladder: this peculiarity makes them the first specimen of a new order in the Ichthyological system of my celebrated master, M. de Lacépède. This learned naturalist does not confine himself, in his general classification of fish, to give all the species known to this day, but rising to considerations more philosophic and general, he compares all the particular agreements in the organization of these animals, determines all the possible combinations of the principal of their exterior organs, and afterwards analyzing all these combinations which were hitherto known, he from thence deduces the existence, or at least the possibility of the existence of those, which to us, are still without example in nature; thus, anticipating both time and experience, he dares in his descriptions, determine the place which each of these unknown groups will one day occupy. His great work on the subject of fish in general was not then finished, and, on these distant shores, many of his bold conceptions were realized.

On the 16th, during the night, there arose a strong wind from the E. S. E. which forced us to set sail at day-break; this wind continued till the 18th; but we had finished reconnoitring the grand archipelago of the N. W. called Bonaparte Archipelago, in honour of the chief magistrate of our native country, and the august protector of our expedition.

At this period our privations lay very heavy on us; the detestable food to which we had been reduced ever since our departure from the Isle of France, had affected the health even of the most robust among us; the scurvy increased its ravages, and many of our seamen were much afflicted, a

melancholy presage of the evils which this scourge was soon to bring upon us.

Our allowance of water began to fail, and we had arrived at the sad certainty of the utter impossibility of taking in any on these shores.

The time of the change of the monsoons approached, and the hurricanes which always follow must of necessity be avoided; in short, it was requisite to procure us a new chaloupe, to effect our reunion with the Naturalist, &c.

All these considerations determined the commander to finish his researches on the Land of De Witt, at the same place where the great archipelago, called after Bonaparte, terminates, that is to say, in $13^{\circ} 15'$ south latitude, and $123^{\circ} 30'$ east longitude, from the meridian of Paris.

CHAP. IX.

Length of our Stay at Timor.

[From the 18th of August to the 13th of November, 1801.]

TWO days after we had left the barren shores of New Holland, we observed the high mountains of Timor. Three tier of lofty rocks parallel to the length of the island, formed a triple amphitheatre, the last gradations of which lay back into the interior of the lands, which were by much the most elevated. The form of these mountains, though high, was not rugged, but lengthened progressively and uniformly, and the lofty summits regularly descended insensibly by slight undulations which continued down to the sea beach.

All the other side of these mountains were covered with natural vegetation; and the vallies might be described as so many extensive forests of verdure, above which appeared in every direction the lofty tops of cocoa trees, areka, &c. the beautiful productions of equinoxial climates.

We quickly passed the shores of Amarassi, and were soon at the mouth of the strait which forms, with Timor, the

isle Rotti (Pülü Rotte) more celebrated for the beauty of the women than for its mines of copper. On the 21st of August, in the morning, we crossed this strait, and doubling the north point of the small island, Landou (Pülü Landoë), which in the maps, is, with many others, confounded with Rotti, we discovered the entrance of another strait which forms the isle Simâô (Pülü Simawü), by bending towards the western point of Timor. In two hours we cast anchor in the middle of this strait, and opposite a fine bay which belonged to the island of Simao. Probably it would be difficult to find a more beautiful and picturesque situation than that which we then enjoyed: surrounded on all sides by the lands, we seemed as if in the middle of a beautiful lake, on every side clothed with the richest colours. Numerous and various kinds of fish, the happy inhabitants of these peaceful waters, multiplied their species in the waves, and on whichever side we turned our eyes, the picture of the most amazing fecundity seemed to be renewed with additional charm and interest. How great was the contrast between the beauties of such a situation, and the steril and monotonous neighbouring shores north-west of New Holland!

As soon as we had cast anchor, M. H. Freycinet went with the long-boat to Coupang (Kü pang), the chief settlement of the Dutch at Timor. It was necessary to present our passports to the governor of the country, and to take a pilot to conduct us to anchorage in the bay of Babao, on the south coast of which is situated the town of Coupang. M. H. Freycinet did not return to the ship till the next day. He informed us that he had experienced many difficulties from the different kings of the country, who not having any knowledge of our nation, confounded us with their enemies the English, and for a long time opposed our entrance into the bay. This officer also told us, that the island abounded in provisions and fresh stores of every kind, and that we might procure them at a very cheap price.

The pilot, who soon came on board, was a Frenchman, and native of the environs of Bourdeaux; he was a gunner in the Dutch company's service, and had resided in these distant regions fourteen or fifteen years. He related to us, that some years before, the English having conquered Timor, had by their violence and oppression forced the inhabitants to take up arms against them: that the fort Concord, into which they had retreated, having been taken by assault, seventy or eighty Englishmen had been cut in pieces and eaten by the savage Malays: that from that moment the

most implacable hatred had subsisted among the whole of the Malay nation towards the English, and towards all that could remind them of these conquerors.

While our old countryman was relating these particulars, we were employed in getting under weigh, when we immediately set sail to leave the strait of Simao, and proceed to the roadstead near Coupang. Nothing could be more pleasant than this short voyage: between Timor and Simao the channel is but two leagues in width, so that we were at a pretty equal distance from these islands, and perfectly distinguished the two shores. Each cape which we doubled changed the scene and varied the landscape, presenting to our sight a difference in the prospect; but every change was delightful and beautifully romantic and picturesque. At seven o'clock in the evening we moored in the roadstead of Coupang, opposite fort Concord.

On the following day, which was the 23d of August, we went in a body to pay our first visit to M. Lofstett, governor general of the island of Timor, and the archipelago belonging to it: he received us with extreme politeness, and offered us every accommodation we could possibly desire. From that very day two large houses were appropriated for us: the commander, with the geographer and the astronomer, Messrs. Petit and Lesueur, took possession of one of them, and all the naturalists were accommodated in the other.

We are now come to one of the most remarkable epochs of our voyage. No country perhaps is more interesting to know, and is at the same time so little known as the great island of Timor. Placed by nature in the midst of equinoctial countries, every where covered with the most useful and estimable fruits of the earth, and the most valuable animals, situated half way between New Holland and the other islands of the great archipelago of Asia, it presents in its atmospheric and geologic constitution, in its various productions, as well as in its natural and political revolutions, many interesting subjects of study and research.

Three distinct races of the human species are here to be found united, who, placed on these shores from an epoch, the date of which is almost lost in the obscurity of times long past, still present themselves to the observation of the philosopher, with all the originality of character of the ancient nation to which each of them belong.

The first of these distinct races may be traced to the aborigines, who, driven into the interior of the lands, are still almost entirely unacquainted with any social institution, and

are yet armed with the bow, the arrow, and the club of Camoung; sworn enemies to the Malays, swift in the course, concealed in hollows of the rocks, or in the depths of the forests, living exclusively on the fruits of the earth, and the produce of the chase, always in arms, always at war, either among themselves or with the Malays, ferocious in all their customs and habits, anthropophagi, as it is said, and in short, uniting all the characters of the negro race, such as the short woolly hair, the black colour, &c. &c.

To the second class of the inhabitants of Timor, belong the Malays with long hair; these are of a red copper colour, descended from those ferocious inhabitants of Malacca, the ancient conquerors of the grand archipelago of Asia: the people of this race still preserve their original character of independence, boldness, and ferocity, which distinguished their ancestors.

Next to these brave people appear the Chinese, settled for many ages on most of the islands of the great archipelago; expert traders, indefatigable dealers, but weak and pusillanimous, they neither merit, nor have ever obtained any superiority.

Independent of the three classes I have just mentioned, and which, properly speaking, comprise all the population of the country, there are found at Timor a few mongrel Portuguese, the miserable remains of the first conquerors of Asia, and the pitiable witnesses of the vicissitudes of nations, and the revolutions of empires!

At length the conquerors of the Portuguese again appeared on these shores, sustaining with difficulty the former glory of the Batavian name, and only preserving by their policy or by the favour of the people, the dominion which were in former times purchased by so much heroism and courage.

In the midst of so many interesting objects, I endeavoured not to neglect any pursuit that might make our long stay at Timor useful to science. I collected the divers materials of the general topography of this large island; above all, I gave particular attention to the history of these indigenous people of the great archipelago of Asia, of which are found the remains and monuments in the interior of most of the large islands of this archipelago, at Sumatra, Borneo, Macassar, Timor, Ceylon, Magindanao, the Philippines, &c. &c. But this part of my labour ought to be the subject of a particular publication; I shall therefore confine myself in this chapter to present a few particulars which belong more immediately to our own story.

As we have before said, the existence of the French nation was then entirely unknown to the people of Timor, and not one individual recollected having ever seen the French flag at Coupang; our acquaintance with the natives therefore began under the most unfavourable auspices, and distrust uniting with the natural ferocity of the Malays, against us, we were for some days as if isolated in the midst of them; but it was soon perceived by them, from the respect and deference we received from the Dutch governor and those employed under him, that we belonged to some powerful and respectable nation: this reflection became the first pledge of amity between us; and the frank and generous character which we did not fail to display in all our correspondence with them, either in business or friendship, succeeded in gaining all their hearts, and we are certain that the French name will long be cherished by the brave men with whom we now became acquainted for the first time.

In the morning of the 25th of August I went down to the beach; the sea was low, and great numbers of the Malays were busy on the shore gathering up the divers animals which had been left there by the waves.

Never till that moment had I ever seen such a picture of fecundity; fish, mollusques, testaceous and crustaceous animals, &c. &c. all seemed to multiply by thousands on these shores; but nothing could equal the profusion and singularity of the spectacle which the solid zoophytes presented; these are generally known by the name of madrepores; all the shore was covered with them; all the rocks on which we then walked dry shod, were alive and moving, and appeared under so many extraordinary and strange forms, with so many rich colours, so varied and so bright, that the eye was dazzled by them. In one place we see the beautiful animal, the *Tubipora Musica*, which, proud of the brilliancy of its habitation, spreads out its beautiful green fringed tentacles above the waves. The great masses of these demi-globular animals appear like so many spots of green moss on a bed of coral; in another place appear projections of enormous madreporic rocks, from 15 to 20 feet in diameter, as hard as marble, and exhibiting many delicate beautiful colours. These form the chief part of the soil of the bay of Babao, a remarkable phenomenon of which we shall speak at a future time. Of these gigantic masses are formed all the small islands of this bay, and which are every day extending more and more from the same causes that first produced them. In the midst of the mountains in the interior of Timor, in the

very heart of the deep valleys and torrents, we every where find the remains of these astonishing animals, although it is utterly impossible for the mind to conceive how or by what means nature has raised these large madreporic plots to such great heights above the present level of the seas.

But this is not the only phenomenon which is observed in studying these productions of nature. In the "*Memoire sur quelques Observations Zoologiques applicables a la Theorie de la Terre*," which I have laid before the Institution, and that learned society honoured with their approbation, I have described several others; and we shall have occasion to mention some that deserve particular notice, in the account of Timor, and also in the zoologic part of our work.

On the 26th, Messrs. Depuch, Bernier, Lesueur, and myself, made an excursion into the environs of Coupang. After walking some little time we came opposite to a delightful habitation; it was situated in the midst of a fine plantation of cocoa trees; a stream of fresh water ran murmuring under their shade, and the house, surrounded with a simple peristyle, but extremely neat, appeared like a small antique temple, at the end of a long avenue of orange trees, bananas, pomegranates, and other odoriferous and beautiful trees.

Enchanted with the appearance of this habitation, we went to introduce ourselves by the front door, which was then open, when a Malay, armed with a long sagaie, came and placed himself in the door-way, and contended the passage; his air was fierce, and his countenance haughty and disdainful. While we were endeavouring to make known our desire of seeing the beautiful plantation of palms which stood in front, another slave ran towards us, armed with a javelin like the first, and gave us to understand, in a more insolent manner than the former, that we should not advance any farther; we therefore departed with a strong sentiment of prejudice against the owners of this delightful spot.

However, as we went farther into the interior of the island our collections increased so rapidly, that we were soon obliged to seek for some place to rest ourselves: a Malay house appeared, where we were received with all the frank cordiality which so strongly marks the character of the inhabitants of Timor: "*Doudou, doudou, baé oran di France*;" "sit down, sit down, good men of France," was the first word said by him who appeared to be master of the house. We asked for some fresh cocoa-nuts; a young man immediately climbed with inconceivable agility into one of the nearest cocoa trees, gathered four nuts, and taking two of

them with his teeth, and two others in one hand, he then came down with as much promptitude as he had mounted.

While we were admiring this singular manner of climbing to the top of such high trees, and which I shall more particularly describe in another place, the Malays examined us all with much attention; our physiognomy seemed to please them, and our youth appeared to interest them much in our favour: *Bae oran mouda* (good young men) passed in a kind of whisper from one to another.

One of their sagaies engaged my attention. I drew near to examine it, and wishing to know in what manner it was made use of, I asked one of the men who were present, to shew me. The demonstrations of friendship which he had the complaisance to express to us, seemed to remind him forcibly of the late warlike events which had taken place on the island: *Oran ingress, oran bounou*, (English men, assassins) he repeated, with great animation: *Oran djáhát* (wicked men), and brandished his sagaie with violence, and became almost furious: taking one of the cocoa-nuts he placed it on the point of his spear, and shewed us by the most unequivocal gestures, that after having cut off the heads of the English, they had carried them about on the points of their spears; that the war-dance had then been danced round them, and afterwards having cut in pieces the bodies of these unfortunate Europeans, they had then devoured them.

We will leave this horrible anthropophagi, once general in all the Asiatic islands, and which the Europeans have succeeded in abolishing almost every where, but which here remains without excuse, as no people could be more happily situated in the midst of the most bountiful gifts of nature, than those who are the subjects of our present observations. I shall only add, that it is impossible to bear a stronger hatred, or to thirst for revenge, more than that which the Malays entertain against the English. In this respect they entirely justify all that historians have said of the character of their ancestors.

To this scene there succeeded another of a very different kind: all the young women, at our approach, had hid themselves in the sort of seraglio, which was their usual abode, and which I may describe hereafter. More curious than timid, they continued peeping at us through the interstices of the bamboo which formed the partitions of the house; and as we ourselves had naturally our eyes directed often towards the harem, our good natured Malay, who appeared more and more pleased with his new acquaintances, and who doubtless

wished to give us a strong mark of his confidence, without waiting for us to express our wishes, made signs to the women to come ; there were five of them, the oldest not being above twenty-five years of age ; they were all well proportioned, easy in their mien, and their features were fine, and particularly expressed that affectionate softness, which seems a generous appendage and beauty belonging to the young women of these shores.

The sight of so many young strangers seemed to make a lively impression on these women ; but they soon overcame their natural timidity, to receive the different presents which we offered them. Soon after we took leave of these good people to return to Coupang.

They shewed us every testimony of affection and friendship at our departure ; even the young women no longer feared to lift up their large black eyes to regard us with kindness ; and from a remarkable kind of gallantry, they each made us a small present.

On the 28th of August we had a visit from a king of the island of Sabou (Sawii) whose name was Amadima ; he was a man of middle stature, good figure and lively manner, about forty-five, or fifty years of age. We received him in a room which I had in common with my friend M. Depuch, but we both had reason to repent this civility ; for the princes and attendants who accompanied this monarch nearly stripped the apartment of all that it contained. This propensity to stealing is a sort of passion among the Malays, and such is their address and cunning on these occasions, that there were as many dupes among us as there were individuals on shore. They have this vice in common with all savage nations, and those who are but little civilized ; which sufficiently proves, that it is not without reason that legislators have determined the right of property to be the foundation of all social and civilized institutions.

Of all the different things which we shewed to the good Amadima, the phosphorus created the greatest astonishment : its spontaneous inflammation, the quickness of its combustible properties, the colour of the flame, all together appeared so extraordinary to the simple monarch, that he spared no entreaties nor endeavours to induce me to give him the bottle, in which there was some ounces. After having in vain offered me a great number of fowls, pigs, and sheep, he seemed determined to make a last attempt to bribe me to comply. With an air of confidence he called one of his principal officers, who brought him a pretty betel bag, in the bottom of

which was found a small linen parcel, which he unfolded and took out a Spanish dollar, and presenting it to me with an air of assurance so ridiculous as is not easy to be described, he seemed to say, "At this price it is impossible you should refuse me." But to his great astonishment, I continued to refuse, and the poor king not being able to obtain the bottle, was reduced to the necessity of asking for only a piece of the phosphorus which it contained. In vain I attempted to give him an idea of the dangers which attended such substances: Amadima continued his entreaties in such an affecting manner, that, to keep his friendship, I at length consented to oblige him, well persuaded beforehand, that his present, as much to be feared as that of Medea, would soon cure him of his passion for phosphorus. I therefore gave him a piece about two inches long, and cautioning him not to rub it, I wrapt it up in wet linen, and it was given to the care of the Malay prince, who deposited it in his fine betel bag, and after embracing me, after the custom of the country, he disappeared with all his numerous suite. But we soon saw him again in a state of utter consternation; the phosphorus had taken fire, as I had predicted, the king's betel bag had been consumed, and several of the most officious courtiers had burnt their fingers.

M. Depuch and myself had some difficulty in soothing the affliction of Amadima; we each offered him a pocket handkerchief, to make him amends for the loss of his royal betel bag, which had been destroyed by the phosphorus, and which from that time had the name of *api tacoup* (fire which makes one fear).

This last act of generosity entirely made my peace, and procured me the friendship of the king of Sabou. "Man Peron," said he to me as he departed, "you are the good friend of Amadima, and to-morrow I will send you a pig;" which he certainly did, at the same time coming himself to present it. We kept him to dinner: the French cookery seemed to please him, for he did it honour by eating voraciously. As we had been entirely without wine ever since our departure from the Isle of France, he was obliged to drink our bad rum, which nevertheless he said was excellent; at least he drank it with so much pleasure, that we had some difficulty in preventing him from getting absolutely drunk. In other respects he behaved with that air of dignity and ease, which is the natural result of superiority of situation, and particularly characterizes those who are accustomed to command.

On the 29th of August, while Messrs. Riédle, Depuch, Lesueur, and myself, were exploring a new part of the interior of the island, our commander, accompanied by some others of our companions, went to pay a visit to the widow of the former governor of Timor, madame Van-Esten. This lady was a native of Amboyna, and descended from the race of Malays; she was about forty-five, or near fifty years of age, much inclined to the *em-bon-point*, and her figure shewed both nobility and dignity. Sole heir to the wealth of her husband, she was in possession of an immense fortune: she had fourteen or fifteen hundred slaves, and the richest plantations in the country belonged to her, but unfortunately, several of them were the fruit of the oppression and violence exercised by her husband. Her own character was mild, her conversation cheerful and agreeable, and she was generally beloved by the natives; and the Dutch governor, M. Lofstett, although jealous of a fortune that enabled this lady to live in much greater splendour than himself, had great respect for her, and it was him who introduced our companions in the visit I have just mentioned.

"The country house to which we were conducted," said M. Boulanger, "is situated on the sea shore. In going thither, we crossed a most delightful country, watered by running streams on every side; it might be called a continued wood of cocoa trees, bananas, mangoes, and numerous other trees not known in Europe. As we approached the habitation, these trees stood farther apart, leaving a space between them that formed a large and beautiful avenue, the middle of which was paved, and sanded with care: farther on, in a green arbour, was a large square bason, in the refreshing limpid waters of which, played numerous carp and other fish. Beyond this we came to a grate enclosed in a kind of arbour, which was supported by stone columns, which was the entrance to the house. Opposite to this grate was a large peristyle, which formed a sort of double penthouse, supported by columns, the lowest of which resembled a beautiful Chinese pavilion. Beyond this peristyle was a court, at the farther end of which was the house itself, protected from the heat and sun by two rows of galleries on the outside; these were also supported by columns. The floor of these galleries was painted and rubbed like our apartments in Europe; they were also ornamented with very handsome easy chairs of cane and large vases of bronze, which are in every apartment in these countries, where they are perpetually chewing betel.

“ The mistress of the house, a Malay, and a native of Amboyna, waited to receive us, standing under the gallery : she was dressed in a rich and beautiful pagne or wrapper. On her left hand stood about thirty young women, elegantly clothed in cotton wrappers and white corsets, with their long black hair platted and folded round the head. On her right, stood several male slaves in jackets and white pantaloons : in the lower gallery were other male slaves in long red cloaks. This regular order, these singular uniform costumes, the young girls dressed with so much neatness, and who appeared like so many young nymphs surrounding their goddess, the beauty of the scene, the coolness of the adjoining forest, the soft murmur of the stream, the view of the ocean, on the shore of which this delightful habitation was situated ; in short, all united to present at once every thing we could conceive of noble, grand, beautiful and picturesque, in a manner that perfectly enchanted us.

“ After the usual ceremonies and compliments, the spectacle became all at once more interesting : the young women retired for a moment, and re-appeared, each carrying part of a rich and elegant collation : one of them brought an elegant Chinese tea equipage ; another presented us with sugar of different sorts and colours ; a third poured out the tea ; in short, a great number of them in quick succession presented each in their turn, pastry, sweetmeats, preserves, fruit, &c. of many different kinds. Their manner of bringing this collation, their graceful motions, the regular ceremonials which they successively performed, their profound silence, all helped to remind us Frenchmen of the beautiful scene of the toilet of Venus in the ballet of Paris.

“ The ceremony of this visit being prolonged till nine o'clock in the evening, we began to think of returning, and feared we should be obliged to find our way in the dark, when in a moment the slaves in the red cloaks appeared, with each a long torch made of the leaves of a certain tree, which spread a great light like so many flambeaux. We might at the time have fancied ourselves with Orpheus in his descent to the infernal regions, for our conductors, with their torches, their costume, and their colour, resembled the devils of the opera : their doleful piercing cries, repeated at regular intervals, added another trait to this similarity. And it was with this singular and romantic escort that the governor and ourselves entered the town of Coupang.”

On the 3d of September, M. Ronsard, who had the charge of building a new chaloupe from our commander, to replace

that which we had lost in Geography Bay, succeeded at length in getting it on the stocks; the indolence of the Malays, and the very small number of our carpenters, who were besides daily falling sick, made this work very tedious and difficult, notwithstanding the zeal of the officer charged with its direction.

Among those whom I had occasion more particularly to be acquainted with during our stay at Timor, was a respectable old man, whose noble and frank physiognomy interested me every day more and more. He had observed my taste for the productions of the sea side, and often came to offer me something of the kind which he had fished up or found. The manner in which I received and acknowledged his kind attentions, had entirely gained me the esteem of the good old man; I was his *sobat ati*, (the friend of his heart). He had many times invited me in the most pressing manner, to visit his habitation, but my pursuits had not yet allowed me to gratify him in this particular. But on the 4th of September I went with my friends, Depuch and Bernier, to Oba, a charming valley in the vicinity of Coupang, where the house of the old Malay was situated: one of his young sons was our guide. We soon came opposite to the beautiful habitation from which we had been so rudely repelled in one of our first excursions at Timor. I had since learnt that it belonged to madame Van-Esten, and it was the very same that M. Boulanger had described in such brilliant colours. I was surprized that our young guide seemed to be leading us thither, when all at once he turned into a small path in another direction, which brought us opposite a little hut, similar to those inhabited by the poorest Malays of this country. The simplicity of this kind of humble cabin, seemed to add a new charm to the delightful landscape which surrounded it on every side: numberless birds clothed in the most beautiful colours and varied plumage, played among the branches of the trees, and a refreshing stream ran at a little distance from this simple abode.

The old man whom we came to visit, was seated at the entrance of his cottage, and was amusing himself by playing on the sasounou; a younger son than the one who had been our guide, accompanied him on the sort of flute peculiar to the country; his wife, a few paces distant from him, was spinning the onate, which these people use to weave their pagnes; and his daughter, who did not appear to be more than twelve or thirteen years of age, was preparing small.

rice cakes, which she was to carry on the next day to the basar, (the public market).

At our appearance all the family rose ; and their joy was expressed in every possible way : “ Sit down, good men of France,” was the first exclamation from every mouth. The weather was hot, and the walk had put us all in a perspiration ; they brought us a long cylinder of bamboo filled with buffalo’s milk, which was still warm, and of which myself and companions drank each a large draught, when we presented each of our hosts with some present. The mother accepted a red handkerchief ; the young girl some ribbons, a looking glass, with some pins and needles ; the two boys received each a file and a knife ; and the father of the family a small saw and a hatchet. Such generosity gained us their entire respect and esteem, and the most lively expressions of pleasure animated every face.

This amiable family interested us so much, that we wished to know more of them. We learnt that our respectable old man was called Neâs ; his mild companion, Sorézana ; his daughter, Elzerina ; his eldest son, Pone ; and the youngest Cornelis. This last was of a delicate constitution, a fine form, with a countenance full of candour and expression ; he was of a quick and lively temper, and seemed to have all the good qualities and defects which generally belong to such a character, at the same time he possessed great goodness of heart, with a quick comprehension, and great good sense.

Pone, on the contrary, was of a much stronger make and habit of body ; his countenance was stern and martial ; his disposition was thoughtful and serious ; the goodness of his heart was like that of Cornelis, but it was hid under a manner less conciliating. Elzerina possessed in herself all the charms with which nature in this country has adorned the amiable companions of man ; brought up under the eyes of her good parents, she was modest and timid, and appeared still more tender and affectionate than her brothers.

While we were congratulating the aged Neâs on the good qualities of his children, we observed tears fall from his eyes ; and in a moment of sorrow he said, in a tone of voice which penetrated us to the heart : *Oran di France ada baé*, (men of France, you are good). Here he abruptly stopped, but his eloquent silence seemed to say to us, “ All Europeans are not like you.” At this time we did not enough understand the Malay language, to continue the conversation, but the language of gesture which Neâs used, and which among

uncivilized and savage nations, has so much force of expression, did not leave us much in doubt of the cause of his sorrow and tears ; and in the course of our stay, and during the second time of our touching at Timor, I learnt all the particulars of the history of this interesting old man.

Neás had been the king of Coupang ; and the magnificent plantation which we have before described, and in the middle of which was the residence of madame Van-Esten, had belonged to him. This part of the coast, as may be perceived from my description, and that of M. Boulanger, is one of the richest and most beautiful in the whole island. The Dutch governors had for a long time coveted the possession of it, but the ancestors of Neás, naturally attached to the inheritance of their fathers, had constantly refused every kind of proposal on the subject ; and Neás, from the same sentiment, had followed their example : M. Van-Esten had therefore found means of making him suspected by the government, and thus deprived him of his dignity ; and next compelled him, by menaces and ill-treatment, to give up and forsake his rich and beautiful heritage, with the exception only of the humble dwelling we have so lately described, and a small enclosure adjoining.

Thus deprived of the title and fortune of his forefathers, Neás preserved in his misfortunes the courage of a great and strong mind. Every day this good old man went down to the shore to seek his bread, and that of his family. His children often accompanied him ; I sometimes met with them, and the rencontre always filled me with sadness and compassion : and indeed, if it behoves a good man to feel for those who are oppressed by power and injustice, he must more particularly be affected, when he sees them exerted to oppress individuals who are at once so amiable and respectable. Fortunately, we see on these distant shores, as well as on our own, that crime meets its just punishment. M. Van-Esten died miserably, execrated by the Malays, who with reason accused him of having given up their country in a cowardly manner, to the English, to preserve his own fortune ; and despised even by that nation, who notwithstanding their engagements with them, had had a hand in the conspiracy, of which they (the English) were the victims.

All these particulars attached me more and more to the good king Neás ; and our friendship was mutual, for I was obliged, at his earnest solicitations, to change names with

him. I shall shortly have occasion to enlarge on the subject of this affectionate custom of the Malays.

Cornelis was my greatest favourite of the children of the old man: he often came to see me at Coupang, and every time that I went to Oba, he accompanied me part of the way on my return. One day he asked me many questions concerning the country of France. I asked him, if he should like to go with me there: his natural vivacity made him at first answer without reflection, in the affirmative; but a moment after he began to reflect in silence on the proposal I had just made him, and addressing me again on the subject, he spoke a long time without my being able to understand half his discourse. Chagrined to find he did not make himself well understood, he stopped, and turning towards me, he said, "Man Peron, observe what I am going to do;" he then piled up some heaps of sand, every one bigger than the last, and spoke in the following manner, at the same time using such expressive gestures, that it was impossible to misunderstand the true sense of what he wished to say. "At Coupang, man Peron, thou art the friend of Cornelis; but in France a man will come to you and say, 'Sell me this red man,' and will shew you money as big as that," pointing to the smallest heap of sand. "You will answer, 'the red man is the friend of the man Peron;' thou wilt make the same answer to those who come and offer thee money as big as these other heaps;" and he successively shewed them to me, going from the smallest to the largest, and making me understand by his gestures, that my refusal would become less and less positive as the offer might be increased; "but at last," said he, "one will come and offer money as big as that last heap of sand; and you will then say, that the red man shall be a slave; and then, man Peron, I shall never see you any more, and they will make me work very hard, and the poor Cornelis, far from his father Neás, and his brother Pone, will die of grief and sickness."

In saying these last words, this amiable youth was so much affected, that his eyes filled with tears, and I myself was but too much struck with the justice of the reasoning, and quickness of understanding of Cornelis, not to feel a similar emotion. I however endeavoured to convince him that slavery was unknown in France; but as he knew that the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Spanish, and the English, who are all more particularly known in these seas, have slaves, he very naturally concluded that the French must also have some; and

as (with the exception of Batavia) they are ignorant of the countries to which those who are taken from Timor and the neighbouring isles are sent, but know that they are carried very far, very far (*djáó, djáó*), they are generally persuaded that they are transported to Europe, where they are all employed in the most laborious and unwholesome kinds of work. I have detailed this extraordinary anecdote with all the particulars, as it may serve for a proof of the natural understanding of the inhabitants of this region, and as it also proves the ill opinion which these people entertain of Europeans.

As we formerly observed, the scurvy, which had began to shew itself among our crew, had been one of the principal reasons which had induced our commander to refresh at Timor: ten men affected with this cruel distemper had been sent on shore at Coupang the day after we arrived, and were settled in a ruinous storehouse belonging to the Dutch Company, which was appointed for our hospital. Independent of these ten men who were so extremely affected by this distemper, we had a great number whose gums were more or less corroded and bleeding; I myself was of this number: but these slight symptoms soon disappeared by the use of fresh provisions and living on shore: and at the time of which I am now speaking, I found myself perfectly free from any appearance or symptom of the scurvy.

On the 5th of September, they made signs in the pass of the strait of Simao, that there were two English frigates, and some smaller ships of war; the alarm soon became general in the country, and they were preparing to call together the formidable Malay militia of the interior, when the disappearance of the squadron calmed the fears of the colony.

From the 9th to the 15th I was employed in making experiments with the dynamometer, to ascertain the relative strength of the people we were among. The interesting results shall be given in another place.

On the 10th of September I had occasion to make an interesting observation, which I must acknowledge I was much to blame for not pursuing farther. Among those individuals who came to see us, there were two who had their front teeth plated with silver of some thickness, and which adhered so firmly to the enamel, that I found it impossible, though I tried with my nails, to shake or move any of these small silver plates. The men who wore them ate in my presence, without seeming to feel the least inconvenience from this strange ornament. They assured me that they had re-

mained thus firmly fixed during five or six months, and they never separated till they were worn out. We were at a loss to conjecture what means these men could have used to fix in so firm and strong a manner, such plates to the enamel of the teeth, or what could be the substance which could thus resist the dissolvent property of the saliva and food. Our dentists are unacquainted with any such substance; they are obliged to make use of metals, particularly lead, to protect the carious parts of the teeth, and they have no means of fastening any substance to the polished enamel of their surface.

The mastich of the Malays would therefore have been in every respect a valuable acquisition to European countries, but occupied as I was in so many different pursuits, I neglected to get the information which doubtless I might have obtained on the subject, and I should now omit it altogether, if it was not to call the attention of other voyagers to investigate a matter which I much regret that I myself neglected. In the particular history of Timor, and in describing the kind of fishing-tackle used by the Malays, I shall offer some conjectures on the nature of the substance to which I allude; and I have some reason to believe, that in endeavouring to ascertain the truth of these conjectures, I may be able to throw some light on the subject.

On the 11th of September, king Amadima, who seldom passed many days without paying me a visit, came to see me at a much earlier hour than usual, and said to me, "Friend Peron, come and eat rice in my house." His manner at this moment appeared more affectionate than usual, and besides, there was something mysterious in his address, which attracted my attention: he took me by the hand, and I went with him. On entering his palace or cottage (for either name may with equal propriety serve for this royal habitation), I perceived a great number of slaves dressed as is customary on holidays. A whole sheep was roasting under a shed at a little distance, and several women belonging to the king were busied in the cookery: I could not imagine what was intended by such great preparations; but soon after our arrival, the mutton was served up with some rice: Amadima cut up the sheep, and helped me to a piece of five or six pounds at least, and himself to one still larger, and began to tear it to pieces with his nails and teeth in the most expeditious manner. I had no ambition to contend with him in appetite and voracity, but I ate as much as I could on the occasion.

When the first edge of our hunger was taken off, the good Malay king made signs to one of his slaves to bring him a bottle of rum, and having poured out a large quantity in a vase or cup made of a cocoa-nut, he said, "Man Peron, thou art the good friend of the king Amadima; the king Amadima is the friend of the man Peron; man Peron, the king Amadima gives thee his name; wilt thou give him thine?" This extraordinary proposal reminded me of the affecting custom of changing names, which Cook discovered in most of the islands of the Southern Ocean, and which is also a custom on the humid foggy shores of New Zealand; I therefore took care not to refuse this affectionate testimony of the friendship of the Malay prince, but answered without hesitation, "The man Peron gives his name to the king Amadima." This change seemed to fill him with joy, and we cemented our friendship by drinking rum several times out of the same cup. From that moment I became the Touan Amadima (lord Amadima); he himself never after called me by any other name; and on my part I called him the Man Peron: however, as I had not been in the habit of calling him so, I often made mistakes; but Amadima, preserving the same *sang froid* throughout the whole scene, set me right every time with great kindness, and never forgot to call me the lord Amadima; and all his slaves, to whom this change of names was declared with great solemnity, had orders to regard me as the friend of the heart of their master, and to call me always Touan Amadima.

Since that period I have had occasion at many different times to change my name; the ceremonies were always as simple as that I have here described.

A similar custom is practised at Madagascar, but with more formality. The particulars of this ceremony at Madagascar never having been published, and as it in a manner belongs to this part of our own observations, I shall here introduce some details which I have read in a manuscript journal of a voyage made in 1787 to the Valley of Amboula, by the same M. Lislet Geoffroy, to whose brilliant talents I have before paid the just tribute of respectful mention and admiration.

"Ramasoulak," says M. Lislet, "is the chief of this part of the valley of Amboula, and resides at Anounoubé: he received us very politely, from the recommendation which had been sent to him by Dian Louve. All his captains made us presents, as the friend of their king. As I was resolved to depart on the next day early in the morning, the time

would not permit me to accept the oath which this chief proposed to make with me, as also one of his captains whom he presented to me. This oath is a kind of alliance between two people: they promise and engage mutually to love and protect each other; each has his godfather or surety, in this ceremony; they each have the stomach scarified in seven places, and take seven drops of blood from each, which they receive in a vase, which previously contains brandy or some other strong liquor; they next put in it a gun-flint and a bullet, and then dip the points of their swords or lances in the cup, after which they present each other with seven spoonfuls of this liquor, which they swallow. They then give each other their hands, and grasp them affectionately. The inhabitants of Madagascar observe religiously all the promises which they make on such occasions, even at the hazard of their lives: and ever after regard each other as brothers."

The 12th of September had nearly been a fatal day to M. Lesueur. While he was in pursuit of a troop of monkeys among the rocks which obstruct the course of the river of Compang, a venomous reptile bit him in the heel. Soon after he felt a sort of numbness in the whole of his leg, which made him but too well guess what he had to fear from this bite. M. Lesueur hastened back to the town, but before he could get there his leg was stiff and much swelled, and he could scarcely bend his knee.

To retard the action of the venom, he bound his thigh tight round above the knee, but this ligature had little effect: the thigh itself swelled to such a degree, that it was as much as my poor friend could do to reach the house. As soon as M. Lesueur got there he laid himself down on his bed, overcome by fatigue and pain, and already experiencing all the symptoms of a violent fever. I was at the time absent from the town, but our doctor, M. L'Haridon, hastened to him, and without delay cauterized the bite of the reptile very deeply; and applying to the part a compress, wetted with ammoniac, he then gave a strong dose of the same drug to the sick man, recommending him to keep perfectly still and quiet. He was soon in a profuse sweat, and the pain abated; and in a few days M. Lesueur felt no more of the wound, except a stiffness and difficulty of bending his knee, which remained a long time, and which he still feels at times, particularly in the variations of the weather. What was most remarkable in this accident, was the effect of the poison on the person; such was the rapidity of its deleterious power, that on the evening of the day on which M. Lesueur was bitten,

all the lower extremity corresponding with the affected heel, became of a green colour, like flesh that was corrupted. What could have been the nature and properties of these particles of virus, to make it have such power in the animal economy, we cannot conjecture. This accident convinced us that the Malays had sufficient reason for their extreme fear of reptiles.

In the zoological part of our work, we shall have to speak more particularly on this subject, and shall make mention of a great number of these formidable animals.

On the 15th of September, all the scorbutic patients were entirely cured; but a much more dangerous distemper had begun its ravages. Eighteen men were already confined to their beds, all severely and dangerously ill with a most cruel dysentery. Among this number were my amiable friend M. Depnch, my colleague Maugé, and the good and active Riédlé.

This last was already much broken down by the distemper; but impelled by his zeal, he still continued his distant excursions in a destructive and scorching climate. In vain I used every means I could devise, to engage him to remit his exertions, and afford himself some respite from his labours. All my prayers, all those of our physician, M. L'Haridon, were in vain: every morning at day-break, he set off to make new collections, without seeming to care at all about his disorder, entirely absorbed by his desire to justify the confidence he had been honoured with by the First Consul and the Institution. Amiable and unfortunate man! who thought he might depend on the strength of his constitution, already tried by the climate of the Antilles; how much he was mistaken.

In the mean time our anxiety for the fate of the Naturalist increased every day; we had not yet obtained any news of her, and with sorrow we reminded each other, that at the moment when we first lost sight of her, she seemed to fall to leeward. Probably she might have been embayed on a lee-shore by the violence of the storm; or possibly some other misfortune of the same kind might have happened to her in the time of our long separation. This cruel uncertainty grieved us all; we began to lose all hope, and to despair of ever again seeing our friends, when on the 21st of September, in the morning, a signal was made that the Naturalist was entering the bay of Coupang. The joy was general, and we were soon among our companions, who not having found us

at the two rendezvous, were not themselves without great anxiety on our account.

The Naturalist, during the time of her separation from us, had made some interesting discoveries on the lands of Edels and Edracht; M. L. Freycinet had completed reconnoitring the supposed bay of Sea-dogs, &c. In the two following chapters all the particulars of these labours will be given with so much the more exactness, as this distinguished officer has offered to take on himself the trouble of writing them.

Captain Hamelin, on his arrival at Timor, had on board but two men affected with the scurvy; this advantage was the result of their long stay on shore at different places, and the particular care he had taken of the health of his crew, added to the great experience of my esteemed friend, doctor Bellefin, in distempers of this sort. M. Bellefin had derived great advantage in his treatment of the distemper, from the use of warm baths of sand; these were first tried by M. Roblet, the doctor of the Solide, in the voyage of captain Marchand round the world, and which M. Fleurieu has mentioned with so much just praise, in many pages of the excellent account he has given of that voyage.

A few days after their arrival, the officers and naturalists of our consort, settled on shore in a third house procured for them by the governor. Our colleague, M. Levillain, preferred living with us; he was then in perfect health, and little thought that the term of his youth and existence was nearly at an end.

From the 25th of September to the 1st of October, our commander, who had been for some time ill with a dangerous ataxic fever, experienced successively three such violent attacks, that for some hours he was thought to be dead. There was not a moment to lose in giving him the bark, in large doses; but as that belonging to our ships was of a very inferior quality, I shared with him the small quantity which I had brought from Europe for my own use. This medicine operated in a manner that seemed almost miraculous. It stopped this terrible fever, and in all appearance saved the life of our commander. During the whole course of this distemper, his physician, M. L'Haridon, was at once his comforter, nurse, and friend. To say what was the reward for his care and humane attention, would shock every generous mind.

The 7th of October was a day of sorrow and affliction to both ships: M. Picquet, one of our most deserving officers,

was sent to Batavia, arrested by order of our commander, whom he had had the misfortune to offend. He was for above six weeks confined in the Dutch fort, and the most severe orders were given, that on arriving at Batavia, he might be confined in one of the unwholesome dungeons of the citadel of that town. On this momentous occasion, the principal officers of both ships gave M. Picquet the most flattering testimonies of their friendship and esteem. Every day one of our officers, with one of the Naturalist's, went to keep him company, and to partake with him such dinner as we were able to send him. At the moment of his departure, every one was eager to give him letters and proper attestations to refute the calumnies which might be repeated to his prejudice. On his arrival at Batavia, M. Picquet was declared at liberty by the Regency, notwithstanding the letters and misrepresentations of our commander; and immediately on our return to France, he was promoted from the rank of enseigne de vaisseau to that of lieutenant. This was sufficient to prove that he had been in no way deserving of punishment.

On the 11th of October, our shipmate, the unfortunate Riédle, was very ill; he had been confined to his bed for several days; the inflammation had spread from the rectum to the rest of the intestines, and the pains he suffered were horrible. M. L'Haridon, who had placed him in his own room, that he might be always at hand to afford him every care, was soon convinced that those cares were in vain; and from this very day his death was but too certain, and our grief extreme.

The 12th, we lost one of our gunners, whose name was Frantz: he was the first on the long and fatal list of deaths, which we shall hereafter have to enumerate and lament.

On the 18th, a second man of our crew died.

On the 21st, the unfortunate Riédle departed this life; and on the 22d he was buried with all possible solemnity, considering our present situation. The crew of both vessels, all his friends and shipmates, assisted at his funeral; the coffin was carried by four Dutch soldiers; two officers, and two naturalists held the four corners of the pall. The Dutch had wished to take part in our affliction, therefore all the soldiers of the fort were under arms. The governor and all the officers of the company appeared in mourning. During the whole time the ships had all their yards across and their colours lowered; the guns fired every quarter of an hour, and several volleys were fired over his grave, where was raised a

stone, rough indeed, but which, hallowed by affection and universal sorrow, would honour the memory of our friend as much as those superb monuments often raised by pride or adulation.

This simple tomb received additional interest from a circumstance which was rather remarkable, and which deserves to be mentioned. The adventure of captain Bligh is well known; he was sent to fetch from Taïti some plants of the bread fruit; his crew, seduced by the women of those countries, mutinied, and took possession of his frigate: and in the ship's boat, with a small quantity of provisions, captain Bligh, with eighteen men who had not taken part in the mutiny, had crossed immense seas, escaped the darts of the savages, and at length, as if by miracle, had gained the bay of Coupang. A few days after his arrival, his botanist, Mr. Nelson, died in consequence of the hardships he had suffered in such a perilous voyage, and was inhumed in the cemetery of the Dutch. On the recollection of this circumstance I thought it would be easy to discover the spot where Mr. Nelson had been buried, and I went to speak to the commander on the subject, who ordered me to make the necessary enquiries of the governor. A Dutch soldier, who had assisted at the funeral of Mr. Nelson, conducted me to the spot, and the grave of our unfortunate companion was dug by the side of that of the English botanist. The monument I have before mentioned, was thus made to preserve the memory of the two naturalists united in the same tomb.

Thus perished in the flower of his age, Anselme Riédle, principal botanist of our expedition. Every moment that he could spend on shore had been devoted to labours that were well deserving of a better fate. His collections of dried plants, seeds, and samples of different kinds of wood, were very numerous, and had always been preserved with the greatest care. He had before made a voyage to the Antilles, and had brought from thence the most beautiful and the richest collection of living plants, that had ever been seen in Europe. It is to be regretted, that the green-house where these plants are preserved, has not been dedicated to this estimable philosopher.

On the 23d of October, we were again alarmed by the appearance of an English squadron, and with more cause than the first time; for, about the middle of the day, we really saw the *Virginia*, a beautiful English frigate, who entering the strait between Poulou-Simao and Poulou-Kea, seemed to be steering towards the anchorage where we were. The Bata-

vian governor hastened to give the necessary orders for the defence of the fort and the roadstead; large companies of soldiers, drawn from the environs of Coupang, were called together, and soon came down from the tops of the neighbouring mountains; but they did not dare to fire the alarm gun, at the noise of which the militia of the interior of the island would assemble together at Coupang, because these troops consist of ferocious and sanguinary men, who are formidable even to the Dutch themselves.

All these preparations were happily as unnecessary as on the former occasion. The captain of the English frigate, after seeing our passports, which were carried to him by M. Montbazin, one of our officers, declared himself totally ignorant of the nature of our mission, but that having learnt at Delly that two French ships were at anchor in the roadstead of Coupang, he had supposed them to be merchant ships, and therefore had resolved to go thither and make prizes of them, in spite of the Dutch cannon, which he seemed to care little for. This officer, whose name I regret that I do not know, behaved to us with the greatest politeness. Having heard that our commander was sick, he offered M. Montbazin some bottles of excellent wine for him, which he did not think himself authorized to accept. Moreover he told him, that Ternate, one of the most considerable Dutch settlements in these latitudes, had experienced the same fate as Amboyna and Banda; and that an English 74 gun-ship had recently taken fire in the roadstead of Amboyna, and had blown up.

Thus, after having conversed some time with our officer, the English captain regained the strait of the bay, and sailed away without firing a single gun, though he was so near the fort and town of Coupang, that he might with advantage have given them each a few broadsides. In thus abstaining from all hostility, the English captain gave us a particular mark of his esteem and consideration for the object of our voyage. It appeared also, that the climate of these regions had not spared his crew, for M. Montbazin thought he could perceive that they were much encumbered with sick between decks.

The dysentery continued its ravages among the crews of both our ships, the number of sick were considerable, and daily increased, some of them died every day, and others were very ill. In a private memorial which I have laid before the medical college of Paris, I have given my opinion on the cause of this scourge, to which so many successively

were the victims. It will suffice here to observe, that all the cares of Messrs. L'Haridon, Bellefin, and Taillefer, constantly failed in contending with this formidable epidemic. They had the goodness to invite me to their consultations : we opened the bodies of several that died : we successively tried every means that seemed to take most effect ; all was in vain ; and whoever was attacked with any degree of violence by this terrible disease, infallibly died. It pursued us, as we shall soon see, to the extremity of the globe, and strewed the seas with our dead bodies.

All our most valuable friends were seized by this malady : my industrious colleague, Maugé, had been long confined to his bed. This worthy man had, when we first settled on shore, incautiously given way to the excess of his zeal for the service, and he soon died a victim.

I before mentioned, that soon after he came on shore, our colleague, M. Levillain, had come to lodge with us : the dreadful climate of Timor soon began to affect him with the same distemper as that which had destroyed our companions. He was soon unable to leave his bed, and took to it to rise no more.

At the same time, our botanist's first assistant, Sautier, who also lodged in our house, was mortally attacked : and to fill up the measure of our miseries and misfortunes, my dearest friend, M. Depuch, received by my side the fatal stroke which was to precipitate him to the grave.

M. Boulanger, our geographical engineer, and M. Lesueur, were also confined to their beds ; one by a violent fever and inflammatory cholic ; the other by the dreadful dysentery, the general distemper. Even our domestics were all sick, and confined to their beds ; and consternation reigned on board our ships.

In the midst of such sorrow, and among so many disasters, I was in perfect health, and I was the only one up among all those who lived in the same house. This precious advantage was certainly not produced by repose ; for no one, I can appeal to every individual belonging to our two ships, exerted himself with more zeal, or suffered more fatigue, than I did ; and I had made an innumerable collection of the most beautiful subjects of every kind, with much labour and many arduous exertions ; and with still stronger reasons I could not ascribe my health to the strength of my natural constitution, for it was weak and delicate. At a future time I shall give my opinion on the causes of the dysentery in hot climates, and shall also shew by what simple though efficacious pre-

cautions, I was enabled to avoid this cruel epidemic ; and have ascertained the sad certainty that most of my friends, if they had subjected themselves to the same regimen as myself, might have been still living.

In these unhappy circumstances our physician, M. L'Haridon, distinguished himself not only by his great assiduity in attending the sick, but still more by his generous conduct in other respects. Tired and affected at the repeated refusals which he every day experienced, of the most simple demands, he spent all the money he had, and sold all that would fetch money, and even part of his clothes, to purchase necessaries for the sick under his care ; thus giving a double example of the humanity and generosity which ought to distinguish the physician. This is not the only trait of the kind which we shall have to mention in the character of M. L'Haridon, and which we shall make known with so much the more pleasure, as general esteem will be the flattering reward ; and to multiply that esteem the greatest honour we can bestow.

On the 6th of November, thanks to the assiduous attention of M. Ronsard, our chaloupe was finished and launched into the water. The day which gave us a boat, of which we were so much in want, was to us a real time of rejoicing ; and we had not the least conception that she was to experience a similar fate to that of our first chaloupe.

The loss of M. Picquet was not the only one among our officers ; M. St. Croix Lebas, the captain of our frigate, was landed as sick a few days before our departure, and settled at the Dutch fort, there to wait the recovery of his health, and an opportunity of returning to Europe.

At length, on the 12th of November, in the evening, we went to take leave of the governor ; and on the next day, in the morning, we set sail from the bay of Coupang, going out by the strait between Poulou Kea and Simão. We had been at Coupang eighty-four days, and our stay there, under all considerations, had been very fatal ; we had lost a great deal of time ; death had robbed us of several of our shipmates, and we were encumbered by a great number of sick on board each of our vessels. Such were the deplorable consequences of this long stay at Coupang : it even appeared very probable, that a farther residence in this island would have lost us all the remainder of the crews of both ships. Which of us would not have thought at the time, that we quitted these destructive shores for ever.

CHAP. X.

The Discoveries of the Naturalist, at Edel's Land.*

[From the 8th of June to the 6th of July, 1801.]

THE gale of wind which had forced us to set sail with such precipitation from Geography Bay on the night of the 8th of June, had nearly proved fatal to the *Naturalist*. This vessel not being by any means so good a sailer as the *Geographer*, and in other respects an inferior ship, we could not without great difficulty, keep her clear of the land, towards which she was continually driven by the violence of the winds and currents. The excessive rolling of the vessel at this time, and the necessity we had of carrying sail, made us in fear every instant that our masts would go by the board, and the smallest damage of that sort must inevitably have caused the loss of the ship. Every two hours we were obliged to tack, and for three whole days were compelled to do so, without being able to take a moment's rest. Notwithstanding so many efforts, there was one instant when we gave ourselves up for lost, and every one expected inevitable death, when a slight variation in the wind permitted us to clear the land, and to double the southern point of the bay.

On the night of the 9th, we entirely lost sight of our consort, the wind continuing to blow with great violence; and it was not until the 13th that we were able, without danger, to carry any more sail. We made use of this opportunity to bear away to the isle Rottneest, which was the first place of rendezvous appointed by the commander, and we arrived thither on the 14th. The *Geographer*, contrary to our expectation, was not there; we therefore resolved to wait for her; and captain Hamelin, to make good use of the time, sent different boats to find an easy landing place, and to see what were the different productions of the isle Rottneest. At the same time one of the boats was sent under the command of M. Heirisson, to reconnoitre the mouth of the river of

* This and the following chapter were written by M. L. Freycinet.

Swans, and to go up it as far as was possible. Six days' provisions were granted him for this expedition.

On the 17th of June, Messrs. Millias and Levillain departed to visit the isles to the S. S. E. of the isle Rottnest, and on the same day I was sent in the little boat with M. Faure, to reconnoitre more particularly the isle Rottnest, and to ascertain its situation.

When we departed the weather was tolerably fine ; but a strong breeze from the N. W. rising all at once, the sea soon increased to a terrible height, and the waves, which broke with fury against my little skiff, threatened its destruction every moment. In this extremity I could not return on board, on account of the wind being contrary ; I therefore wished to get to windward of the isle Rottnest, which, from a long chain of breakers that run out to sea a great length, was impossible ; and to save ourselves, we had no other resource than to run the boat on shore, to avoid being swamped. A small sandy beach appeared a-head, of which we took advantage to run her on land, whither the surf carried her with great rapidity. We threw ourselves all into the water, and uniting our efforts, endeavoured to save our skiff, by drawing her up to the beach ; the attempt was vain, for it was soon covered by the waves, and with difficulty we saved some pounds of biscuit, for all the rest of our provisions disappeared with the boat.

Thus situated it was impossible for M. Faure and myself to prosecute the labour we were sent with the boat to perform, we therefore attempted to execute our commission on shore, by making the tour of the island on foot ; but the rocks which stretched along the coast on the north, were too steep for us to attempt to get over them ; we were therefore obliged to go into the woods, which were so thick in this part that we could proceed but slowly, and with difficulty.

Chance conducted us to a delightful valley, at the bottom of which were several ponds ; we went down to the brink of one of them ; a prodigious number of bivalve shells of one single species, formed a sort of beach round it, about the breadth of 15 feet. The water of these ponds is salt and brackish.

After giving a few moments' attention to the observation of these salt ponds, which we named Duvaldailly's Ponds, from the name of the young cadet who accompanied us, we continued our way to get nearer the beach, hoping to have passed the rocks, which had at first stopped our course, but

we were soon convinced that they stretched almost without interruption as far as Cape North.

In traversing these rocks we observed a piece of wood, which created some painful reflections: it was the cross piece of the bits, belonging to a vessel of from 300 to 350 tons burthen, on which might easily be distinguished the marks of the friction of the cables; and several iron bolts, which left us no doubt of the certainty of a recent shipwreck.

This unforeseen circumstance much increased our anxiety for the fate of the *Naturalist*, which we knew had moored, during the storm, a-head of some dangerous reefs; it also made us more sensible of our own perilous situation, which every moment became more and more alarming. Black and threatening clouds had gathered together on every part of the horizon; the squalls were impetuous, and the thunder reverberated with great violence in the adjacent valleys; a heavy rain fell in torrents, and the waves broke with noise and violence against the rocks on the shore; and to add to our distress, we knew that it was impossible for captain Hamelin, without a chaloupe, and without any boat that could live, to send us any assistance, while the storm lasted.

A few moments we yielded to these sad reflections on our way to the shore, which we did not reach till long after it was dark. We feared we should find our boat gone to pieces, the sea having constantly beat over her on the spot where she was aground: we saw, however, with pleasure, that she had stood the shock, and that only one plank had been stove in. To add to our good luck, the tide was now high, and we went into the water to endeavour to draw her on the beach, in which endeavour we at length succeeded, to our great satisfaction.

Our boat being thus in safety, we studied how to procure water for our necessities. There did not seem to be any on the island, and we were therefore obliged to find other means of supplying this want. We spread out the sails of our boat to catch the rain water as it fell; this expedient succeeded, and the whole night was devoted to the same labour. We also killed on this day and the following, several phocæ, or sea-caves, the flesh of which was well tasted.

On the 19th of June, we perceived the *Naturalist* under sail; I observed her a long time with my glass, and I judged from the circumstance, that she was endeavouring to get nearer the island. We immediately lighted a large fire, to let her know on what part of the coast we were. However,

no assistance appeared all that day, and our situation was now very critical, and would have been much worse if the rain water had failed us. I studied to devise some means of repairing our boat, so that we might get on board. The want of nails made me think of unripping some of the lining of the boat of least consequence, and thus to replace the planks which had started. I was next to devise some method of caulking the seams : I deferred this part of the labour till the next day, and in the mean time the remainder of this was employed in untwisting some pieces of cordage to make oakum, for the purpose of stopping the leaks in the boat. I had the design of paying the seams with a mastich composed of the grease of sea-calves and ashes ; and I had no doubt but that our boat thus repaired would take us safely on board. Fortunately all these labours were unnecessary ; the wind having much abated during the night of the 19th, the captain lost no time in sending us some provisions ; and judging that our boat must have suffered some serious damage, he also sent us a caulker to repair it. This work being done we embarked, and got on board the vessel about three o'clock in the afternoon. I then learnt that the chaloupe, which was sent on the 17th to reconnoitre the isles situated to the S. S. E. of our mooring, had been wrecked on the continent ; that the long-boat sent to the river of Swans had not yet returned ; that every one was anxious for her safety ; and that on the 18th, at two o'clock in the evening, they had descried the Geographer from the mast-head, making sail to the north under her top-sails ; she was at the distance of about eight leagues. We were all at a loss to conjecture why the commander, after having himself fixed the rendezvous, did not come thither to meet us. As for captain Hamelin, without his chaloupe, his two boats, and the chief part of his crew, he was not able to get under sail to join the Geographer.

On the 22d of June our boat returned, after fulfilling her mission in the river of Swans. The following particulars of this exploration was given by M. Bailly, who accompanied M. Heirisson in the voyage.

“The river of Swans,” says M. Bailly, “discovered in 1697, by Vlaming, was thus named by him, from the great number of black swans which he there saw, and of which he carried two alive to Batavia. On the 17th of June, at eight o'clock in the morning ; we perceived the mouth of the river ; it was obstructed by a bar of rocks, which almost denied us a passage ; however, after being aground on them three times, we succeeded in clearing them, and from that

time the depth increased rapidly. An amazing number of pelicans had fixed their abode near this part of the river : we could only catch one of them.

“ The beach was covered with a great quantity of white mollusques, or jelly-fish, transparent and gelatinous, which had been left there by the tide, and which was the food of the numerous fowl which frequented these shores. The soil is here composed of downs of sand, some higher than others ; the rock which terminates them at the sea-side is of a calcareous nature, mixed with sand full of excavations and hollows, which seemed to be the effect of the waters. On these downs grew many different kinds of shrubs, several of which were in flower. The *Eucalyptus resinifera*, is to be found there in great quantities, and numbers of land birds, particularly beautiful parroquets, played in the branches of the trees, and enlivened these unknown, wild, and desert shores.

“ At a little distance from the sea the left bank of the river becomes steep and perpendicular, and discovers a bed of sandy and calcareous rocks, disposed in horizontal layers ; farther up the steepness is on the other side of the river, and appears like a great circular wall crowned with verdure. Every where on the banks are seen evident traces of the former bed of the sea ; the rock is almost entirely composed of incrustations of shells, roots, and even trees in a state of petrification ; a phenomenon that is often seen in many parts of New Holland. In other respects the country is here flat, and has no elevation of any consequence except some at a considerable distance from the sea shore. Beyond this circular wall, which I before mentioned, the steepness again appears on the left shore, and presents the same resemblance of ruins, and the same geological constitution which I have already described.

“ We soon came to a large bason formed by a low ground, on which the river expanded to a greater extent : almost the whole breadth of this bason was a shoal ; on the left side we observed a sort of branch or creek, which seemed to open another communication with the sea, and we named it Moreau Entrance, from the cadet of that name who accompanied us in this short voyage.

“ After doubling a low cape which ran out from the left shore a good way into the bason, we intended to land and pass the night at the foot of a high bank on the right shore ; this bank, which was very steep, had at the base a small flat shore of sand, where we pitched our tent ; here we were in perfect safety, with the boat afloat and moored to a tree, and

her head among the herbage that grew on the beach; it was impossible to come near us without crossing the river, or descending the hill, at the foot of which we were situated, which could not be done without difficulty, on account of the steepness.

“ On ascending to the top of this hill we were charmed with a beautiful prospect. On one side we discovered the upper course of the river, which went up towards a range of flat mountains in the distance, and on the other we could follow its course down to the sea-shore. The banks of the river appeared almost every where covered with beautiful forests, which extended a considerable way into the interior of the country. The rock, which sometimes appears naked, is of the same nature as all those which I have before described; that is to say, it is calcareous, composed of sand and shells, and covered with a bed of sand mingled with the remains of dead vegetation, which thus manures the forests.

“ On the 18th of June, at the break of day, we re-embarked to continue our voyage. On leaving the place where we had spent the night, we again met with great numbers of pelicans, which came and flew about us; we killed two of them, after which, pursuing our way for about half an hour, we found ourselves aground on a shoal of soft mud extremely greasy and sticky: we had great difficulty in dragging our boat off this shoal, which at length we did after much labour. The course of the river is here almost closed by a string of small low wet islands, which we have described in our chart of the river of Swans, under the denomination of the Heirisson Isles, from the name of the officer who at this time commanded us.

“ It was near the Heirisson isles that we first saw some black swans; they swam majestically on the water; we killed several of them; their plumage was totally black, except the quill feathers, which were white, the beak red, and the feet black. We observed that a short time after they were dead, the beak lost its fine red colour, and became black. The whole of the country which we saw from this part till the evening was low and almost under water, with a bed of coarse sand, which seemed to come from a rock of ancient formation, covered with a bank of thick clay, which is reddish and sticky. Some other phenomena correspond with this change in the nature of the soil. Confined by the bed of clay, the rain water and the dews remain on the surface of the ground, and filtering through the coarse sand we have mentioned, form muddy pools of stagnant water, and a sort of small lakes, or

else run in little streams towards the river, whose waters from that moment begin to lose something of their saltness, which till then were as salt as the waters of the sea.

“The same evening we pitched our tent near the river, in an angle of the land formed by that stream, and a small arm, up which Messrs. Heirisson and Moreau went on foot for about half a league, where it terminated. They were here surprized at the appearance of the print of a man’s foot, of an extraordinary size.

“On the 19th of June, after filling our casks from a sort of little well which I had discovered the evening preceding, and which I thought was not the work of nature, we proceeded up the river; from which the spot where we then were, seemed to bend its course towards a chain of mountains that appeared to be at no great distance from us: this circumstance made us hope we might be able to reach its source; unfortunately we were mistaken in the distance of these mountains: for, after sailing the whole day, we discovered that they were still very distant. The river from this time became narrower very rapidly; but its depth was still from 7 to 8 feet, without any sensible difference.

“In the mean time we had thus been exploring the interior of New Holland, our provisions began to run short; in fact we had scarcely enough remaining for our return to the ship; we were therefore obliged to give up our first intention, of lengthening our voyage to the foot of the mountains; and on the next day, which was the 20th of June, we began to go down the river.

“On the 21st, in the morning, we found ourselves on the shoals which had stopped us on our way up; we now thought we might avoid them, by keeping towards the right shore of the river, but we were mistaken, for before we had gone a quarter of a league we were aground. In vain did we attempt to get her off; every means were in vain, and we were obliged to make a sort of raft, and lighten our boat of its heaviest articles, such as the graplin, the water casks, &c. we then all went into the river, and pushing with all our strength, at length succeeded in getting afloat about two o’clock in the afternoon. Our joy was as short as it had been great; we were again stranded on a sand-bank, which was not more than half a foot under water; we were now obliged to labour hard for several hours to get over this last obstacle; and we should never have succeeded if a brisk wind had not sprung up very apropos to extricate us from so critical a situation, for we were all sinking with faintness and fatigue;

for above thirteen hours we had been in the mud up to the waist, striving ineffectually the whole time to save our boat; we had now scarcely provision sufficient for one meal; and as it was totally impossible to reach the ship in less than twenty-four hours, we could not recruit our strength by the means of food. In the midst of these increasing distresses and dangers night came upon us suddenly; and we were preparing to land and dry ourselves, and recruit our exhausted strength by a little rest, when all at once we heard a terrible noise that filled us with terror; it was something like the roaring of a bull, but much louder, and seemed to proceed from the reeds which were very near us. At this formidable sound we lost all desire to go on shore; and, though benumbed with cold, we preferred passing the night on the water, without food, or being able to close our eyes, and suffering the whole time from the rain and the weather.

“On the 22d, at day-break, we all got into the water to launch the boat, which was again aground; the rising tide was in our favour, and we succeeded after some labour and difficulty. Soon after this last effort we landed and made a large fire to warm our frozen limbs, and take some refreshment. We continued our way down the river, and at length reached its mouth. We now kept along shore on the left, and in the evening we got on board, cruelly harassed with fatigue, and almost famished.”

The importance of M. Bailly's relation has obliged me to detail all the particulars at length, as they are so much the more valuable because they make part of the natural history of New Holland; and all that can add to our knowledge on the subject of the interior of this extraordinary continent, must be particularly acceptable to natural philosophers and geographers.

In the mean time the chaloupe, which had been wrecked on the neighbouring coast, had been much damaged; it was therefore necessary to send carpenters thither to repair her. Four entire days they were employed in this work; and it was not till the 22d, in the night, that they came on board. We then learnt the following particulars of the labours and misfortunes of our shipmates.

They left the ship on the 18th of June, to reconnoitre the islands which lay S. S. E. of our mooring. At first they lengthened a bed of rocks of great extent, and next drew near a small barren island, which we named Isle Bertholet. South of this they discovered a third, which was almost as large as the Isle Rottneest, and to which we gave the name of

the Isle Buache. On this last island was a great number of phœcæ, who kept their ground at a little distance from the shore, and seemed to dispute the way with our seamen. This boldness cost them dear, for they killed a great number of them.

Compelled to re-embark precipitately on account of the N. N. W. winds which blew in squalls, our shipmates worked to windward all night among breakers; the waves beat against the chaloupe with so much force, that it was as much as three men could do to bale out the water. At three o'clock in the morning, exhausted by fatigue, and not knowing which way to steer to avoid the breakers, which surrounded them every way, they determined to throw out the graplin. From the break of day they got ready to tack towards the north, and endeavoured to make towards the ship, but soon the main-mast of the chaloupe was broken by the violent squalls, and came by the board into the sea, with her sail; it was not in their power to remedy this misfortune, or contend with the fury of the winds. From this moment they were driven by the waves against the breakers, and our unfortunate comrades took the resolution of throwing themselves on the shore. Wrecked as they were, with the chaloupe broken to pieces against the rocks, yet they were all saved; and even succeeded in hauling the vessel on the beach, and thus saved her also from being totally lost.

Thus confined on this desert shore, our shipmates, while they waited for assistance from the ship, made several incursions towards the interior of the country; in one of these journeys they discovered a species of almond of the size of a walnut, and they were eager to gather some of them. Roasted in the ashes these almonds tasted very much like roasted chestnuts; but all who ate of them soon experienced the fatal effects of the deceitful repast. They were attacked by alarming and painful vertigos, and dreadful vomitings; and they all thought that they were mortally poisoned. These grievous symptoms, however, gradually disappeared, and no one died. "For my part," said M. Levillain, who had eaten four or five of these almonds, "I was extremely ill; after bringing up the small quantity of food which I had on my stomach, I continued to strain and retch till I brought up two large glasses of blood, at the same time suffering the most excruciating pains." Ever since," added he, "I have continually felt great pains in the stomach." What a dreadful alternative for navigators; in such situations they are reduced to the necessity of either suffering all the pangs

of famine, or being obliged to eat such food as may be poisonous and destructive.

The pleasure of seeing the boats once more together on board the ship, obliterated in a great degree the recollection of the disasters and fatigues ; but the general anxiety for the absence of the Geographer increased every day.

Captain Hamelin could not be persuaded that the commander would neglect to come to the rendezvous appointed by himself, our captain therefore determined to prolong his stay on this dangerous coast. Our gentlemen made use of the opportunity to make excursions on the neighbouring islands, and M. Bailly made many observations on the geologic nature of their soil.

"On the 23d of June, in the morning," says this naturalist, "I went with the long-boat to the isle Buache ; we did not reach this island till towards the evening. On our way we recollected the Reef Giraud, which is distinguished by the shape of one of its rocks that much resembles a shoe. This rock is the more remarkable for the great number of sea-fowl which are always to be seen there. A little farther is the isle Bertholet ; this is small and barren. All these isles and rocks, which are here and there dispersed a little distance from the shore of the continent, are connected together by a shelve of rocks, which extends near three leagues out from the main land. The isle Rottnest itself is connected with these reefs ; the sea breaks on many places of this shoal ; and in some parts it is impossible for the smallest boat to find a passage.

"The isle Buache is composed of calcareous rocks, more or less mingled with sand, and containing some remains of shells ; these are disposed in horizontal beds of but little thickness, which seemed to go some way into the interior of the land. Instead of appearing in separate hillocks, these rocks form long continued ridges, which on each side have a regular declivity or slope : the soil, although entirely composed of calcareous sand, nevertheless supports a strong and healthy vegetation. We could find no fresh water on this island ; and it is not to be wondered at, considering the nature of the soil which I have described ; for the sand, which covers or rather forms the beds on the surface, lays on a calcareous rock, whose contexture is so porous, that the water easily soaks through it."

On the 27th of June M. Bailly landed on the isle Rottnest, where he made the following observations :

"On this shore we find a number of calcareous and sandy

rocks, of a greyish white, which are exclusively composed of the broken remains of shells petrified. The hills which are nearest the beach, are of the same nature, but covered by downs of calcareous sand. Beyond these sand hills are pieces of water separated by little elevations of sand; the water which they contain is as salt as that of the sea. The tide is sensibly observed in these ponds; the sand which forms the soil in the environs, is so soft, that it is not unlikely that this alone may be the cause of the phenomenon I have just mentioned, and indeed it is not easy to account for it any other way, there being no direct communication between these ponds and the sea. We found here two species of small shells, the one univalve, the other bivalve, and of a fine rose colour. The borders of most of these ponds were entirely covered with these shells, which were the only living beings we could discover on this island. The banks of these ponds were steep, and appeared to have their origin to some great sinking of the soil. Among them is a large rock standing alone, which, by its form, its situation, and the horizontal disposition of the neighbouring rock, evidently shews, that it formerly belonged to a hill which occupied the place of this pond, and which formed a continuation with the other hills, which cross the whole length of the isle Rottneest. This assertion is supported on the exact correspondence of the beds of this solitary rock, with the hills that still remain. The soil is entirely calcareous, white, and full of shells in good preservation, which are disposed as if in families.

In the mean time the days fixed by captain Hamelin to wait for the Geographer, were expired, and we had heard nothing of her; nor did it now appear likely that we should obtain any news of her by staying any longer on this coast: we therefore determined to sail for Endracht's Land, leaving on the isle Rottneest, a flag, and a bottle with a letter for the commander, in case he should touch there.

On the 28th of June we set sail for the second rendezvous which had been appointed. But before we pursue the history of our voyage, we shall take a general view of the part of Edel's Land, which we are now going to leave.

The isle Rottneest does not lie very high; the shore is generally steep, and composed of grey, calcareous, and sandy rocks, which have between them some creeks of very white sand. This island is well wooded; the soil, though every where sandy, seems to supply an abundant and healthy vegetation. The interior aspect of the country, dissected by

numerous hills, is very beautiful. But the island does not appear to have any fresh water, nevertheless in cases of necessity, a brackish water that might be potable, might probably be procured by digging wells two or three feet deep, at a small distance from the ponds of Duvaldailly.

We here observed a small species of Kangaroo, about two feet high, which were very numerous: we also saw another species of quadruped, about the size of a large rat, which the Dutch navigators supposed to be really a rat, but which, according to the observations of our naturalist, M. Peron, belongs to a new and remarkable species, the description of which will be found in the zoologic part of the works of this deserving and industrious naturalist. A great number of phocæ or sea-calves, appeared on different parts of the shore. These animals were to be seen sometimes in the interior of the forests, which lay at some distance from the coast. We saw several of them that were very large; these were generally grey; others were reddish; and some of them were black. These last were smaller, and probably were the youngest; for we had seen a female of an ashy grey, suckling a young one which was itself black. The fat of these animals, when it is fresh, is very good to eat; we often made use of it to fry our fish, &c. and never found it had any disagreeable taste or smell. The furs of these animals are mostly fine and thick, and would be a valuable commodity, as a rich cargo might easily be procured.

Of reptiles there are numbers on isle Rottnest; we found several that were four or five feet in length, and an inch and a half or two inches thick; their colour is like that of unpolished steel. The isle Rottnest also produces an extraordinary species of lizard, in which my friend M. Peron found a combination of toes, which till then was totally unknown in any species of lizard. The kind which I am now describing, had two on the fore feet and three on the hind.

This island is uninhabited, and it did not appear that any of the natives of the continent had ever found their way thither.

The winds, during our stay in the roadstead, blew successively from every quarter of the horizon. In general the east wind was mild, and when it was in this quarter, the weather was always fine; while the winds from the W. the S. W. and the N. W. on the contrary always brought hail and rain.

We here caught plenty of excellent fish, but on some days we could not catch one of any kind: I remarked that this ge-

nerally happened when the winds and waves were most calm. Probably the fish at that time went farther out to sea, and did not return till the roughness of the waves drove them where the water was more shallow and the waves stiller.

We particularly observed, that there were always a great number of sharks, that never left the ship for a moment, and most of them were of an enormous size. We caught one which had the mouth much more pointed than others; it was thirteen feet long and ten in circumference, and weighed near 1300 pounds. We saw some that were twice the size of this one, from which we may naturally conclude, that no other part of the seas produce animals of this kind that can be stronger or more formidable. We also observed some sea-serpents about the ship, generally when the water was still.

The isle Bertholet is entirely barren, and surrounded by rocks and breakers, particularly on the south. There is on the N. E. a small flat shore, on which a landing might be made.

The isle Buache had an aspect that nearly resembled that of isle Rottnest, and is surrounded by shelves, which make it difficult to find a landing place, though a small sandy flat shore was to be observed every here and there. The interior is very woody; the trees are generally strait and lofty; there are also several beautiful shrubs; vegetation also is here very active, although the lands are generally covered with sand. I here saw some partridges and ravens, of a smaller kind than those of Europe, but of a delicate flavour: the phocæ, or sea-calves, abound here more than on the isle Rottnest.

The river of Swans cannot be considered as proper to supply the water necessary for a ship; in the first place, it is difficult to enter, and its course is obstructed by many shoals and sand banks; and secondly, the distance from the mouth up the river, is too great before we can find any fresh water.

On leaving isle Rottnest we sailed towards the north, intending to sail along shore at a little distance, if the wind continued favourable; but the breeze having veered to the north, we were under the necessity of making several tacks out to sea, to keep off the land. After several attempts, however, we contrived to keep near enough to distinguish the general constitution of the soil; and on all this part of Edel's Land, we saw the same melancholy appearance as that on the shores of Leuwin's Land; but thus impeded by the contrary winds, and pressed by the desire of rejoining the

Geographer, we could not give to this part of our geographical labours all the time which it would have required; we therefore contented ourselves with making such surveys of the coast, as were necessary to correct the Dutch manuscript chart, which had been given us at the time of our departure from Europe, and which, in many respects, we discovered to be very erroneous.

On the 8th and 9th of July, we were in sight of the Isles of Turtel-Duyf and the Abrothos, on which Pelsar was wrecked in the year 1629. We thought, according to our observations, that the islands of the Abrothos were, in the maps which had been given us, placed too far out from the main land; they did not appear to us to be more than eight leagues distant. We had intended to sail between them and the continent, to determine the distance which lay between, with more accuracy; but the wind being contrary to the course we must have steered in that case, we only ascertained the situation of this formidable group of islands. At 10 or 12 leagues from the main land, the Abrothos seemed to belong to it; these isles have a barren appearance; they are but little elevated, but are surrounded by a steep red coast, against which the sea constantly breaks with great force; but these breakers do not run out towards the sea so much as the Dutch maps indicate. However, as the sea was calm at the time when we were in sight of the Abrothos, it is possible that the breakers on the west of these isles did not appear to us to run out so far as they really do.

On the 16th of July, we were a-head of the Thorny Passage, which is on the south of the isle Dirck-Hartighs. We lengthened the coast of this island at the distance of about two miles; it is terminated by a long chain of red and steep breakers, which do not run far out. At eight o'clock in the morning we found ourselves in the strait formed by the isle Dirck-Hartighs, and the isle Dorre; the soundings shewed a good sandy bottom, and there we anchored.

CHAP. XI.

*Observations of the Naturalist on Endracht's Land.**[From the 16th of July to the 21st of September, 1801.]*

OUR first care, when we had anchored in the bay of Sea-dogs, was to find if the Geographer was there moored, or whether she had left on the neighbouring isles any indication of her passage. The accounts brought by the boats, which were sent to make this investigation, gave us no satisfaction; and we were persuaded, that she had not yet appeared on these shores. In such an embarrassing situation, captain Hamelin thought it his duty to consult and advise with his officers; consequently we were all summoned. We now made an exact recapitulation of our voyage since we left Geography Bay, and concluded that it was not likely that any accident had happened to our consort; that it was still more improbable that the Geographer had returned towards the south. From these considerations we concluded to wait here eight or ten days, and then to continue our voyage, if in the meantime the Geographer did not arrive. Captain Hamelin then gave us an account of the particular instructions which he had received from the commander: he had given the most positive order to wait for him in the bay of Sea-dogs, till he should come there and join us. According to these orders there was no room for deliberation; and it was not without great mortification that we found ourselves doomed to waste our time on these desolate shores, if the Geographer should not at last come hither to meet us; which the character of our commander made us think very probable.

Having formed this determination, captain Hamelin resolved at last to sail to the farther part of the bay of Sea-dogs, for greater shelter; but in the first place he sent three men on shore on the isle Dirck-Hartighs, with orders to make signals to the Geographer, if she should appear at the entrance of the bay:

Our chief coxswain, on his return from the island of Dirck-Hartighs, brought us a pewter plate, of about six inches diameter, on which was roughly engraven two Dutch

inscriptions; the first dated the 25th of October, 1616, and the second dated the 4th of February, 1697. This plate had been found on the northern point of the island, which for this reason we named Cape Inscription. When found, it was half covered with sand, near the remains of a post of oak wood, to which it seemed to have been originally nailed. The following is the translation of these two inscriptions.

“ 1616

“ On the 25th of October arrived here the ship *Endraght*, of Amsterdam: first supercargo, Gilles Miebais Van Luck; captain, *Dirck-Hartighs*, of Amsterdam. She again set sail on the 27th of the same month. Bantum was second supercargo; Janstins first pilot; Pieter Ecoores Van Bu . . . in the year 1616.”

“ 1697

“ On the 4th of February, 1697, arrived here the ship *Geelvinck*, of Amsterdam, captain commander Wilhem de Vlaming, of *Vlielandt*; assistant, Joannes Bremer, of Copenhagen; first pilot, Michel Bloem Van-Estight; of Bremen: The dogger vessel, the *Nyptangh*, captain Gerrit Colaart, of Amsterdam; assistant, Theodorus Hiermans, of the same place; first pilot, Gerrit Gerritzen, of Bremen: The galliot *Net Weseltje*; commander, Cornelis de Vlaming, of *Vlielandt*; pilot, Coert Gerritzen, of Bremen. Departed from hence with our ships, and sailed again from the southern shores, being bound to Batavia.”

After having carefully copied these two inscriptions, captain Hamelin had another post made, and erected on the spot, and replaced the plate in the same place where it had been found. Capt. Hamelin would have thought it sacrilege to carry away this plate, which had been respected for near two centuries, by time, and by all the navigators who might have visited these shores. The captain also ordered to be placed on the N. E. of the island, a second plate, on which was inscribed the name of our corvette, and the date of our arrival on these shores.

On the second of August we departed from the isle *Dirck-Hartighs*, and came to anchor near the island called the Middle, by *Dampier*. On the same day I received orders to set out to determine the geography of part of the bay; that is to say, to explore the eastern coast of the isle *Dirck-Hartighs* from the N. E. point, as far as, and including the

southern part; then to examine the southern and eastern lands of the bay; after which I was to return to the north of the Isle Middle, where the Naturalist was to wait for me at anchor. In the nautical and geographical part of the voyage, I shall give all the particulars of this passage: here I shall only present the chief heads.

During the whole day on the 2d, it was so calm that we could not make much way. I lengthened the eastern coast of the island Dirck-Hartighs, and doubled a small cape that was somewhat remarkable, which, from its form, I named Looming Corner: I then discovered a small bay and a little island, which I named the Bay and Islet of the Tetrodons, from the immense quantities of fish of that species which we found there, and of which our seamen caught a great number. Here we found such a quantity of whales, that I was often obliged to turn out of my course, to avoid being run down by these enormous fish; I also saw some tortoises, and many small squales or sea-dogs. I passed the night on the south point of the Bay of Tetrodons, which I named Point Refuge, for a reason which will soon appear.

On the 4th I doubled Cape Ransonnet, which forms the southern point of the isle Dirck-Hartighs, and completed the geography of the Thorny Passage, so named by Dampier, from the dangerous breakers which lay detached from the coast S.W. of the island. As the night approached, I went into a small bay near Cape Ransonnet, where I observed several holes about the size of a man, and which I found to be so many burrows. It would be difficult to conjecture by what kind of animal these were made, the largest quadruped we had seen on this island being not quite so large as a rabbit.

All the day of the 5th was lost in beating to windward; and I was at length obliged to seek an asylum for the night on Cape Refuge.

The contrary winds and bad weather continued all day on the 6th, and exposed me to great dangers among the shallows which are at the mouth of the harbour, which I shall soon have occasion to mention.

On the 7th, after sailing all day over a sand-bank, where there was scarcely enough water to float my boat, in the evening I landed opposite a small islet, which was not more than a gun-shot distant from the beach. In the sand I observed several traces of the footsteps of the savages, but however none of inhabitants were now to be seen. Around several extinguished fires we observed the remains of shells and fish, but not any bones of quadrupeds; which made me

conjecture that they derive the chief part of their food from the sea.

Not far from the islot I have just mentioned, we found a large quantity of pearl oysters; and our seamen collected a great number, in some of which they found pearls, but they were very small.

On the 8th, just after we had set sail, and were about the distance of two gun-shots from the shore, we observed one of the natives, whom we had sought so long in vain on the preceding evening: he looked at us with attention for some time, and then returned with great indifference towards the interior of the lands. We soon came to an opening, which I supposed might be the mouth of a river: I made several attempts to go up it, but in vain; a continued sand-bank closed the entrance, and prevented me from convincing myself of the fact. This river, real or supposed, can have no particular interest to navigators, from the impossibility of landing there. It is pointed out in my map by the name of the Supposed River.

After doubling a large cape, which, from the name of one of my comrades, I called Cape Heirisson, I observed a creek of some size, whose direction was nearly from north to south. On going up this creek, we soon came into a very pretty small harbour, but which unfortunately being closed in by a sand-bank on which there is not more than three feet water, it can never admit a vessel of any size. For this reason I named it Useless Harbour. The north point of this harbour is formed by a large cape, which I have described under the name of Cape Bellefin, from the name of the worthy doctor of our corvette.

On the 10th, after reconnoitring Useless Harbour, I bore away to the south, to continue my labour from the spot where I had began my course on the 7th. I landed towards the evening on a small barren and solitary islot, where we passed the night. We found there a great number of sea-fowl, which, as soon as we had set foot to ground, took flight, screaming aloud; they hovered over our heads for some time, all the while making a great noise. The appearance of this cloud of birds was singular enough; their whiteness enabled us to distinguish them when they were high in the air, notwithstanding the darkness of the night. We killed several of them, and found great numbers of their eggs, but neither one nor the other were good: the eggs, although quite fresh, were scarcely eatable. At day-break I left this

place, which I called Islot Lefebvre, after our coxswain, who was an excellent helmsman.

On the 11th I discovered another creek, towards which I in vain endeavoured to direct my course, the wind being contrary: I also observed ten or twelve islots which projected a-head of a low barren sandy cape, which forms the south point of the large creek which I have just mentioned, and which from the name of one of my esteemed companions, I called Point Giraud. In traversing the environs of the spot where we had landed, I perceived several places where fires had been made, and I also observed the traces of the footsteps of the natives; some of these prints had been made by a very large foot: I measured one of them, which was 12 inches in length.

In the course of the day on the 11th, I steered towards the mouth of the opening which I had observed on the preceding evening; I named it Depuch Entrance, from one of our most amiable, and most unfortunate shipmates. I also discovered some small islots, in every respect similar to those we had seen on the preceding days. I again thought I had discovered the mouth of another river; but, as on the 8th, I found that a great sand-bank shut up the passage. I then doubled Point Giraud, to get towards the south: among many small islands, I observed two that were larger than the others, and did not appear so sterile. I landed towards the evening on the largest of these two islands, which I named the Island with Three Bays, from its triangular form, and from the three sides being each incurvated, and forming a small sandy cove, where small vessels might in all weathers find safe shelter. This little island is tolerably well wooded; and oysters and fish may always be procured on the shore; it is about a mile in extent.

On the 13th of August, after sailing about in every direction through the whole of the great bay for several days, I began to return towards the north: soon after I discovered more islots, and a small island which I named Isle Leche-nault, after one of the botanists belonging to our expedition. It was not more than a league in length, and seemed to be totally barren.

On the morning of the 14th, after sailing past a fine bay, I doubled a point which was remarkable for two little islots which projected out a-head: I named this Point Moreau, after one of our young companions. All the rest of the day was spent in reconnoitring the coast in sight; and I was

convinced that what we had till then called, according to Dampier, Middle Island, was certainly a long peninsula. We soon came to Cape Lesueur: the land in this spot turns short to the N. E., and I perceived our corvette, the *Naturalist*, at anchor in a bay which we named Dampier's Bay, from the celebrated navigator who first discovered it. Meeting the ship in this manner, was an additional proof that the land opposite was the same which till that time we had taken for an island. I came on board in the evening, after an absence of fifteen days, during which I had sailed about through more than two-thirds of the vast cove, so improperly called the Bay of Sea-dogs. The harbour which I had just reconnoitred runs about 30 leagues into the land: I named it H. Freycinet Harbour, in compliment to my brother, lieutenant of marines on board the *Geographer*; and the large peninsula which forms the eastern shore of it, I named after my friend M. Peron.

During my absence from the ship, several events had happened, of which I shall now give a succinct account.

On the 3d of August, captain Hamelin had moored to the north about seven or eight miles distance from the peninsula Peron; the next day a great smoke rising all at once above the neighbouring lands, the captain sent Messrs. St. Cricq and Bailly to discover the cause, who on their landing were attacked by about thirty savages armed with long sagaies and clubs: these ferocious men advanced, at the same time making a hideous noise, and prepared to strike the first blow, when M. St. Cricq determined, though very unwillingly, to fire a gun over their heads. An explosion of this sort being quite new to them, occasioned such great surprise and terror, that they altogether ran towards the shore, climbed over the downs, and fled into the midst of the thickets. The smoke that had been seen from the ship, proceeded from a large fire which these savages had just made.

On the 6th of August, the observatory was established on the neighbouring peninsula, and M. St. Cricq was appointed to ascertain the movements of the chronometers; but the variations of the temperature were so violent on shore, that he was in a few days obliged to bring the watches again on board.

On the same day, the 6th of August, our chaloupe, which had been only temporarily repaired when she was aground near isle Rottneest, was now hauled on the sands to undergo a thorough repair. All our carpenters and caulkers were employed in this work. There were also sent a sufficient number

of seamen to cut wood, and collect together as much as we wanted for every purpose. By this means, we had a small camp of about thirty persons. As it was necessary to provide them with water, and a perpetual trouble to bring it them from on board, we had our alembic on shore to distil the sea water. "I was charged," says M. Bailly, "with this duty, and notwithstanding some defects in the construction of the apparatus, succeeded in procuring about forty quarts a day, which was more than sufficient for the thirty persons on shore. The sea water thus distilled is not disagreeable; it has merely a smoky taste, which it would be easily got rid of, by exposing it to the air; it appeared to us besides to be preferable to the bad water so often used on board ships."

The advantage which resulted to us from the use of alembics, sufficiently shows how very valuable that chemical apparatus must be in the Navy, and which indeed ought to be regarded as indispensable in voyages where they may have to explore a dry coast destitute of soft water, like that of New Holland; and in case of shipwreck this apparatus would be the means of saving many hundred lives.

The 22d of August Messrs. Faure and Moreau were dispatched in the barge to pursue the exploration of the neighbouring coast near our anchorage: they were to begin their researches at the spot where I had terminated mine; that is to say, at the point named by M. De St. Allouarn, High Land Point, following afterwards the eastern coast of the peninsula Peron. They were to return on board after having lengthened the coast until they came abreast of the point of which I have just spoken. This expedition returned the 31st inst., and we then learnt from our friends, that to the south of High Land Point, they had discovered a little bay, since named the Bay of Attack: a larger point, which terminates it towards the south, was called Point Guichenault, from the name of one of the two companions of M. Peron in the hardships he experienced, and of which this account will give the details. Farther on, and always advancing towards the south, the party found a second bay, which we called L'Haridon Bay. The southern point of this bay received the name of M. Petit, one of our unfortunate comrades. In the east part of Cape Petit Messrs. Faure and Moreau discovered a tolerably large island, the western coast of which they contented themselves with visiting. This island we since named Isle Faure, from that geographer, who first saw it from the ship, and drew the plan. From hence continuing to go southward, Messrs. Faure and Moreau

sounded the bottom of a large harbour, which is only separated from that of which I have already spoken, by an isthmus, which we called Isthmus Taillefer, from the second doctor of the corvette Geographer.

In going up afterwards towards the north, the party met with some large sand-banks, which at this season of the year they found covered with turtles, and which, for that reason, I have described in my general chart under the name of Turtle Bank. Invited by the facility with which they could be taken, our party landed on the Isle Faure, and procured in less than three hours fifteen turtles, some of which weighed from 122 to 147 hilogrammes; that is, from 250 to 300 pounds; and thus laden with this precious cargo, they effected their return on board. The large harbour which they had discovered, was unanimously dedicated to captain Hamelin. This harbour is not so deep, but is much larger than the one to the westward.

Our provisions were now nearly expended, and we had not as yet any news of the Geographer. The captain had done every thing that was possible to effect a junction with that ship; he had not neglected to pursue that rigorous discipline prescribed to him by the orders of government and of his commander. There remained no hope of his falling in with the Geographer but at the place from which they set out. He determined therefore to return thither without further delay.

After this determination, we got under way the 4th of September for Timor, after having passed forty-nine days in the Bay of Sea-dogs, or rather what we took to be a bay, and of which it remains to us to give a general description.

After Dirck-Hartighs and Vlaming, the first European who visited the Bay of Sea-dogs, was Capt. Dampier, who in the time he lived, was a skilful navigator. It was to him that Europe owed its first and only correct notions of these countries, until the epoch of our expedition. Dampier anchored to the north of the peninsula Peron, which he himself mistook for an island, and gave the name of Shark's Bay (or Bay of Sea-dogs) to all that space comprized between the isles westward and the continent, without having discovered the form or breadth. Can it be wondered at, that after Dampier, in general so exact in all his labours, should have given the name of a bay to a heap of gulfs, harbours, and coves, which have only the general appearance of what is understood by that denomination, we should preserve it, however improper it may be, to the end of avoiding the risk, always serious, of alterations in nautical nomenclature?

St. Allouarn, with the flute *Le Gros Ventre*, visited these shores in the year 1772, and made himself acquainted with the land to the north of the peninsula; gave the name of High Land Point to the cape farthest north of this peninsula; and took his departure, without having done any thing towards settling the geography of that interesting portion of *Endracht's Land*.

It results from our labours, that we have nearly ascertained that the supposed Bay of Sea-dogs forms a great bight of about fifty leagues in depth, taking it from Cape Cuvier towards the north, unto the southern extremity of the gulf Freycinet; that all the eastern coast is exclusively formed by the continent; that the western is composed of the islot of Koks, of the isle of Dorre, of the isle Bernier, of Dampier's Reef, of the great island Dirck-Hartighs, and of a part of the continental shore. All the middle part of this opening is occupied by the grand continental peninsula, to the east and to the west of which are the harbours of *Hamelin* and *Freycinet*.

I shall not chuse to present again to the reader in this place, the miserable picture of the sterility of these shores. All the details of that exhibition have been given with as much preciseness as interest, in the Sixth Chapter of that relation. It will suffice to observe, that all that M. Peron could say of the physical constitution, and of the different productions of the isle Bernier, is strictly applicable to the neighbouring parts of that continent, and to the isles. Every where calcareous rocks support layers of sand, more or less elevated; every where the same scarcity of soft water, the same dryness, the same defect of vegetation, the same failure of produce. The animal productions of the sea are the same, and those of the land present no shade of difference, except in the species of kangaroo, which are larger on the continent than in the islands, and is in them also more rare: indeed, the last possesses exclusively the breed of dogs, and the human species is peculiar to it. Weak and thinly scattered, the inhabitants present in themselves the same natural and social character, and of which we shall have occasion to take notice elsewhere.

Considering the matter as a navigator, this part of *Endracht's Land* presents a good anchorage in the Bay of Dampier. It could also furnish wood, and a valuable supply of food from the turtles. And with respect to what concerns commercial interests, the number of prodigious whales seen there, seem to promise that any speculation would be at-

tended with success, which had for its object a fishery of those animals, while the use of alembics would furnish water sufficient for the consumption of the people employed. The fish and the turtle would afford them also an abundant and healthy nourishment, and the pearls might perhaps, with a little industry in seeking for them, abundantly recompense those who would engage in the enterprise.

I have said before, that the 4th of September we set sail from the Bay of Sea-dogs for Timor. The same day at two o'clock we were in the middle of the passage of the Naturalist, and in the evening we lost sight of the isles Dorre and Bernier.

The 15th September we perceived at a great distance the isle of the New Sabou (Sawii) to the south; it bore N. N. E. three miles and an half. The 16th, at day-break, we made the Great Sabou (Sawii), and steered to pass between that and the little island Benzoard. At nine o'clock in the morning we were in the strait which separates the two islands. The southern part of the Great Sabou is very high: its mountains, which become lower towards the sea-shore, are covered with habitations and beautiful forests, from the midst of which present themselves a prodigious quantity of cocoa and palm trees. A great number of these trees are to be seen close to the beach; their roots are watered by the waves. We coasted this shore near enough to distinguish several natives who walked along the beach. It is about six leagues in depth. The coast N. W. is still higher, and appeared to us still more fertile and pleasant.

The island of Benzoard, opposite to the Great Sabou, is only five leagues in length in its greatest dimension; it is lofty, well wooded, and inhabited.

On the 20th of September at day-break, we had sight of the Isle of Simâô (Semawii) to the east of us, and beyond which we discovered at a great distance, the lofty mountains of the island of Timor. In the evening, at sun-set, we perceived also the islands of Tico and Rotti (Rotte).

The lands of Simâô, although high, are less so than the lands of Great Sabou. This island is woody, and intersected by chains of mountains in different directions. The soil of the southern parts is of a strong reddish hue.

Rotti is also elevated. The small isle of Tico is low, but well wooded: it appears to be surrounded by a fine flat sandy shore.

Generally, these lands, in form, and in the healthy appearance of the vegetation with which they are covered, pre-

sent the most striking contrast to the low, sterile and desart appearance of the shores of New Holland.

On the 21st of September we sailed to the north of Rotti, to gain the roadstead of Coupang. At a quarter past six we were near enough to observe a three-masted vessel at anchor in the harbour. At half past seven I was sent with the long-boat to inform the governor for what purpose we touched at Coupang. I was already at some distance from the ship, when I saw coming from the shore a boat with the French flag; it was commanded by my brother. I then learnt that the Geographer had been at Coupang more than a month, and that from the moment of our separation in Geography Bay, they had suffered the greatest anxiety on our account. At length, at one o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored near our consort. Thus, by chance, met once more two ships, which, destined to act always in concert with each other, would never have suffered so long and distressing a separation, but for the false calculations and mismanagement of the commander appointed to direct their general co-operations.

BOOK III.

FROM TIMOR TO PORT JACKSON, INCLUSIVELY.

CHAP. XII.

The Passage from Timor to Cape South of Diemen's Land.

[From November 13th, 1801, to January 13th, 1802.]

WE have seen in the Fifth Chapter of this work, that, from the very commencement of the voyage, our commander had disturbed the whole of the general plan of operations which had been traced out by government : that instead of doubling the Cape South, he had reconnoitred Cape Leuwin, and that all the time of his first cruize had been spent on the N. W. coast of New Holland : circumstances, and the season, recalled us therefore to the southern extremity of Diemen's Land, and to that point we directed our course on leaving Timor. Long opposed by the calms and winds, we had much difficulty in doubling Cape Leuwin : we however succeeded in the beginning of January : at the same time we met with the strong winds from the W. N. W. which drove us rapidly on the southern shores of Diemen's Land ; and on the 13th of January, we first had sight of the foggy lands of this large island.

In the succinct account I am about to give of the principal events of this toilsome voyage, I have thought it my duty particularly to mention and describe the sea animals which fell under our observation, as their description furnishes particulars equally valuable to the naturalist and the navigator. For the particular latitudes in which these animals constantly abound, may often furnish the navigator with useful knowledge on the distances from such or such lands. The immortal Cook always esteemed observations

of this greatly interesting, and M. de Fleurieu, in his valuable Appendix to the Voyage of Marchand, enlarged on this subject in a manner which proved the particular consequence he attached to it. This part of his work, which may be considered as a summary of pelagious zoology, is certainly the best guide of the kind that can be chosen by the enlightened navigator, or even the naturalist himself.

On the 14th of November the sky was thick, the barometer was scarcely so high as $28^1 \frac{1}{2}$; the thermometer was at 23.5 ; the hygrometer pointed to 97° of humidity. Our numerous sick suffered much from this warm and moist temperature: and on this same day, died on board the *Naturalist*, Savary, the boatswain's mate.

On the 15th, we ourselves lost the unfortunate Sautier, our horticulturist's first assistant; an active and industrious man.

On the same day, we saw a water-spout at a distance: on the 16th, in the evening, we saw a second water-spout, and in the night we ran past Great Sabou.

On the 17th, in the morning, we were off the Isle Benzoard, and soon after we passed it, we discovered New Sabou. It rises but little above the waves which break against its shores; its surface has every where a cheerful appearance, and seems covered with verdure; here and there may be distinguished clumps of beautiful shrubs. This small island is uninhabited, and is particularly remarkable for an enormous rock, which stands near one point of the isle, and which at a distance seems as if pierced with a large hole.

The unhealthy temperature of the preceding days continuing, our sick people became worse, and about eight o'clock in the evening we lost François Courroyer, one of the strongest men of our crew, and one of our best helms-men.

At this period our ships were surrounded by great flocks of the birds called boobies, which seemed to come from the adjacent islands. From this time to the 30th of November, these birds constantly attended us; they must therefore, with us, have ranged the whole of the sea between the tenth and fifteenth degree of south latitude, which must be about 125 leagues distant from the shores. This observation confirms, certainly, the remarks of Lafeuillée, Cook, and Forster, on the uncertainty of the indication of the nearness of the lands, deduced from meeting with birds of this description: it is, however, certain, that we never in open sea observed any of these birds flying in flocks, and the passage of which I am

speaking is a proof it. In fact, after having passed the islands of Sabou, we kept at a great distance from any land, and we saw no more of these sea-fowl till we again drew near Diemen's Land, when legions of them appeared in sight, almost immediately after we perceived the lofty mountains of that great island; we may look on the appearance of these birds, with few exceptions, as a general and probable indication of being near to some land; and this, to the navigator particularly, who sails in the midst of unknown seas, is an indication of some value. This species of booby being new, I have described it under the name of *Sula Sabuensis* (the booby of the Sabou isles).

On the 18th of November, Marie Hubert, gunner, died on board the Naturalist.

On the 19th we ourselves committed to the sea one of our best seamen, whose name was Pougens. At this period we were so much oppressed by the heat, and our allowance of water was so short, that some of our unhappy men were seen to drink their own urine! Every remonstrance of our doctor, to increase our allowance of water for the present, and to diminish it the more when in cooler latitudes, was in vain. It is with great regret that I have to mention these particulars, but in voyages of this description, misfortune itself gives a lesson that should not be lost: the most celebrated navigators, at the head of whom must be placed Cook, La Perouse, and Vancouver, were of decided opinion, that the want of water was the chief cause of the scurvy in long voyages; and as we were soon after this period afflicted to a great degree with this terrible distemper, can I justly dissemble, or pass over in silence, a circumstance so particularly connected with this afflicting epidemic?

On the 20th of November, we found on the surface of the sea a great number of those physaliæ which I described in the Third Chapter of this work. This kind seemed to me to differ from that of the Atlantic Ocean: I described it by the name of *Physalia Australis*, and I made many observations on the organization of these extraordinary animals, all the particulars of which will be given in the zoological part of our work.

On the 22d of November another of our unfortunate gunners, named Mentelle, died. Consternation now reigned on board: twenty-five men lay sick, and among them were Messrs. Depuch and Maugé: happily, as we got more to the south, the heat became less oppressive, and the health of our sick seemed to amend as the thermometer sunk.

On the 24th we saw for the first time some sea-gulls (*Procellaria Pelagica*, Lin.) We were now in the fourteenth degree of south latitude; on the 7th of December, in the seventeenth, and on the 1st of January, in the thirty-fourth, we again saw some of these birds, which are rarely seen in this latitude.

On the 25th of November we caught a shark about ten feet in length, which gave us an extraordinary proof of the prodigious irritability of these fish, after the head was cut off, and the heart and entrails taken out and thrown into the sea, and we were dragging it forward to wash it at the pump. The animal, while we drew it along by the tail, made violent motions, and raised its body with such strength and quickness, that several persons had nearly been thrown down. In our passage from Europe to the Isle of France, I had before seen, in an animal of the same kind, this irritability remain for a still longer time. For above two hours the shark had been gutted and the head taken off, when a sailor came to cut off the tail; but the knife had not penetrated the flesh more than half an inch, when the fish contracted itself violently and leaped several times on the deck, and this irritability continued till the tail was entirely taken off with an hatchet.

On the 26th, in the evening, on speaking with the Naturalist, we learnt that they were not more fortunate than ourselves with respect to the sick on board; that independent of those we have already mentioned to have died, they had since lost Bourgeois, of the city of Havre, a young man of distinguished education and amiable qualities: this day they committed to the deep a seaman named Yves, and captain Hamelin informed us that he had still eighteen on the sick list. M. Levillain was among these, and every day became worse. In return for this sad news, we gave them the melancholy account of our own losses, and our two ships parted to continue a voyage under these very sad auspices.

On the 27th we saw numerous companies of flying fish: we again saw some on the 30th of November, the 1st and 2d of December, in the latitudes from 14° to 19° .

On the 2d of December, in 15° , we observed the first bird of Paradise (*Phœton Æthereus*, Lin.), the most beautiful of equatorial sea-birds: on the 22d we saw more of them, and on this day we passed the tropic of Capricorn. Thus these observations agree with what is so elegantly said by Buffon, on the limits of the climates in which these beautiful birds are seen: "Following the chariot of the sun in

the burning zone between the tropics, ranging continually beneath that ardent sky, without ever exceeding the extreme boundaries of the rout of the mighty star of heaven, it announces to the navigator his approaching passage under the celestial signs."

On the 11th of December we found ourselves in 21° south latitude, and 101° east longitude from the meridian of Paris. Here we saw a *Procellaria Capensis*, the most beautiful of antarctic sea-fowl, the description of which is so often repeated in the relations of ancient and modern travellers.

On the 13th of December we saw more of these beautiful birds, and as on the same day we saw some phætons, it follows that we might have seen at the same time, and in the same place, two animals, one of which, the exclusive inhabitant of the antarctic seas, delights in cold, in fogs, and storms; whilst the other, following, according to Buffon, the chariot of the sun, enjoys the calm of the tropics and their ardent temperature. From these observations, and from those of Cook, who in his second voyage found the former of these birds on this side of the 30th degree, it follows that the limits fixed by Linnæus for the resort of these animals, ought to be nearer the equinoxial parts of the globe than those of 40° , beyond which the celebrated Swede has thought fit to confine them. We also saw numbers of them the whole length of Leuwin's Land, and even in Geography Bay, in 33° of latitude.

On the 12th of December we passed the tropic of Capricorn for the fifth time, to get into the temperate southern regions. The temperature was already not above 17° ; the barometer from 28.1, had risen progressively to 28.3. On this day we lost our master sail-maker, a very respectable man, and who was much esteemed by our officers and crew.

On the 25th we saw some grey petrels (*Procellaria grisea*, Lin.): on the 29th, the 30th, and 31st, we saw more of them, in latitude from 32° to 33° south. It is here that Linnæus says they are first to be seen: Cook, however, in his first voyage saw none of them till he was in 35° south latitude.

On the 29th of December the sea appeared covered with Janthines, the most beautiful of the testaceous mollusques: this jelly-fish, by means of a bunch of small vesicles filled with air, floats on the surface of the waters, as we have before remarked in the Third Chapter of this work.

On this shining shell I discovered a new kind of crustaceous animal, of a beautiful ultramarine blue, like the shell. I knew

this to be a *Pinnothera*, and I have described it under the name of *Pinnothera Janthinæ*. This discovery is so much the more interesting, as it does not appear that any of these adhesive animals were ever found before in univalve shells.

On the same day, the 29th of December, died my colleague, M. Levillain. To the cruel dysentery with which he had been afflicted ever since our departure from Timor, was added a dangerous diaphoretic fever (*V. diaphoretica de Torti*), the fourth fit of which deprived him of life. His body was committed to the ocean, which by an unfortunate fatality, had already been the grave of his father and eldest brother. This death was deeply lamented by all on board our two ships: M. Levillain was of a mild and amiable disposition, which had made him beloved by all who knew him. During his stay in Dampier's Bay, he had made a fine collection of shells and petrifications, which form long banks on these shores, and which are so much the more interesting, as most of them seem to have their living resemblances at the feet of the same rocks which are composed of these petrified shells.

On the 3d of January 1802, the gentle winds and dead calms were succeeded by a strong gale from the W. N. W.; the barometer sunk rapidly from 28.3 to 27.10: the sky was covered with thick black clouds, and in the night we had a violent storm of rain. On the next day, the 4th of January, the winds continued to blow in impetuous squalls; the sea rose horribly, and we pitched much: but the rapidity with which we sailed reconciled us to these hardships, so unavoidable in weather such as we now experienced. In the midst of these raging waves we saw swimming two monstrous whales, which passed very near the ship: I was not able to distinguish of what particular kind they were, because they only appeared at times on the surface of the sea, and then as quickly disappeared, leaving a great swell behind them.

"Assurgunt longo properantes agmine fluctus,
Miscenturque vadis imis."

STAT.

On the 5th we were in 37° latitude and 117° east longitude. Here disappeared the great equinoxial petrel (*Procellaria equinoxialis*, Lin.); we had first seen it on the 11th of December, in about 21° latitude, and since that time it had been constantly seen flying round our ships. It consequently follows, that we have seen this beautiful bird in an extent

of more than 19° on the limits of the southern equinoxial regions, and in most part of the temperate regions of this part of the globe; and if we add to these observations of our own, the authority of Edwards, Brown, and Linnaeus, who all extend the limits where the petrel is seen, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and even to New Zealand, it must doubtless be allowed, that it would have been difficult to give to this species a name less applicable than that of equinoxial, which seems to apply exclusively to an inhabitant of equatorial countries.

On the 6th and 7th of January, the stormy weather of the preceding days continued; and on the last of them we found ourselves in 39° latitude and 120° east longitude: the thermometer was not at more than 10° , and the cold made us take to our winter clothing.

We now first saw the species of albatross, described by Forster under the name of the chocolate-coloured albatross (*Diomedea spadicea*). We had seen since the 4th, in 35° latitude, the common albatross (*Diomedea exulans*, Lin.), the largest of antarctic sea-fowl; and we had observed the two varieties of white and brown, which probably ought to make them be considered as two distinct kinds, as I shall endeavour to prove in another place. Some of those we saw, when the wings were extended, were above ten feet from the point of one to the point of the other. The chocolate-coloured albatross appeared to me, as to Forster, to be less than the exulans. As far as the shores of Diemen's Land these birds followed our vessels, and their number seemed to increase as we drew nearer the cold foggy climates, in which they more particularly abounded.

The 9th presented to my observation several interesting animals, first those large brown gôelands (*Larus cataractes*, Lin.), which the seamen call shoe-makers, Port Egmont fowls, &c. Cook saw great numbers of them as far as the middle of the frozen regions in the 64th degree of south latitude. These gôelands are, next to the albatrosses, the most powerful sea-fowl of the antarctic extremity of the globe.

The other flights of birds which we saw in the course of the day on the 9th, all belonged to the genus of sea-swallows (*Sterna*). I distinguished three kinds, the first seemed to be the *Sterna obscura*, Lin.; the second was new. I have described it under the title of *Sterna melanosoma*, from the black colour of the body; the third was also unknown to naturalists, and from its similarity to the *Sterna Caspia*, Lin., I gave it the name of *Sterna Caspiaides*. On this same

day we perceived in the waters, at a small distance from the ship, an enormous species of sepia, which had a great similarity to the genus of the calmar, or cuttle fish (*Loligo*, Lamarck), as big as a ton: it rolled with great noise in the midst of the waves, extending its long arms on the surface of the waters, moving them, that they appeared like so many enormous reptiles: each of the arms were six or seven feet in length, and seven or eight inches in breadth. Doubtless it is some animal of this kind that Don Pernetty describes as having such prodigious dimensions, and being of such an amazing weight, that according to him, it is able to obstruct the working of a ship, and by climbing up the cordage, to drag it to destruction and cause it to founder. This is doubtless an idle tale, and a ridiculous exaggeration, but probably it may be founded on the appearance of some such monstrous animal.

On the 10th of January the stormy weather still continued. I discovered a new species of sea-gull, which I have described by the name of *Larus melanopterus*, from its black wings. On the same day, for the first time, we saw floating on the surface of the waves some quantities of the *Fucus giganteus*. It is not without reason that this vegetable bears this specific name, for I have seen some stalks or branches of it, that were 200 or 300 feet in length; and in the course of this work, we shall shew by what means nature raises these long branches from the bottom of the seas, and how they are thus made to float on the surface of the waves.

On the 11th, I described under the title of the dolphin with a black muzzle (*Delphinus leucoramphus*), a new species of dolphin, which M. de Lacépède has, in his History of Cetaceous Animals, called by my name (*Delphinus Peronii*). The remarkable disposition of all animals to become white the nearer their habitations are to the high latitudes, is an extraordinary phenomenon. Thus in the same northern regions which produce white foxes, white bears, &c. there is also a kind of white dolphin (*Delphinus leucas*, Lin.): and in the high southern latitudes, besides the *Delphinus leucoramphus*, which I have just mentioned, there is a second species of the same genus, which was first observed by Commerson, and afterwards by Forster, the body of which was totally white, with the exception of a few bluish-brown spots.

On the 12th of January we reckoned ourselves to be in 44° of south latitude, and 141° 27' east longitude, and consequently we were not far from the cape S. W. of Diemen's

Land. In the course of the night there was much hail and rain: on the next day, early in the morning, after a voyage of sixty-one days, we first discovered the shores of this large island.

CHAP. XIII.

Southern Part of Diemen's Land.

[From 13th of January to the 17th of February, 1802.]

ON the 13th of January, at day-break, we first had sight of land, which then appeared to bear from N. N. E. to E. N. E. At eight o'clock we were off the cape S. W., and soon came in sight of the small isles of Witt, and the solitary rock Meuwstone. From eight o'clock till noon, we rapidly lengthened all the southern extremity of Diemen's Land, and at twelve we doubled the south cape, the last point of the globe in the eastern hemisphere. The rocks of Scilly, and the Eddystone, were at this time to the south, and almost out of sight.

Every eye was now fixed on the land: we admired those lofty mountains, which nature has placed like so many ramparts of granite to oppose the rage of the stormy sea: these mountains extend as far as the frozen antarctic pole. We observed with admiration those large plains in the interior of the island, which rise in amphitheatres over the whole surface, and are covered with immense forests. The sea all this time was stormy and rough; the winds blew violently and in squalls from the S. W.; the temperature was cold; the sky thick; and long clouds of vapour gathered round the grey sides of the woods and mountains. This fog was succeeded by heavy rains, hail, and hoar frost: innumerable flights of boobies, goëlands, cormorants, swallows, &c. flew from the neighbouring rocks and encircled our ships, mingling their piercing cries with the noise of the angry waves; a long rank of white muzzled dolphins, with several large whales, played around us; in a word, every thing seemed to unite in giving a sort of solemnity to our arrival off these shores, and all proclaimed that we touched the extreme boundaries of the southern world.

At half past twelve o'clock we had sight of the Boriel Isles, which form the most southern point of Storm Bay. Our commander made signal to captain Hamelin to make sail, and enter the channel of Dentrecasteaux. This manœuvre was scarcely performed, when we perceived a large bank of rocks, which forced the *Naturalist* to haul the wind on the starboard tack, to get more sea-room, and we followed their example. During this time the rain and sleet continued; the squalls became more violent, and we were obliged to take in most of our sails; but at length we succeeded in doubling the ridge of rocks which lay out a-head of those sterile isles; then directing our course towards Cape Bruny, we ran through the channel, keeping near Point Labillardiere. At half past four o'clock we had moored in the great cove in twenty-three fathoms, oozy bottom to the east, and one mile only from Partridge Island.

Of all the modern discoveries made on Diemen's Land, that of the channel of Dentrecasteaux is doubtless the most singular and the most important. After successively escaping Tasman, Furneaux, Cook, Marion, Cox, Hunter, and Bligh, the French admiral himself only discovered it by a mistake, which, though it proved fortunate, might have been fatal.

In the general description which in another place I shall give of Diemen's Land, I shall more particularly enlarge on the channel of Dentrecasteaux: at present it shall suffice to mention the particulars of our stay, and our operations on this spot.

The chief end of our touching at this extreme point of Diemen's Land, was to take in fresh water: our commander hastened to send several boats to different parts to seek a watering place. M. H. Freycinet received orders to go on the morning of the 14th to the mouth of the river Huon and the port of Swans: M. Lesueur and myself accompanied him.

At nine o'clock we passed the small isle nearest the mouth of the port: the whole surface, covered with verdure, trees, and shrubs, made this spot appear like a beautiful grove. At half past nine we came to the port of Swans: of all the places which I had seen during the whole course of our long voyage, this appeared to me to be the most picturesque and pleasant. Seven ranges of mountains rise as by degrees towards the interior of Diemen's Land, and form the perspective of the interior of the port: to the right and left, the rising hills enclosed it on every direction, and presented as we

sailed along, a number of small well rounded capes and romantic little creeks. In every direction the most active vegetation shewed its various productions : the shores are covered with lofty trees, always green, and growing so close together, that it is almost impossible to penetrate the forests. Innumerable flights of parrots, cockatoos, &c. with the most varied and beautiful plumage, inhabited their lofty branches ; and the tom-tit, with a beautiful ultramarine blue ring round its neck, played in the shade of the boughs.

The sea near this spot was extremely calm, and its surface covered with innumerable legions of black swans, which sailed about with great elegance and majesty.

While we were occupied in the pleasing contemplation of this picture, we were disturbed by some cries which we heard on the right shore of the port, whither directing our eyes, we perceived two savages who ran towards the beach, both of them shewing the most extraordinary gestures of surprise and admiration. One of them carried in his hand a kind of torch of lighted bark. We answered them by some shouts, and endeavoured to approach the shore, but instead of waiting for us, they ran into the forest and disappeared.

In pursuing our course we came to a small creek, at the bottom of which is a beautiful valley, that seemed to promise a stream of fresh water : this consideration determined M. H. Freycinet to land there. We had scarcely set foot on shore before two natives appeared on the top of a hill : at the signs of amity which we made, one of them seemed rather to spring from the top of the rock than to descend from it, and in the twinkling of an eye was in the midst of us. He was a young man of from twenty-two to twenty-four years of age, of a strong general appearance, having no other defect than the looseness of the joints of his arms and legs, characteristic of his nation, and of which we shall take occasion to speak in the conclusion of our work. His physiognomy had nothing fierce or austere, his eyes were lively and expressive, and his manner displayed at once both pleasure and surprise. M. Freycinet having embraced him, I followed his example, but the air of indifference with which he received this testimony of good will and friendship, made us easily perceive that to him it had no meaning. What appeared at first to interest him most, was the whiteness of our skin, and doubtless, wishing to ascertain whether the rest of our bodies was of the same colour, he successively opened our jackets and shirts, and expressed his astonish-

ment by loud exclamations of surprize, and by very quick motions of his feet.

Moreover, our chaloupe seemed to attract his attention still more than our persons, and after examining us some minutes, he jumped into the boat: there, without troubling himself with, or even noticing the seamen who were in her, he seemed quite absorbed in his new subject. The thickness of the ribs and planks, the strength of the construction, the rudder, the oars, the masts, the sails, he observed in silence, and with great attention, and with the most unequivocal signs of interest and reflection. At this moment, one of the men in the boat, willing to add to his astonishment, presented him a glass bottle filled with arrack, which made part of the allowance of the crew. The shining of the glass at first made the savage utter a cry of astonishment; he took the bottle and examined it a few moments, but his curiosity soon returned to the chaloupe; he threw the bottle into the sea, seemingly without any other intention than to rid himself of an object that was perfectly indifferent to him, and immediately returned to his examination of the boat. Neither the exclamation of the seaman, who was vexed at the loss of his bottle of arrack, nor the haste with which one of his comrades threw himself into the water to fish it up again, seemed to give him any concern: he made several attempts to push off the chaloupe, but the small hawser which fastened it, made his efforts of no avail, he was therefore obliged to give up the attempt and to return to us, after giving us the most striking demonstrations of attention and reflection which we had ever seen among savage nations.

When we came to the top of the hill we have before mentioned, M. Freycinet and myself met with the second native; this was an old man of above fifty years of age; his beard was partly grey, as was also his hair; his countenance, as well as that of the young man, was frank and open; notwithstanding some unequivocal signs of fear and disquiet, it was easy to discover kindness and candour. This old man, after having examined both of us with as much surprize and satisfaction as the first native; after having determined, like him, the colour of our necks, by drawing aside our jackets and shirts, made a signal to two women a little way off, to approach: they hesitated for some instants, when the oldest of them came to us: the youngest followed, more timid and disturbed than the first, who appeared to be about forty years of age; and large furrows on the skin of

her belly shewed beyond contradiction, that she had been the mother of many children. She was entirely naked, and appeared, like the old man, kind and friendly. The young woman was about twenty-eight years of age, and was of a robust make, like the other: she was also entirely naked, with the exception of the skin of a kangaroo, wherein she carried a little female infant, to which she gave suck; her bosom already a little sunk, appeared otherwise well formed, and abundantly supplied with milk. This young woman, like the old man and woman (whom we took to be her father and mother), had a very interesting countenance, her eyes had an expression and fire which astonished us, and which we have never since observed in any other female of that nation. She appeared besides to be extremely fond of her little infant, and her care of it had all that kind and affectionate character which is acknowledged by every body as the peculiar attribute of maternal love.

M. Freycinet and myself offered various presents to this interesting family, but every thing which we offered them was received with an indifference that surprised us, and which we had often occasion to observe among individuals of the same country.

In the mean time, M. Freycinet desiring to determine as soon as possible his conjectures of the existence of a rivulet of soft water in the bottom of a valley which we saw at a little distance, set out with some of the crew. M. Lesueur prepared to go in search of the animals of the forest, and for myself I remained among the savages, occupied in observing them, to describe their natural habits, and in endeavouring to collect some words of their idiom. The young man having observed that our seamen wished to light a fire, hastened to collect together the branches of some trees near us, then with a kind of torch which he had placed near the spot where we were, he procured for us in a few moments an immense large fire, which was the more acceptable, as the thermometer was scarcely at 9°. At this instant the young woman shewed some evident marks of astonishment, of which the cause was frivolous enough, but which I ought not nevertheless to pass over in silence, because it is precisely from those little details that we acquire a right judgment of the state of a people placed so far distant from social intercourse: one of our sailors wore a pair of fur gloves, which in approaching the fire he drew from his hands and put in his pocket, at the sight of which the young woman uttered a

scream, which at first alarmed us, but we were not long at a loss to guess the cause of her fright, and we could not doubt from her gestures, but that she had taken the gloves for real hands. or at least for a sort of live skin, which he could thus take off and put into his pocket or replace at pleasure. We laughed heartily at this singular mistake, but we did not enjoy so well the old man's carrying away from us a bottle full of arrack, which, as it contained a great part of our stock, we were obliged to make him restore, at which he seemed to express a great deal of resentment, for he left us, together with his family, notwithstanding all that we could do to make them remain with us longer.

I went afterwards to the beach : it was low water, and in two hours I gathered more than forty new species of mollusques, shell, crustaceous, and other fish. In the zoological part of the description of Diemen's Land, I shall describe several of these, which by their size, colour, and general economy, or their particular importance to the naturalist, may appear to merit attention.

On returning to the spot where our chaloupe was moored, I learnt that M. Freycinet had not been able to find any appearance of soft water, although he had made a long and laborious journey in search of it. M. Lesueur had been more successful : he brought back a dozen kinds of birds, three of the parroquet species, and the beautiful tom-tit, with the blue head and neck, of which I have spoken. The sailors during our absence had prepared our frugal meal ; we ate it in haste, and set out immediately to visit another part of the shore, where we had some hope of finding soft water. We presently discovered a hut belonging to the natives ; it was simply a shelter of bark disposed in a half circle, and supported against some dry branches : so slight a shelter could have no other object than that of protecting the inhabitant from the action of the cold wind. I observed that its convexity was effectively opposed to the S. W., which on these shores is the most constant, the most impetuous, and the most severe. Before this wretched hut we discovered the remains of a fire recently extinguished ; large heaps of oyster shells, and of the *Haliotis gigantea* were at a little distance, from which exhaled, from the corruption of the remains of the animals left in the shells, a putrid and nauseous odour.

On the beach we observed two canoes, each formed of three pieces of bark closely joined together, and fastened

by straps or slips of the same bark. At a future time I shall speak on the subject of this unskilful attempt at the art of navigation: M. Lesueur made a correct drawing of these canoes.

These huts, these recently extinguished fires, these remains of shell-fish, and these canoes, left us no doubt that the family we had just seen inhabited this part of the shore, and indeed we soon saw the same party coming along the sandy beach towards us. As soon as they observed us they shouted for joy, and mended their pace to join us. Their number was now increased by a young girl about sixteen or seventeen years of age, a little boy of four or five years, and a little girl of three or four years. This family thus consisted of nine individuals. The most aged of them seemed to be the father and mother, the young man and his wife seemed also to be brother and sister, and we supposed the young girl to be also the sister of these last: the four children we concluded might be the offspring of the young man and woman.

The family were returning from fishing, in which they had been fortunate, for each was loaded with shell-fish, of that kind belonging to the large species of marine ear, peculiar to these shores. The old man taking M. Freycinet by the hand, made signs to us to follow him, and conducted us to the poor hut we had just quitted. Fire was lighted in an instant, and after repeating several times, *médi, médi* (sit down, sit down), these savages themselves squatted down on their heels, and began each to eat the produce of their fishery. The cookery was neither tedious nor difficult; these large shells were placed on the fire, where, as in a dish, the fish was baked, and afterwards eaten without any other preparation or seasoning. On tasting this food we found it succulent and well flavoured. While our good Diemenese thus enjoyed their simple repast, the idea of treating them with a little music entered our heads, not so much to amuse them, as to see what effect our singing would have on our audience. We chose the hymn which was so unhappily prostituted during the revolution, but which is nevertheless so full of enthusiasm and spirit, and so likely on this occasion to produce effect. At first the savages appeared more affected than surprised, but in a few moments they lent an attentive ear: their meal was left unfinished, and they expressed their satisfaction by divers contortions and so many odd gestures, that we could scarcely restrain our risibility. On their part, they with difficulty checked expressing their

their enthusiasm while we sung, but no sooner was there a pause, than exclamations of admiration issued from every mouth: the young man particularly seemed as if beside himself, he pulled his hair, he scratched his head with both hands, he threw himself into a thousand different positions, and shouted with pleasure at the end of every verse. After this martial tune, we sung some of our tender airs: the savages seemed to comprehend the sense of these, but it was easy to perceive that sounds of this kind did not much affect them.

Their repast being ended, the scene at once took a new and more interesting character. The young lass whom I mentioned attracted our more particular attention by the softness of her manners, and by the affectionate and expressive regard with which she appeared to observe us. Ouré-Ouré, like her parents, was entirely naked, and did not seem at all to be aware that any person could imagine there was any indecency or immodesty in this absolute nudity. Of a constitution and form more delicate than her sister and brother, she was also more lively and animated. M. Freycinet, who sat next her, seemed to be more particularly the object of her regards, and it was easy to perceive in the manners of this innocent pupil of nature, that delicate shade, which gives to the most simple playfulness, a character of serious preference: coquetry itself seemed to be called in to the assistance of the natural attractions of the sex. Ouré-Ouré showed us for the first time the nature of the fard or paint of these regions, and the particular method of using it. Taking some of the burnt charcoal in her hands, she crushed it so as to reduce it to a fine powder, and keeping this dust in the left hand, she with the right rubbed some of it first on her forehead and then on her cheeks, and made herself most frightfully black: and what astonished us still more particularly, was the air of satisfaction with which this young girl seemed to regard us after this method of adorning herself, and which seemed to give an additional degree of self-satisfaction and confidence to the expression of her countenance. Thus it seems, that a fondness for ornament and a sentiment of coquetry prevails in the hearts of the whole sex.

While this was passing, the young children imitated the grimaces and gestures of their parents, and nothing could be more curious or diverting, than to see these little negroes making motions with their feet while we sung: they insensibly became very familiar, and before we parted,

they were as much at their ease with us, as if we had been long acquainted. Every little present we made them delighted them extremely, and increased their attentions to us: in general these children appeared to us to be lively, merry, and a little mischievous. It is curious to find at the extremity of the globe, and in this unformed state of social intercourse, these amiable and affecting characters which, among us, also distinguish the days of infancy. We have here also pointed out similarities in the character of women in general from the manners of those in these regions: we shall hereafter find room for other analogous remarks, and adding to our own particular observations those of other navigators, and deduce the conclusion, that the characters of women and children are much more independent than those of men; that they are less affected by the influence of climates, physical causes, or the improvement of society.

The household furniture and utensils of the family were simple and few: a leaf of the *Fucus palmatus*, with two ends bent together with a small pin of wood, served them as a vessel for their drink, a split fragment of granite was used as a knife, to take off the bark from trees, and to make points to their sagaies, and a spatula of wood which seemed more particularly designed for the purpose of raising the shell-fish from the rocks; Ouré-Ouré alone, carried a bag made of rushes, which was prettily and curiously constructed, and which I much wished to obtain. As this young girl had also shewn me some marks of regard, I ventured to ask her for this little trifle, and immediately without any hesitation she put it into my hand, accompanying the gift with an obliging smile and some tender expressions, which I was sorry I could not understand. In return, I presented her with a handkerchief, and a hatchet and hammer, at the same time shewing her brother how to use it, which was the subject of much astonishment and exclamation to the whole family.

In the mean time the evening approached, and we prepared to rejoin our chaloupe, to get farther into the port, where we intended to pass the night. As soon as our new friends perceived our intention, they rose to accompany us, but after some observations from the old man, the old mother, the young woman with all her children, except the eldest, remained in the hut, the others attended us. M. Freycinet took Ouré-Ouré by the arm; I walked with the old man; M. Lesneur gave his hand to the young one, and M. Brue, our cadet, conducted the child. The way we went was full of brambles and shrubs; and our path

savages being naked, were much scratched by them: we particularly pitied young Ouré-Ouré: but without seeming to mind the numerous scratches which covered her thighs and belly, she walked on through the midst of these thickets, chatting with M. Freycinet, without any chance of being understood; but provoked at not being able to convey her ideas, or to understand him, she accompanied her discourse with so many winning gestures, and gracious smiles, that her coquetry was very expressive.

As we drew near the place of our landing, we heard several reports of a gun, which much frightened our companions; poor Ouré-Ouré particularly, trembled excessively, and M. Freycinet had some difficulty in calming her terrors: her fears soon increased at the sight of a numerous body of our shipmates from the *Naturalist*, who were coming to meet us, and who did not at all expect to find us on this spot. They were Messrs. L. Freycinet, Faure, Breton, and Bailly, who had come to reconnoitre the Port of Research, and who from thence had arrived at that of Swans, in search of fresh water, and who like us had not been able to discover any. After we had told these gentlemen of the kind reception we had experienced from the natives, they were all eager to load them with presents; but nothing pleased them so much as a long red feather, which M. Breton presented to Ouré-Ouré: she actually jumped for joy; she called to her father and brothers; she cried, she laughed; in a word, she seemed quite intoxicated with delight and pleasure.

We at length came to the beach, and embarked in our two chaloups. Our good Diemenese did not leave us for an instant, and when we put off, their sorrow was expressed in the most affecting manner: they made signs to us to come again, and as if to point out the spot, they lighted a large fire on the hill which I before described: it even appeared that they passed the night at this place, as we saw the fire till the morning.

Thus ended our first interview with the inhabitants of Diemen's Land; the particulars of which I have given with the greatest exactness, and doubtless it would have been difficult to resist the sentiments which such adventures must necessarily inspire. The confidence which the inhabitants shewed us, the affectionate testimonies of goodwill which we could not but understand, the sincerity of their demonstrations, the frankness of their manners, the affecting ingenuousness of their caresses, all seemed to

unite in developing the kindest and most interesting affection and friendship. The general union of the several individuals of the family, the kind of patriarchal life which we had witnessed, had strongly affected our feelings: I saw realized with inexpressible pleasure, those charming descriptions of the happiness and simplicity of a state of nature, of which I had so often read, and enjoyed in idea. I was at the time far from conjecturing the many privations and miseries to which such a state is liable.

On leaving our good Diemenese, we steered our course towards the end of the port, and settled to pass the night in a small creek, where we hoped to find fresh water; but we were again disappointed, and on the next day, as soon as it was light, we continued our course to explore every corner of the port. We soon observed great numbers of black swans sailing with much majesty and swiftness on these peaceable waters. As the motion of our chaloups seemed to alarm them, we landed some sportsmen, and I also went on shore to explore the interior of the country.

The immense forests of trees that seem coeval with nature itself, and where the sound of the axe was never heard, present an extraordinary spectacle to the eye of the traveller. Here vegetation is continually enriched with its own spontaneous productions, and every where expands without controul; and where at the extremities of the globe, such forests are exclusively formed of trees totally unknown to the European world, and vegetable productions that are extraordinary both in their organization and their great variety, the scene becomes still more interesting. Here a mysterious and perpetual shade obscures the light of the day, an extreme coolness, a penetrating humidity is constantly felt. These large trees sinking into the earth with age, again produce many healthy suckers: the aged trunks now decomposed by the united effects of time and humidity, are covered with different kinds of moss and adhesive herbage; the interior harbouring numerous reptiles and swarms of insects; these fallen trunks obstruct every avenue of the forest, crossing each other in a thousand different directions; they oppose the passage like so many protectors of the boundaries, and multiply the obstacles and dangers which surround the footsteps of the traveller: often they sink under the weight of his body, and thus he falls among the perishing remains, and still more frequently the moist and putrid bark slips from under his feet: sometimes their heaps form natural banks from 25 to 30 feet in height; in other places they

have fallen over the bed of the torrents; and across the depths of the valleys, thus forming so many natural bridges, on which it is dangerous to step without great caution.

This picture of disorder and the ravages of time, these scenes presenting devastation and destruction, are counter-balanced, if I may be allowed the expression, by the beauties of nature; all that its creative power can display that is most majestic and beautiful, here delights the eye and the contemplative mind. In every part we see crowded on the surface of the soil, those beautiful *Mimosa*, those lofty *Metriosideros*, those *Correa*, formerly so totally unknown in our country, but which now are the pride of our groves. From the sea-shore to the very summits of the highest mountains of the interior, we see the lofty *Eucalyptus*, the gigantic trees of the forests of the south, many of which are not less than from 160 to 180 feet in height, with a circumference of 25 or 30, and even 36 feet. The *Banksia* of diverse kinds, the *Protea*, the *Embothrium*, the *Leptospermæ*, expand their ramifications as in a charming border to these impervious woods. In another place the landscape presents the *Casuarina*, so remarkable in its foliage, so valuable for its solidity, and the rich and beautiful marbled veins of its wood; the elegant *Exocarpos* spreads out its waving branches, like those of the cypress; and farther we see the *Xanthorea*, whose single stalk shoots 12 or 15 feet above a scaly and stunted trunk, and from which distils an abundant quantity of an odoriferous resin. In some places are seen the *Cycas*, whose kernels enveloped in scarlet skin, are so deceitful and poisonous. In every direction are charming groves of *Melaleuca*, *Thesium*, *Conchylum*, and *Evodia*, all equally beautiful either for their majestic appearance, the lovely verdure of their foliage, or the singularity of their blossoms and fruits. In the midst of so many interesting objects, the mind is astonished, and can only wonder at this inconceivable fecundity of nature, which supplies so many different climates with productions peculiar to each, and which at the same time are always so rich and beautiful.

On my return to the sea-shore, I learnt that our sportsmen had been unsuccessful, the swans having kept quite out of reach, we therefore got on board our chaloups, and pursued them to the very end of the port, where we killed two of them. We now landed again to eat our repast, and to seek for fresh water: while M. Freycinet and several of our companions in this pursuit walked along the neighbouring shore, I resolved to cross some large marshes, which in this

in this place form the termination of the Port of Swans. I hoped, and indeed succeeded in finding a number of interesting subjects; but I hardly escaped being buried alive in these vast marshes. Nevertheless, I succeeded in reaching the opposite shore, and determined to return to our place of mooring by crossing a valley which lay between the mountains, and which I thought might be the bed of some stream. In this hope I was not deceived, and I had the pleasing satisfaction of being the first to discover a delightful little river, which produced great plenty of trout of a new kind, and which running from the N. N. W. to the S. S. E. seemed one end to reach as far as the foot of the neighbouring mountains, and the other to lose itself among the marshes, without having any apparent communication with the sea. Its course was narrow, and in this place was not above three feet deep; but the water was very sweet and clear. After going up this river for a few minutes, I again bent my course to where our chaloups were moored. Our gentlemen had already returned, without having discovered any appearance of fresh water. I communicated to them my discovery, and they all immediately went to ascertain the truth of it. During their absence, I sat down to eat some muscles which our seamen had cooked in sea-water; these I found very good: all the rocks abounded with them, and I had the pleasure of discovering a new kind of Pinnothera. These muscles were also of a kind unknown to naturalists, as were most of the zoological productions of these shores.

On the return of my companions from their walk to the little river, they told me that they had followed it some way into the interior of the land, and that on the banks they had found three or four huts similar to those we had seen on the preceding days: they were of the same opinion with me, that if not impossible, it was at least very difficult, to get water from this river, on account of the marshes, over which it would first be necessary to make a causeway, whereon we might roll our water casks. They farther told me, that they had also seen great numbers of trout, and brought a few which they had killed with their guns.

Notwithstanding the difficulty occasioned by the marshes which makes this river so inaccessible, the discovery of it is nevertheless of consequence, as the Port of Swans must sooner or later become the site of an European settlement: and in this case the river would supply water for a colony throughout every season of the year. The causeway we

have mentioned would easily be made, and ships also might then water there.

We named the river, Flenricu, in compliment to the celebrated hydrographer of that name, who was also the chief compiler of the excellent plan of our voyage, of which we have given the particulars in the First Chapter of this work.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon when we set sail to return to our ships; at this moment the Port of Swans appeared with additional charms to our delighted view: the serenity of the atmosphere; the last rays of the setting sun reflected on the waves; the shade of the forests; the darkened tinge of their verdure; the grand appearance of the mountains in the interior, the tops of which appeared above the clouds; the numerous little creeks and small bays here and there to be seen on each shore; the companies of elegant black swans sailing with majestic motion; the numbers of beautiful perroquets, with varied plumage; the lovely tom-tits with blue necks, and sparrows of many colours, flying about the woods, singing their evening song: all seemed to unite in adding to the natural charms of so delightful a spot: every eye was fixed on the prospect, and every one seemed to leave with regret this interesting scene.

As night approached we were so becalmed, that our seamen were obliged to row without resting from six o'clock in the evening till half past two in the morning; the chaloupe belonging to the Naturalist, which we lost in the course of the night, must have been still longer in reaching the ship. I learnt at my return, that on the 15th in the morning, the little boat belonging to the Geographer having been fishing on the Isle Bruny, the natives had appeared in great numbers; that, loaded with presents by our companions, they had spent the most part of the day among them; that M. Maourouard, one of our cadets, wishing to ascertain from his own experience, the degree of strength so generally ascribed to savage nations, had proposed to one among them, who appeared to be the most robust, to wrestle with him; the Diemenese having accepted the challenge, was several times thrown by the young Frenchman, and compelled to acknowledge his inferiority: from that moment till their departure, several hours had elapsed, without any appearance of the good-will and friendly disposition of the natives towards them being in the least changed; and being presented with new gifts by our friends at the very moment when they re-embarked, it was impossible to have the smallest suspicion

of any change in the sentiments of the savages; when in a moment a long sagaie, thrown from behind the neighbouring rocks, struck M. Maurouard on the shoulder. This clumsy weapon had been thrown with so much force, that after having grazed the whole surface of the blade bone, it had cut through the flesh between the neck and the shoulder. The boat's crew, provoked at the perfidious and cowardly brutality, would have pursued the savages and punished them as they deserved; but they had already escaped among the rocks, or hid themselves among the brambles. "This accident," said M. St. Crieg, who was on shore with M. Maurouard at the time, "was a lesson to us in future; and we took every precaution that no such thing should happen again: nevertheless, these precautions were not sufficient, for in another part of the channel, a few days afterwards we were again attacked by the savages with a shower of stones: fortunately no one was hurt."

In the meantime we had in vain sought fresh water on this part of the coast: the result of our search convinced us that at this season of the year all the springs are dry; we therefore resolved to depart, that we might seek water in some other place. On the 17th we set sail to get more towards the interior of the channel, but we had no sooner doubled the point Ventinat, than we were forced by a calm to let fall the anchor in nine fathoms water, oozy bottom. I immediately landed on the isle Bruny, with Messrs. Freycinet and Montbazin: on this part of this large island the soil is not very fertile: the trees here are so widely dispersed, that objects two or three hundred paces distant may be easily distinguished: the earth is light, sandy, and superficial; it lays on a bed of rocky granite, of which I collected many beautiful samples. Divers kinds of *Coleopteræ*, among which, two appeared to me to belong to a new genus; some beautiful lizards, of a somewhat similar form to the scinque or crocodile, but materially differing in the elegance of shape and the agreement of proportion, and several beautiful sea and land shells, were the produce of this incursion: but of all the new subjects which we found on the isle Bruny, the most valuable was a quadruped, the description of which will be found in the zoological part of our work.

A short time after our return, the commander himself came from a short incursion which he had made on the main land with captain Hamelin, and Messrs. Leschenault and Petit. These gentlemen had again met with the natives, and this

interview had again ended with a violent aggression on their part : for M. Petit having drawn a representation of several of these savages, the party prepared to return to the ship, when one of the natives sprung on the artist, and attempted to take from him the drawings he had just made : M. Petit resisted, and the furious savage seized a log of wood, with which he would have knocked down our unarmed companion, if the rest had not run to his assistance. Far from endeavouring to avenge the attempt, they loaded the aggressor with presents, in hope of calming his ferocity by this generous conduct, and to obtain his good-will as well as that of his countrymen : but these savage people no sooner saw our men busy in getting on board, than they went into the wood, and immediately we were assailed by a shower of stones, one of which hit our commander near the lower part of the back, and caused a large and bad contusion. Notwithstanding this perfidy, our companions continued their generous conduct. In vain did the savages appear on the beach, brandishing their sagaies and threatening our men by their gestures : not a gun was fired at them. "These hostilities," said our unfortunate botanist, M. Leschenault, "were committed on the part of the natives, without our having given them the least provocation ; on the contrary, we had loaded them with presents and civilities, and nothing in our conduct could have given them any offence ; and I am astonished, after so many examples of cruelty and treachery which are related in all voyages of discovery, to hear sensible people aver, that men in a state of nature are not wicked ; that they may be confided in without fear ; that they are never the aggressors except provoked to revenge, &c. Unhappily, many voyagers have been victims to these vain sophisms. For my part, I am of opinion, from all that we have seen and experienced, that we cannot be too much on one's guard against men whose nature has not been softened by civilization ; and that great discretion ought to be used in landing on shores inhabited by such people. On the day after the attack which I have just described, captain Hamelin having embarked in his small boat, went to reconnoitre the shore, and approached near enough to see what was passing there. It seemed as if the adventure of the preceding evening had disturbed the savages, or that they were determined to assault us if we landed again on their coast ; for the captain saw thirty-six men walking along the shore, in parties of five or six, one in each group carrying a bundle of sagaies ; and at the head of this little army was a man with a lighted firebrand in his

hand, setting fire, here and there, to the bushes which covered the land. This seemed to be a precaution which they thought necessary, that they might observe our motions from a greater distance, or to deprive us of the means of hiding ourselves and surprizing them."

On the 19th, at six o'clock in the morning, we again set sail to gain the Port N. W. where we designed to anchor: we successively passed the isle Sattelite, the point Riche, the bay of the Isthmus, the cape Legrand; the point Giquet; and about six in the evening we moored in the port as we intended. This short voyage between the two shores of the channel was very pleasant, and the prospects very picturesque. "On whichever side we turned our eyes," as M. Labillardiere justly observed, "we saw spacious bays where the navigator, beaten by the storm, may find a safe shelter. The number of these harbours is so great, that they might with ease contain all the fleets of maritime powers." In another view, these peaceable waters enclosed between two lands; these mountains crowned with clouds, the little hills, the valleys clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation, the legions of birds, whose varied notes might be distinctly heard on board our ships; the naked savages, whose black tribes could be easily distinguished on the white sandy shore; all together presented a romantic picture: but what still more astonished us, was the multiplicity of fires which we perceived. In every direction immense columns of flame and smoke arose; all the opposite sides of the mountains, which form the bottom of the port N. W. were burning for an extent of several leagues.

Thus were destroyed these ancient and venerable forests, which the scythe of time had respected through the course of so many centuries, only to fall a sacrifice to the destructive instinct of their ferocious inhabitants.

On the 20th at day-break, I embarked in a boat which was going to fish on the isle Bruny: I collected about twenty new kinds of fish, among which were two species of Lophies, two Ostracions, a Uranoscopos, a Cottus, a Raie or skate, two Scienæ, the Antarctic Chimera, and a second species of the same genus, which was very remarkable from a bone on the top of the head shaped like a club; a Syngnathus adorned with several floating membranes, resembling so many streamers. I also collected a dozen or fifteen kinds of shells, either entirely new or very rare, among which I found a valve of trigonia (*Trigonia Antarctica*, N.) a kind of shell never till now known to be a living subject; and which in our climate

form such long banks of petrifications; and the beautiful Venus, with transverse ribs extremely fine and thin, brittle, and slight; as also divers Phasianelles of the greatest beauty, some elegant trochus, several turbot, one of which I have described under the name of *Eustomiris*, reflected the most brilliant and lively prismatic colours; some kinds of paelles, fissurelles, and oscabrions, &c. &c. were the produce of this day's research. At the sight of this numerous collection of curious subjects, my unfortunate colleague M. Mauge, absolutely wept, and notwithstanding his consumptive weak state of health, he determined himself to go on shore on the morrow, and to seek some of these interesting animals: but alas! he only considered his zeal and courage; his dying frame was unequal to such an effort. He was scarcely landed on the beach when he fainted; and we were obliged to carry him again on board, in such a weak state, that at one time we feared he would die on the way. This was the last effort of his strength and zeal; he went no more on shore till he was taken there to be buried in the bosom of the earth.

As M. Freycinet will better explain in another part of this voyage, the geographic labours of admiral Dentrecaesteux on Diemen's Land are so very complete, that it would probably be impossible to find any thing better executed; and M. Beaumonts Beaupré, their principal author, has by them acquired an unalienable claim to the esteem of his countrymen, and the gratitude of navigators of every country. Wherever circumstances permitted this experienced artist to make sufficient researches, he has left nothing for his successors to do. The channel of Dentrecaesteux, the bays and numerous ports which belong to it, are particularly correct. Unfortunately, as the portion of Diemen's Land which lays north east of the channel, was but very superficially visited by the French admiral's boat, his work on this point is incomplete. We shall successively in this and the following chapter, endeavour to perfect the geographic account.

Our instructions from government, as we have specified in the first chapter, were to go up as far as possible every river that seemed to be of any importance. The North river was the only one in this part of the Southern Hemisphere which, in this particular, deserved reconnoitring: this care was committed to M. H. Freycinet, and I obtained permission to accompany him. We left the ship on the 24th of January, about three o'clock in the morning; but opposed alternately by the calms, the currents, and the winds, we were

obliged to row along shore on the eastern side of the river, to keep under the shelter of the land. At eight o'clock we moored, not being able to stem a strong current which carried us to the south : we here saw great numbers of pelicans, boobies, cormorants, and puffins. The lofty Plateau mountain was covered with fogs, which resolved into a very thick cold dew. The forests in this part of Diemen's Land are not so thick and large as in the interior of the channel ; they appeared also to have been partly destroyed by fire.

After passing the Plateau mountain, which seemed to be covered with only small stunted trees, and whose steep sides, furrowed by numberless torrents, presented the appearance of a basaltic rampart, we continued our course up the river. At noon we were off the large hill, at the foot of which the boats of admiral Dentrecasteaux had stayed : this mountain seems to be formed, in the higher parts, of horizontal beds ; the base, however, appeared to me to be of primitive origin. Beyond this hill, the river certainly forms a remarkable elbow, but does not turn suddenly to the west, as is indicated in the French chart—it continues its general direction towards the north.

We had no sooner doubled the point formed by the great hill, than we observed a prodigious number of black swans—the river was in fact covered with them, and we soon killed above a dozen, and then continued our course till we were aground on a shoal of mud and herbage, which, with all our strength, we in vain tried to get over. This unforeseen obstacle did not discourage M. Freycinet ; and on the morrow, at day-break, he landed with some men well armed, and the necessary instruments, to reconnoitre and survey the river by land, which he despaired of accomplishing in the boat. I accompanied him till, impelled by a desire to see more of the interior of the country, I separated from my companions to go farther up the lands. I soon came to the edge of a deep ravine, which was perpendicular to the course of the river : the left side was very steep, and it was with great difficulty I climbed it. Near this kind of natural rampart, were fourteen huts or sheds of bark, similar to those which I had before seen ; several fires were still burning in front of these huts, and I could have no doubt but that they had just been abandoned by the natives, who doubtless were frightened at the sound of the guns, which our comrades fired from time to time as they went along the bank of the river. In front of these huts I found several bones of kangaroos and birds ; and some flat stones, warm and greasy, on

which I concluded they had broiled their food : I picked up some of the hatchets and knives used by the natives ; which were simply fragments of a sort of granite, very fine and hard, and more or less in thickness, according to the use it was designed for ; with this substance the savages also make their weapons, which are a sort of tomahawk, and their pointed sagaies. In the particular history of these people, all these details will be recurred to more at large.

I was still engaged in the examination of those simple habitations, when on a sudden, I heard some piercing cries in the bottom of a neighbouring valley : I was alone and unarmed ; I therefore made haste to get farther from the spot, and pursued my course parallel to the river. I was soon at the foot of a high mountain, which I climbed, and from the summit I discovered the whole course of the North river, which after making a great elbow, is lost among a lofty chain of mountains which lay towards the north west. Beyond these planes of mountains, were to be distinguished some very high peaks, some of which appeared to be yet covered with ice and snow ; at least they were remarkably white : and my conjectures on this subject are corroborated by the observations in the voyage of D'Entrecasteaux, from which observations it results, that several high mountains on Diemen's Land are always covered with snow, even in the hottest seasons of the year.

After some time enjoying the delightful prospect before my eyes, I came down to the right bank of the river : and at half past four o'clock I had reached the place where M. Freycinet had left our boat under the care of our cadet, M. Brue and a few seamen.

At half an hour past seven, M. Freycinet himself with his men returned : after having gone above four leagues into the interior of the island, keeping always the course of the river, he was then obliged, on account of the thickets and marshes, to climb a neighbouring mountain : " From whence," said he, " I perfectly distinguished the course of the river, which at length lost itself in the mountains, its chief direction to the point where it is lost in the narrow passages among the mountains, was S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. and N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. The farther I went, the saltness of the water indeed diminished, but so insensibly, that it was not till I came to the foot of the mountain, where I ended my survey, that it was at all potable."

On the 25th, at day-break, we again set sail, to attempt a passage over the mud-shoal; we now knew that it was not above two or three hundred paces in breadth, and that beyond this

our boat would find water enough to take us much higher up the river, from the spot where we had been in the first instance obliged to moor. A brisk wind from the N. N. W. and the tide being in our favour, we were in hopes to overcome this obstacle; but after seven hours excessive labour and fatigue, we were obliged to give up any ulterior attempt, and return to the shore, carrying with us the sad certainty, that the river could not be of any advantage to navigation, or assist the voyager in any respect.

Our labours having been until now, more particularly directed to the geography of this part of Diemen's Land, we had not been able hitherto to give so much attention to the study of the natives, and the subjects of natural history. This part of our work being finished, M. Freycinet and myself resolved to land on different parts of the shore, as we returned, and to make some incursions up the country, to collect some new subjects, or to have some communication with the natives.

The manners of the people in this part, appeared to be still more savage than in the interior farther up the channel; and though we perceived here and there a few of them, it was impossible to join them, as they all when they saw us, fled into the middle of the woods. With more circumspection and perseverance on our part, we hoped to overcome their terrors, and remove their distrusts: the attempt did not succeed, as we shall presently see.

It was about two o'clock when we arrived off a small bay, which was almost in front of the high hill on the left shore, which we before mentioned: from hence we beheld a similar spectacle to that which we saw at the time of our entrance in the port N. W. In every direction, black columns of smoke arose; and wherever we turned our eyes, we beheld the forests on fire: the savage inhabitants of these regions appeared to wish, even at this price, to drive us from their shores. They had retreated to a high mountain, which also appeared like an enormous pyramid of flame and smoke; from this spot their shouts were distinctly heard, and the people who flocked to them seemed to be very numerous. We resolved to walk thither, and to spend the rest of the day in that difficult undertaking.

After giving the necessary instructions to M. Bruc, for the erection of the tent and the care of the boat, M. Freycinet and myself, with five men all well armed, directed our course westward towards this burning mountain. The spectacle was horrible: the flames had destroyed all the herbage;

most of the small trees and shrubs had experienced the same fate; and the tallest trees were burnt to a considerable height; in some places they had fallen to the earth by the violence of the flames, and vast fires raged among the rubbish: it was with great difficulty and fatigue that we advanced.

The nearer we approached the top of the mountain, the more the noise increased, and we expected immediately to be attacked by the savages, when in a moment the cries ceased: we came to the spot, and we saw with astonishment that the natives had fled, leaving their miserable huts. After picking up several weapons which they had left behind them, we for some time pursued our course in the same direction, and successively climbed three mountains, without meeting any of the savages whom we were in search of; at length, overcome with weariness and hunger, we took the way to our tents, where we arrived at night-fall.

On the morrow at day-break we re-embarked, to continue our voyage towards the ships; but we were now without water, and were in immediate necessity of a supply, when about eight o'clock in the morning we perceived a valley, which, from its enclosed situation, and the freshness of the adjoining forests, we thought might probably contain some springs of fresh water; and, indeed, we soon found the bed of a stream, but unfortunately, at this time it was almost dry, and we despaired of finding fresh water here; but on a farther examination we discovered some deeper cavities, which were still full.

While M. Freycinet was engaged in having our casks filled, I walked into the interior of the country, going up the pleasant valley, at the entrance of which we then were. The sun shone, the air was cool and refreshing, and the dews of the morning were rising from the ground; thousands of different species of the myrtle were in blossom, perfuming the air with their sweets, while numberless birds played among the foliage. I particularly distinguished among them the beautiful white cocatoo, with the yellow tuff: this was twice as large as that seen in the Moluccas. Here was also the large black cocatoo, with elegant transverse stripes of bright blue under the tail. I also saw thousands of those perroquets of the south, which, notwithstanding the cold temperature of these countries, rival in beauty the most brilliant kinds of those belonging to the equinoxial climates. I successively remarked the cuckoo *Xanthogastre*, the black-bird with a yellow ring round the neck, and a bird of the same species that was reddish; the lovely Tangara, of a lilac

colour, the bulfinch with a red tail, the woodpecker, and the tom-tit with a blue neck, and great numbers of other birds, which I have before observed in many parts near the channel. In the zoological part of our work, the particular description of these will be given more at large.

On our return to the boat, we embarked, to go back to the west side of the river, where we hoped to find some of the natives. At noon we entered a small creek, which is situated directly to the east of the middle of the Plateau mountain : here we saw a new scene of conflagration, similar to that we had observed on the preceding evening. "This conflagration," said M. Freycinet, "made us hope, that we should find the natives collected together somewhere near the spot ; we therefore landed, and immediately proceeded towards the neighbouring mountain. We had scarcely reached the ascent, when we beheld the country, which we at first thought so pleasant, with a totally different aspect : it now appeared to be only a large desert, ravaged by fire—the other side of the mountain was in flames."

In this incursion, I only collected some specimens of jasper, granite, and another sort of rock, which my friend, M. Depuch, thought to be a sort of porphyry. I also collected several kinds of lichens that were very beautiful ; several fungi and mosses, a genus of plants, of which I had begun to form an interesting collection from the first moment of our stay on the channel, and which I have since continued at every opportunity during our voyage.

As we returned towards the sea-shore, I followed the winding of a small creek : on this spot, all the pebbles were of basaltic rock, mingled with volcanic scoria. The existence of productions of this kind, in a country that is essentially primitive, possessed another charm in the petrifications of shells, some of which I had collected on the preceding evening, at the height of 600 or 700 feet above the level of the sea, on one of the mountains. From these circumstances it appears, that in this extremity of the eastern world, the terrestrial globe has experienced its revolutions and catastrophes ; and there has been, as in other places, ravages by the devastating fires of volcanos, and lands swallowed up by the seas !

As we quitted our fourth place of mooring, M. Freycinet and myself proposed to land again on other parts of the coast ; but the wind, which blew from the N. E., having freshened all at once, and the sky threatening a storm, we
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made for the port N. W., where we joined our ships at seven o'clock in the evening.

My industrious friend, M. Lesueur, now informed me, that during our absence he had added a great number of curious fish to our collection, and also had been on shore, where he had met with ten different kinds of birds which we had not before seen.

The situation of the channel of Dentreasteaux at the extremity of the globe; the multiplicity of its magnificent ports; its harbours and beautiful bays; the variety of its shores and bottom, is the occasion of its being at all times extremely full of fish; and when storms, which are so frequent in these latitudes, disturb even the very depths of the seas, the timid myriads of divers kinds of fish, resort from distant parts of the ocean to shelter in these peaceable waters: they must doubtless resort here in still greater numbers, when the cold brings the polar ice as far as on this side of the 50th degree of latitude.

At this inclement season of the year, all the sea animals hasten towards the north, seeking in more temperate climates the food and shelter necessary to continue their existence. Innumerable shoals of fish resort at these seasons to the channel of Dentreasteaux, towards Port Jackson, and to latitudes still nearer the equator, and thus pay to the starving inhabitant of the eastern shores of New Holland, the same annual tribute which the shoals from the north pay to us in European countries.

It is also at this season of the year that great numbers of sea-calves take possession of the isles in the straights of Bass, and of most of those which are situated along the eastern and western shores of New Holland: it is in the same inclement season that the whales from the south make a similar migration: the ocean is at times covered with shoals of these enormous fish. "In every part," said the captain of the English ship the *Britannia*, in his voyage from the cape south of Diemen's land to Port Jackson, in 1791; "the whole surface of the sea was covered with whales, as far as we could see, even to the very edge of the horizon: these large fish were crouding and following each other in shoals."

The southern extremity of Diemen's Land projecting like a large cape a-head of innumerable shoals, cannot fail of abounding in all kinds of marine animals: to confine myself to the mention of the fish only, I shall first observe, that their numbers and great varieties were equally astonishing

to us during our stay in the channel, and consequently we could catch any number at any time: we caught several skate of six or eight feet in length: five species of these were new; raies of three or four hundred pounds in weight, and some species of the same genus that were smaller and of a very delicate flavour: we also caught divers kinds of labres, spares, sciènes, and etox: the uranoscopes, the plenronectes, the cottes, and the polynemes, were very numerous in every part of the channel, and supplied us daily with plenty of an excellent and wholesome kind of food. Among those kinds of fish which were of least utility, but that were also singularly curious, were three kinds of ostracions, two of which were very prickly; the armed chimera, which I have mentioned before, two tetrodons, two lyngnathes, and a great number of other kinds, all new, which M. Lesueur and myself collected, described, painted, or preserved with the greatest care; but in general our acquisitions were so numerous and so various, that it would be impossible to particularise them, without exceeding the bounds of this work, and of this chapter.

The twenty days which intervened between my return from the North river till the departure of the two ships, were almost all employed in making incursions, shorter or longer, on different parts of Diemen's Land and the isle Bruny. I had often the opportunity, during these walks, of observing the miserable hordes of these countries, and to collect some interesting particulars on the subject of their manners, customs, weapons, ornaments, language, &c. &c. all these observations are so immediately connected with the natural history of these people, that here I shall only mention some particulars of one of our most remarkable interviews.

On the 31st of January, early in the morning, I landed on the isle Bruny. A boat from the Naturalist and our long-boat, had brought a considerable number of people on shore on this island, either to fish or to get wood for the ships. The tide was low, and I immediately left the people, with the intention of walking as far as I could round the circumference of the island, at the same time keeping along the shore. I had got out of sight of the boats, when after doubling a large point, I perceived about twenty savages coming along the shore, as if to meet me. I without hesitating a moment turned back, warned by experience of the danger of such rencontres.

As I thus retreated, I met M. Heirisson, officer of the Naturalist, and M. Bellefin, the doctor of that ship, who were

amusing themselves by shooting on the borders of the forest. I told them the reason of my retreat, and they offered to return with me and face the savages, that we might endeavour to have some communication with them. Our number and our arms being now a sufficient protection against their ill-will, if they should be disposed to offend us, I accepted the proposal of my friends. We were at this time at only a small distance from the company, when in a moment they again disappeared among the trees of the forest. We now climbed the downs, and without pursuing the natives, which the swiftness of foot peculiar to these people would have made hopeless, we contented ourselves with calling to them, shewing them several different things as presents, and at the same time waving our handkerchiefs. At these demonstrations of friendship they hesitated an instant, and then stopped, as if to wait for us. We now discovered that they were women, and that there was not a single male among the party. We were advancing nearer, when one of the oldest of them leaving her companions a few steps in the rear, made signs to us to stay where we were, and to sit down, calling aloud to us *médi, médi* (sit down, sit down); she seemed also to desire us to lay down our arms, of which they seemed to be in some fear.

These preliminaries being settled, the women squatted on their heels, and from that moment seemed to shew all the natural vivacity of their character without the least reserve, and speaking altogether, asked us a number of questions, seeming often to criticise our appearance, and laugh heartily at our expence, making a thousand odd gestures and contortions. M. Bellefin began to sing, at the same time using a great deal of action: the women immediately kept silence, observing with as much attention the motions of M. Bellefin as they seemed to give to the sound of his voice. At the end of every verse some applauded him with loud acclamations, others laughed heartily, while the young women, being more timid, kept silence, and expressed their surprise and satisfaction only by their looks and gestures.

These women, with the exception of some few who had the skin of a kangaroo over their shoulders, were all entirely naked; but without seeming to think at all of their nudity, they so varied their attitudes and postures, that it would be difficult to give any just idea of all that this interview presented of the whimsical and picturesque. Their black skin disgustingly greased with the fat of the sea-wolf, their short woolly hair, which was black and dirty, and

which some of them had powdered with red ochre; their figure besmeared with the dust of charcoal; their shape generally lean and shrivelled; with their breasts, which were long, hanging down: in a word, all the particulars of their natural constitution were in the highest degree disgusting. From this general picture, however, we must always except two or three young girls, of fifteen or sixteen years of age, in whom we could perceive an agreeable form, and pleasant features, with a round well formed bosom, though the nipples were rather too large and long. These young girls had also something ingenuous in the expression of the countenance, something soft and tender in their manners, as if the most amiable qualities of the mind were always, even among the most savage hordes of the human species, the more particular appendages of youth and beauty. Among the most aged of these females, some were ill-formed and clumsy; others, but these were few, looked sulky and ferocious; but in general, we observed in them all a something unhappy and depressed on the countenance, which misery and servitude always print on the faces of those who are compelled to bear the yoke. They were besides, almost all of them covered with sores, the sad consequences of the ill treatment they had received from their ferocious husbands: one only, among all her companions, had preserved any degree of confidence, with a lively and merry temper: this was she who had imposed the preliminary conditions which I mentioned above.

After M. Bellefin had concluded his song, she began to mimic his action and the tone of his voice, in a very pleasant and truly original manner, which much diverted her companions: she next began herself to sing, with such a rapidity of expression, that it would be very difficult to give any idea of music, such as it was, so different from the general principles of any European music.

Their tunes seem entirely to accord with their language; for these people speak with such quickness and volubility, that it is impossible, as we shall shew hereafter, to distinguish their pronunciation with any degree of precision: it is a sort of rolling sound, for which our European languages do not furnish any expression of comparison or analogy.

Excited by the sound of her own voice, which we did not fail to applaud with much warmth, and doubtless wishing to obtain our admiration in other respects, our jovial Diemenese began to dance, and to throw herself into divers attitudes, some of which might be thought very indecent, if

in this state of society, men were not still absolutely strangers to all the delicacy of sentiment and conduct, which among us is only the consequence of complete civilization.

While all this was passing, I employed myself in minuting all the particulars which I have here given, and many other observations, which will with more propriety be produced at a future time. I was doubtless observed by this same woman, who had exerted herself so much to entertain us; for she had no sooner finished her dance, than she came close to me, and taking from a bag made of rushes, such as I have before described, some charcoal which it contained, she crushed it between her hands, and with an obliging air she began to apply it on my face, as is customary in these regions. I willingly submitted to this obliging piece of caprice: M. Heirisson had the same complaisance, and was ornamented with a similar mask. We now seemed to be very much admired by these women; they appeared to regard us with a degree of sweet satisfaction and pleasure, and seemed to congratulate us on the acquisition of such an addition to our beauty. Thus it appears that the fairness of skin, of which Europeans are so vain, is an absolute defect, and a sort of deformity, which, in these distant climates, must yield the palm of beauty to the blackness of coal, or the colour of red ochre.

The deference which we had shewn for these women, and probably the additional charms for which we were obliged to their kind care and attention, seemed to increase their good will and confidence in us: but, however, nothing would induce them to come any nearer. At the least movement we made, that seemed to imply an inclination to break through the conditions, they all sprung up from their position on their heels, and ran away: we were therefore obliged to conform entirely to their wishes, that we might longer enjoy their company. After loading them with civilities and presents, we thought proper to rise, and return to our boat; and our Diemenese ladies seeming to intend taking the same direction, the two parties set off, but we were again obliged to submit to the regulations of these inexorable women—we were to walk on the sandy beach, while they walked on the downs of sand in a parallel line.

As they probably were on their return from fishing when we met with them, they all had some large crabs, a kind of lobsters, and some other sorts of shell-fish, which they had broiled on the coals, and which they carried in their bags of rush. These bags were fastened round the forehead with a

sort of string, and hung on their backs: some of them were very heavy, and we pitied them sincerely for having such burdens to carry.

We were as merry on the way as we had been during the whole time of our interview; and from the top of the downs they played many tricks, and practised many drolleries, to which we endeavoured to reply as expressively as we could devise; and we should have longer continued to divert ourselves in this innocent manner, if one of the women had not on a sudden uttered a loud cry of terror, which was repeated by all the rest—it was our boats and comrades, of which they had just got the first sight. We strove to calm their fears, assuring them that, far from having any thing to fear from our friends, they would again receive some presents; but our remonstrances were in vain, and the whole party fled into the forest, when the same woman, who was almost the only one who had endeavoured to entertain us, seemed to recollect herself, and to change her mind. At the sound of her voice, the rest seemed to hesitate a moment: she spoke to them for an instant, but, as it appeared, could not prevail on them to follow her. She sprung from the top of the downs alone, and walking on the beach before us at a little distance, with great courage, and even with a degree of stateliness; she seemed to ridicule the timidity of her companions, who now, in their turn, appeared to be ashamed of their want of courage: they by degrees seemed to overcome their fear, and at length determined to return to the beach. With this numerous and extraordinary escort, we arrived at the spot where our boats were moored, and where, by a chance it was impossible to foresee, all the husbands of these poor women had arrived together but a few minutes before.

Notwithstanding the most unequivocal testimonies of the good will and generosity of our companions, they still maintained a sulky dissatisfied expression of countenance; their looks were fierce and menacing, and their attitude shewed something of constraint, malevolence, and treachery, which they in vain endeavoured to conceal: we thought we could perceive, that they were mortified at their own inability to contend with us in their divers attacks; at the same time, they seemed to dread our vengeance.

At this unexpected rencontre, all the unfortunate females who had followed us, seemed greatly terrified; and their savage husbands gave them such looks of rage and anger, as were not at all likely to re-assure them. After having deposited the fish they had brought at the feet of these men,

who immediately divided them among themselves, without offering any to the women, these humiliated wives placed themselves in a group behind their husbands, who were seated on the farther side of a high dune of sand; and here, during the remainder of our stay, these unfortunate women did not dare to speak, or smile, or even lift up their eyes from the ground: but this is only a slight sketch of the picture which we shall present to the reader hereafter. A few days after, I had the pleasure of meeting the same woman who had so much attracted our attention: I then learnt that her name was Arra-Maida. M. Petit, at my request, drew a likeness of her, and which is a very correct resemblance: in the features may be easily discovered that expression of courage and superiority, which so eminently distinguished her from her companions. The last time I met with her, she had a young child at her back.

On the 3d of February, I landed again on the isle Bruny, with three of our officers, the two Messrs. Freycinet and M. Montbazin; and we soon saw two women, who, from the top of a neighbouring mountain, were directing their steps towards the sea-shore. Eager to see them nearer, my companions ran after them; but they had not run above two hundred paces, before the women, whom they imagined they should easily overtake, were quite out of sight: this I had told them would happen, having before been convinced that the inhabitants of these shores were, in general, much more swift of foot than Europeans. As we drew near the beach, we found a large fire, which doubtless had been made in the night, and was still burning. Around this fire were strewed almost all the presents which we had given to the natives, and those which they had stolen, even at the risk of their lives. We had before found some of these things scattered here and there in the woods; and we were convinced that, after having satisfied a puerile curiosity, these uninformed men threw away what no longer pleased or amused them.

In the mean time, our business on Diemen's Land was ended: we had obtained wood sufficient; the small river which ran at the termination of the N.W. port had supplied us with plenty of water, which was, however, rather brackish; our time-keepers had been regulated by our astronomer, M. Bernier; and lastly, M. Faure had returned from exploring the N. E. of the channel, and brought back the following interesting particulars:

In the east of the North Bay is marked, on the chart of admiral Dentrecaesteaux, a second bay, which, by the name

of Bay Frederick-Hendrick, opens into a third, which, in the same chart, is called Bay Marion. The channel of communication between these two last bays, is correctly shewn in the French chart. Our commander, immediately on our arrival in the N. W. port, sent the geographic engineer, M. Faure, to reconnoitre this channel, and to determine whether the passage was of sufficient extent for our ships to go through with safety.

Eleven days had been spent in this work, from which it was proved, first, that the plan of the North Bay, as it was found in the chart of Dentrecasteaux, is incorrect. M. Faure, indeed, discovered, in the innermost part of the bay, a piece of water that was rather shallow, but of great extent : this was so sheltered, that it might at all times be a safe place of mooring for small vessels and boats. Here he also discovered a small river, which, situated in the north of the Point Renard, was navigable for near two leagues up the country ; but all the water was brackish. However, M. Faure succeeded in finding a supply in some small lakes of fresh water which were near the shore, or rather in the very bed of the river, which was at the time almost dry.

2d, That the second bay, which lays S. E. of that of the north, and which is but vaguely pointed in the chart of Dentrecasteaux, is in fact a safe and spacious port, with excellent mooring.

3d, That there is not, as has been asserted, any channel of communication between Marion's Bay and that of Frederick-Hendrick.

4th, That what was at that time pointed out under the name of the Isle of Tasman, in the French chart, is not an island, but a large peninsula, which joins Diemen's Land by an isthmus of 100 fathoms in breadth at the narrowest part, and about 300 fathoms in length.

5th, That this isthmus is not at all connected with the Bay of Marion, or that of Frederick-Hendrick, as the chart indicates precisely, but belongs to another bay, which is situated more towards the south.

6th, That the name of Frederick-Hendrick is erroneously given to the bay which lays S. E. of that in the north, which makes it utterly impossible, according to the knowledge since acquired of this bay, that Tasman could have known or have seen any part of it.

7th, For the same reason, the name of Frederick-Hendrick, given by the French to the small island which lays to the west of the Point Joannet, should not be preserved, because

in ascribing the pretended discovery of this part of Diemen's Land to Tasman, it helps to preserve an opinion that is not founded on fact.

8th, That the name of the Isle of Tasman, used by Dentre-casteaux, ought also to be corrected.

9th, It appears, therefore, from the labours of M. Faure, that the Bay of Frederick-Hendrick, not being where it is placed in the French chart, it must be necessarily sought elsewhere; and we shall see in the following chapter, that it will be found, thanks to our exertions, in the true place, and in what manner it is at all connected with that of Marion.

From all these considerations, we have, in the relation of our discoveries, adopted the following names: preserving to the North Bay that which was given to it by the French admiral, we have given the name of Port Buache to the great bay which is described so erroneously under the name of Frederick-Hendrick; the Isle Tasman, of admiral Dentre-casteaux, we have called the peninsula of Tasman; we have also agreed with M. Beauteemps-Beaupré, in substituting the name of St. Aignant instead of that of Frederick-Hendrick, as the name of the isle which lays west of the Point Joannet. We called the piece of water at the farther end of the North Bay, Ransounet-Bason, and the small river whose mouth is situated N.W. of the Point Renard, we named Brue-river, from the name of one of the two cadets of our expedition, who were both very estimable characters.

All our labours being thus terminated on this part of Diemen's Land, we unmoored on the 5th of February, and made every preparation to set sail as soon as the wind became at all favourable. In the evening of the same day, the disk of the sun at its setting appeared of the most beautiful and bright red colour: the wind was then N. E. but in the course of the night it changed to the north, and blew in impetuous squalls, which lasted till ten or eleven o'clock on the following morning. These squalls were so violent, that in the course of a few hours the barometer sunk seven lines three-tenths; they were at the same time attended with such a sudden and extraordinary degree of heat, that in a few moments the temperature rose from 11° to 22° of Reaumur, and it was scarcely possible to breathe even in the open air: the wind seemed like the heat from a furnace, and immediately all the surface of the sea appeared to smoke; an immense quantity of water spread throughout the atmosphere, and during the rest of the day we were as if plunged

in a bath of hot vapour. Some of our people, among whom was our commander, thought these effects of nature might be caused by the conflagrations of the neighbouring forests; but independent of the insufficiency of such an explanation, even in the present instance, we shall hereafter see that these hot winds are also experienced on the west shores of New Holland, with circumstances perfectly similar: and on the eastern coast of the same continent, they are felt and attended with effects that make them still more dreadful; thousands of animals are sometimes suffocated in the course of a few hours, and in an instant all the vegetation becomes withered. We shall at present only observe, that these hot winds are felt as far as the southern extremity of Diemen's Land; there also these winds come from the north. In one of the following chapters some curious observations will again occur on this subject, with more particulars which are connected in an interesting manner with the natural history of this large continent.

On the 17th of February, having a light breeze in our favour from the east to the E. S. E. we set sail from the channel of Dentrecasteaux, after a stay of thirty-six days, toward the southern extremity of Diemen's Land.

CHAP. XIV.

The South-East Part of Diemen's Land.

[From the 17th to the 28th of February, 1802.]

WE were scarcely out of the channel, when the wind changed to the south, and compelled us, during the whole day, to tack between the peninsula of Tasman, the isle Willemez, and the isle Bruyn, without making any way. The night was calm, but about two o'clock in the morning a fine breeze sprung up from the W. S. W. We took the advantage of it to bear away to the S. S. E. At day-break we passed Cape Raoul, which was peaked in every part with jutting projections of prisms, and points of rock that appeared to be basaltic. At seven o'clock in the morning we

were off the Isle Tasman, which is a large sterile plain, whose blackish sides rise from the bosom of the waters-like volcanic ramparts: the south point, like Cape Raoul, was covered with immense columns of basalt. On Cape Pillar, the same constitution, the same broken appearance is to be observed; and on the cape which lies to the west of the rocks of Hippolytus, and which we named Cape Haüy, in honour of the celebrated mineralogist of that name, the appearance of these fragments is horrible. At the distance of some miles, this cape appears like an immense organ standing on the surface of the waters. The rocks of Hippolytus are connected with this grand system of disorder and broken chasms: these rocks are three in number, and the largest of them something resembles the Coin-de-Mire of the Isle of France.

After doubling Cape Haüy, we found ourselves off a small bay, but very pleasant. On the right and left of this bay, large, black, and sterile masses raise their heads: these summits are broken, and as if cut into teeth like a saw: towards the farther end of the bay is seen a beautiful verdant border, which makes a most striking contrast to the naked and barren sides of the dark mountains by which it is enclosed. Beyond these first elevations, in the distance, is seen a lofty mountain, whose summit is terminated by a triple peak. We named this bay Dolomieu Bay, and pursued our course towards the north, ranging at a short distance a steep coast, washed by a deep sea. We now began to perceive, that the land was not here quite so barren; and the lofty head of the Eucalyptus appeared above these ramparts.

A short distance to the north of the Bay Dolomieu, we soon saw a large opening, which M. Faure ascertained to be the Eastern bay, opposite to the Port Buache, and which we mentioned in the preceding chapter. This identity is so much the more incontestible, as our engineer, at the time he was exploring, after having crossed the isthmus, had found himself at the farther end of this new bay, and from this point he had observed the rocks of Hippolytus, so situated as to determine this fact. We named this Monge Bay, in compliment to the illustrious scholar to whom the mathematics, and other sciences, are indebted for so many valuable discoveries. The isthmus which separates Monge Bay from Port Buache, appeared low and sandy. Beyond this isthmus, and on a second elevation, we discovered a chain of grey mountains, which at first appear lower than those of the peninsula of Tasman, but which, rising rapidly towards

the north, make a second peninsula, which we shall have to speak of in another part of this work. A large rounded cape, of a brownish tint, terminates Monge Bay to the north: the whole of this cape towards the sea, is barren; but on the top are some green trees: several reddish rocks projected out a-head, like so many small points; the constitution of these seemed to be volcanic. This remarkable cape was named Cape Surville, in memory of the unfortunate French navigator of that name.

From Cape Surville to that of Frederick-Hendrick the lands are very high, almost perpendicular at the base, and rounded into large domes towards the summits: their appearance is of a dark green colour; here and there might be distinguished a very few low trees and shrubs.

Immediately to the north of Cape Frederick-Hendrick is the large Bay of Marion, which we crossed without any stay; and about five o'clock in the evening we anchored in the channel which is situated between Diemen's Land and the Isle Maria, opposite to Oysters Bay.

On the 19th of February, at day-break, the long-boat of our ship, under the command of M. Maurouard, was sent to make the tour of the Isle Maria, to draw the plan of it, and to ascertain whether there was any fresh water.

Our geographic engineer, M. Boulanger, although scarcely recovered from the distemper he had at Timor, was ordered on this service: I obtained leave to go with him, as I wished to make observations on the island and its productions, of the nature of the soil, the temperature, and the inhabitants.

We soon reached the most southern cape of this isle, which our geographers have named Cape Peron: a-head of this cape there rises a solitary rock of granite, of the height of from 150 to 200 feet, rent by the waves, and something resembling a sort of obelisk; we therefore named it the Pyramid.

From this point, the coast turns short to the N. N. E. We steered along shore at a little distance: it is from end to end almost perpendicular, like an immense rampart of granite: on some parts of this coast is an appearance resembling the remains of a line of ancient fortifications. Several kinds of adhesive plants, among which were particularly distinguished some lichens of a fine brimstone colour, or a bright red, growing against these ramparts, the tops of which were seen through the shrubs like the parapet of a citadel: in many places there were some resembling the appearance of towers and battlements.

The bottom was deep all the length of this coast; but as it is exposed to all the rage of the winds from the south, which meet with no obstacle between this and the Antarctic Pole, it is incessantly beaten by the turbulent waves, that break with great noise and violence against the walls of granite which protect the shore.

Arrived at the eastern point, which we named Cape Maurouard, from the name of the cadet who now assisted M. Boulanger in his geographic studies, we observed that the direction of the coast turned to N. N. W. : here the mountains declined rapidly, and soon the chain was broken to form a large bay, into which we steered, and soon after landed on the isthmus which separates it from Oysters Bay.

It was now about two o'clock; and while they were busied on the beach in their geographic labours, I proceeded towards the north coast of the bay, and thus got into the interior of the country. At first I could walk but slowly, as I was obstructed by the numerous shrubs which covered almost the whole surface of the land: in some places the bushes were so thick and strong, that it was impossible to pass. I was on the point of determining to retrace my steps, when I perceived, at some distance, a path which had been trod by the natives: into this path I turned, and soon the trees were more dispersed; and I arrived, in less than half an hour, at the top of a little hill, from whence I discovered the two bays of the Isle Maria, the isthmus which separates them, and the mountains of Diemen's Land, the highest acclivities of which could scarcely be distinguished in the midst of the vapours which enveloped them. Divers kinds of beautiful grass made a pleasant verdant carpet: the *Melaleuca*, the *Correa*, the *Fagara*, the *Conchium*, the *Styphelia*, the *Metrosideros*, &c. here and there formed pleasant thickets, above which appeared the lofty globulous *Eucalyptus*, the immense *Leptosperma*, the *Exocarpos* with leaves like cypress, the fibrous *Casuarina*, the *Banksia* with silver, and a number of other trees peculiar to the southern climates. At the foot of this hill ran a small stream of fresh water; on the banks of it were several kinds of *Pteris*, *Limodorum*, a new kind of Everlasting with white blossoms; the beautiful *Aletris* with red flowers; the tall Parsley of these shores; and a small kind of *Daucus*, of a savour similar to that of our common carrot.

While I enjoyed the beauties of this charming spot, and as I looked around with a sort of pleasing inquietude, I perceived at a little distance a monument, whose construction excited a considerable degree of curiosity: I approached the

place hastily, and the following is the account of what I observed.

On a large spot of verdure, under the shade of some ancient *Casuarina*, a cone was raised, which was roughly formed of the barks of trees, stuck in the ground at one end, and fastened together at the other by a large wisp made of the same substance. Four long poles, fixed in the earth by one end, served as a prop and support to all the bark under which they are placed: these four poles appear also to have been designed as an ornament to the edifice; for, instead of being joined together at the upper end, like the pieces of bark, and thus to form a simple cone, they cross each other a little above the middle of their length, that is to say, exactly where they project through the top of the monument. In this manner they form a kind of tetrahedron pyramid, the point of which exactly meets the point or top of the cone. This contrast of shape, and the opposition in the two parts of the edifice, produces an effect that was pretty enough, and was increased by an additional ornament of a long strip of bark on each of the four sides of the pyramid, which was bent together, and the two ends of each of these strips of bark were also confined by the large wisp, by which, as I have before said, all the others were bound together at the top; these strips thus formed a kind of oval, pointed at the lower part, which was where the ends were attached to the top of the cone. As each of these ovals corresponded with each of the sides of the pyramid, it is easy to conceive that such an edifice must have some appearance of elegance, and be very picturesque.

I considered this monument for a few moments, but could not imagine its use. I determined to examine it more strictly; I therefore pulled off several large pieces of bark, and easily penetrated the interior: all the upper part was unoccupied; but at the bottom was a large flattened cone, made of fine soft herbage, disposed with much care in concentric layers of a considerable depth. . . . My curiosity increased with my uncertainty on the subject. Eight small hoops of wood crossed each other over the top of this green heap, and served to confine it: the ends of each of these were stuck in the earth, and fastened there by the pressure of a large flat stone of granite.

So many precautions occasioned me to entertain hopes that I should make some interesting discovery, and I was not deceived. . . . I had no sooner taken off some of the upper layers of verdure, than I perceived a large heap of white

ashes, which seemed to have been gathered together with great care. I put my hand into the middle of these ashes, and felt something of more substance, which I drew forth—it was the jaw-bone of a man, to which there yet adhered some remains of flesh. . . . I shuddered with a sensation of horror. . . . Nevertheless, on reflecting a few moments on all I had observed in the construction of this monument, I soon began to experience sensations of a different kind: this verdure, these flowers, these protecting trees, this thick bed of green herbage, which so carefully had covered these ashes—all united to convince me that I had discovered a place of burial.

As I removed some of the ashes, I perceived a black coal, friable and light, which I soon ascertained to be animal coal: as I found some that still shewed remains of flesh, in which might be distinguished parts of the large blood vessels full of calcined blood. I next found parts of the bones, that were easily known to belong to the vertebræ, the shoulder, the leg, &c. all were much changed by fire, and some of them easily crumbled into powder. These bones were not, as I had at first thought, laid simply on the surface of the earth; they were all collected together in the bottom of a circular hole of sixteen or eighteen inches diameter, and eight or ten inches in depth: we shall prove that these observations are of some consequence.

I probably might have omitted to mention a circumstance, not uninteresting, on this subject, if, in another burial place which I discovered on the following day, I had not made the same observation. At the foot of the hillock on which, as I have before said, the monument was raised, ran a stream of fresh water, cool and limpid, which in this season of the year is an advantage that is to be found in very few places. The banks of this rivulet were covered with several kinds of herbage, among which were divers species of *Orchis*, *Ophris*, the *Richea glauca*, the *Apium prostratum*, and a sort of carrot peculiar to these regions.

With what pleasure, seated on the side of this stream, I for a few minutes indulged the following reflections, naturally produced by so many united circumstances: “Among these terrific rocks, in the depths of these venerable forests, nature has yet preserved some of her rights, since the first monument which we discover of the uninformed and savage race who inhabit them, was consecrated by Nature herself.”

The semicircular grove which I had formerly observed on the barren western shores of New Holland, now recurred to

my recollection. I remembered the interest I felt at the appearance of this wood on the left shore of the river Vasse, and I exclaimed, "This monument, the only one which we discovered on those shores, seemed also to have been consecrated by affection." Thus it appears, that the first impulse of devotion was inspired by nature, and the first altars raised by filial piety, by affection, and gratitude.

I extended this analogy between the two subjects: the grove of Geography Bay was situated on the border of the Salt River, which seemed, with the marshes that surrounded it, to supply, in a special manner, the food of the inhabitants of these inhospitable shores. The tomb which I had just discovered was placed near that part of the East Bay which alone produced any fresh water: on this spot also, shell fish was to be found in greater plenty, and it was the daily food of the natives. This presumption of the situation of the monument being chosen, was strengthened by an observation which I made on the following day, in Oysters Bay, on a construction of the same kind, which also was placed on an eminence, at the foot of which ran a small stream of fresh water, the only one we had discovered through the whole extent of this last mentioned bay. "Thus it appears, that the same principle which dedicates these monuments, also raises them in situations that are most interesting and dear to those who visit those places, impelled by their daily wants, and where they must experience in a greater degree the sentiments of gratitude and attachment."

Other ideas occasioned new meditations: I considered what could be the origin, on these distant shores, of the custom of burning the dead. Isolated from the rest of the universe, confined to the extremities of the globe, the inhabitants of these shores could not have had the idea by communication with any other nation, it must therefore be incontestably their own. But wherefore in this case have they adopted it in preference to any other? is this preference a simple effect of chance; or is there a physical reason for the custom, derived from the very nature of circumstances, and the particular mode of social organization belonging to these people, which may have established the custom, and which still continues the observance? These queries, in discussion, require that I should, in a few words, retrace the essential traits of the actual state of society of the inhabitants of Diemen's Land, with which those of the Isle Maria are connected in every respect, as we shall hereafter demonstrate.

Almost entirely strangers to every principle of social order,
PERON.]

without any governors, laws, clothing, or cultivation of any kind, destitute of any certain means of existence, and without any fixed habitation, knowing no other weapons or implements of any sort than his sagaie and his club, both of which are imperfect and roughly formed; wandering in families on the sea-shore, from whence the chief part of his daily subsistence is derived; it is there he longest fixes his abode, and to that spot he more frequently returns, where the shell fish is to be found in greatest plenty, and where also the vicinity of some stream of fresh water more conveniently may supply this necessary for himself and family.

What I have here said of the individual, in general may be applied to the whole of the people who are the subject of these observations: in such circumstances, the resources of the horde end with those of each individual of its members.

These principles being granted, suppose one of these men to die, a respectable old man, the father of a numerous family, he is surrounded by his children, among whom he has just drawn his last breath—What will they do with his corpse? Can they forsake it? he was their father, he had loved them—and shall they leave his body to be devoured by wild beasts? a reflection like this makes even a savage shudder with horror. Besides, the putrefaction of the corpse would become offensive, and the scattered bones of their parent would not only be a reproach to them for their ingratitude, but would also be an unpleasant and disgusting spectacle.

To cast it into the sea appears at first to be the most natural and simple expedient, but it was possible the corpse might again be thrown on the shore by the currents and the tide; and probably the putrified members of their parents might have been fished up by their own hands among the shells which supplied their daily food.

To embalm the body is totally beyond their means or conception.

To bury it is a labour so much the more difficult, as the soil is generally hard and flinty, and the absolute want of every kind of tool makes it almost impossible for them to dig any kind of grave. However, it is probable that these people would have had recourse to this expedient, if another was not more ready, easier, and at the same time more convenient in every respect, than all those which I have before mentioned: this expedient is to burn the corpse: here every thing concurs with the facility of the execution; every thing

agrees both with the general habits of these people and their particular situation. The terrible and powerful element, fire, from which they derive such various and indispensable helps, cannot fail to excite among such people, some of those sentiments of veneration which most of the ancient nations had consecrated by so many religious ceremonies and monuments.

Fire in these countries, although probably not worshipped as formerly, seems to be esteemed as something very superior to all other objects of nature, and these primitive ideas have doubtless not a little contributed to the idea of burning the dead. This opinion once formed, it became a duty to adopt it. The necessary materials were always ready; it required neither reflection nor labour; no tool was requisite; the execution was quick and easy to be done; it prevented both the putrefaction and the consequent infection; a few bones was all that remained after this duty was performed, and the ashes of the fire were sufficient alone to cover them. The whole ceremony, at most, required only a few hours, and the preparations had also a tendency to make this ceremony more solemn and sacred.

Thus, therefore, this custom of burning the dead does not appear to be the pure effect of chance: according to all the physical and local circumstances, it seems evidently to have been occasioned by them, and if the nature of this work would allow me to enlarge on the subject, it would be easy to prove, that this important part of the customs of nations is in many respects more connected with the quality and nature of the soil than might be supposed. Is it not very remarkable, for example, that the two countries of the world that are most celebrated for their mummies, and the art of embalming the dead, namely, Egypt and Teneriffe, should also be distinguished by the general character of the continual dryness of the soil and atmosphere, and by the facility of procuring there the divers aromatic, astringent, or resinous ingredients, which make the essential part of their embalmings. But, leaving all ulterior discussion on this subject, let us here conclude what we have farther to say of the curious monument of the savages of the Isle Maria.

The discovery I had just made pleased me so much the more, as no object of this kind had yet been observed in these latitudes. Riche, in one of his excursions, had indeed discovered on Diemen's Land, a piece of a human bone, to which adhered some remains of half burnt flesh; and M.

Labillardiere justly imagined from this discovery, that the inhabitants burnt the dead : but this conjecture was founded on a circumstance so equivocal, that it did not deserve any kind of confidence. On the contrary, we may now regard as a fact, all that belongs to the curious chapter on the history of the inhabitants of those regions.

I mentioned a second tomb which we saw on the following day in Oysters Bay, opposite to that of the East. To conclude entirely all that belongs to this subject, I shall anticipate the order of the dates, and in a few words point out what I thought worthy of particular mention. Situated on an eminence, at the foot of which ran a stream of fresh water, the only one to be found in this bay, this monument differed but little from that which I have already described : it was only more ancient ; the form was not so regular ; the poles which had supported the bark had fallen to the ground : the herbage which had covered the ashes was much changed by the humidity of the atmosphere ; but in other respects the bones and ashes were disposed much in the same manner as in the monument in the East Bay. The only particularity which I observed, and which certainly deserves to be preserved, was, that on the under side of some of the largest pieces of bark, were rudely engraved some characters, similar to those on the arms of the natives who have been tattooed.

To what I have now said I must add one last observation, which is, that from the nature of these monuments, it is not a matter of any surprize that we meet with so few of them, for the bark of which they are constructed is soon destroyed by the power of the atmosphere, or scattered by the winds. The fine herbage which covers the ashes presently decays, and even the ashes, which are soon partly dispersed, can only then leave the appearance of a fire having been made on the spot ; and as the bones are collected together in a hole, they of course remain buried, which sufficiently explains why we never see any of them on the surface of the earth. To this last circumstance let us add the complete calcination they have undergone, to make the decomposition more rapid and annihilation more complete.

In the mean time my companions had finished their geographical labours, and when I rejoined them they had been waiting for me some minutes : we now re-embarked, and proceeded to take soundings in the interior of the bay. There was almost every where in this bay, water sufficient for an-

chorage, but the bottom being generally of hard rock, it is not very safe: it is besides, too open, and too much exposed to the winds from the south and by east. It is doubtless, to this quality of the bottom of the bay that we may ascribe the abundance of sea-grass, which forms on several parts of the surface truly floating meadows, in the midst of which innumerable flocks of goelands, puffins, cormorants, &c. continually resort to seek their food.

After having thus completed reconnoitring the great Eastern Bay, which we named Riédèle Bay, in memory of the worthy naturalist whom we had lost at Timor, we again landed on the island to pass the night, and on the morrow, which was the 20th of February, we left the island at four o'clock in the morning, to continue our exploration of the Isle Maria.

After doubling the point north of the Bay Riédèle, we saw the land turn to the E. N. E. as far as off Cape Mistaken, which forms the most eastern point of the island. From this cape, as far as the Cape North, the coast lays in the direction of W. N. W. All this part of the island, between the East Bay and the North Cape, is really terrific. Lofty walls of granite, 300 or 400 feet high, and almost perpendicular, protect the whole length of this coast: in these thick walls are vast caverns, in which the waters rush with a great noise, somewhat similar to distant thunder. The shore is everywhere inaccessible: the sea here rolls its tumultuous waves; and one cannot help trembling for the fate of ships driven on this inhospitable shore.

Such a constitution doubtless depends on the general situation of the Isle Maria; which in this point is exposed to all the fury of a stormy sea. This presumption becomes a certainty, by the comparison of the western coast of the island with the eastern shore which we have just described; for no sooner had we doubled the Cape North, which, from the name of our engineer, was called Cape Boulanger, than the land sank rapidly, and spread into a long, flat, sandy shore, under the shelter of Diemen's Land, which continues without interruption to the farther end of Oysters Bay. In a word, every thing to the east proclaims the ravages of the winds and waves; while to the west, every appearance declares the repose of nature, and of a more tranquil climate.

A-head of Cape Boulanger is a large rock, which is connected with the Isle Maria by a dangerous reef: beyond this rock is a large islot of granite; it is rather low and barren. There is a narrow passage between this islot and the land,

where small boats only can pass: we called this, North Islet.

I have mentioned shoals of sea-grass which spread over part of the Bay Riédle: their extent had before surprised me, but in lengthening the coast N. E. of the island, this sort of vegetation was a subject of still greater astonishment. The whole surface of the sea was covered with it at intervals; and it was not without difficulty that we disengaged ourselves from one of these shoals, on the edge of which we had got entangled, and we were some hours contending with this singular obstacle. These enormous banks or shoals are composed of only one kind, namely, the *Fucus gigantinus*, the largest, doubtless, of all kinds of sea vegetation, for we measured some of it that was from 250 to 300 feet in length. To raise these immense long stalks to the surface of the waters, and to support them there, nature finds a simple and effectual method. Here and there each stalk produces a leaf of a considerable size, indented at the edges, and crinkled all over: where this large leaf is joined to the stalk, is a kind of large vesicle or bladder, in form somewhat like a pear, about two or three inches in length, and one inch in diameter in the thickest and most inflated part. All these vesicles, filled with air, are like so many little balloons, which raise the stalks to the surface of the sea, and also keep the leaves open and spread on the waves. Several of these leaves are very large: I measured some that were ten or twelve feet in length.

It is not only on account of their curious organization, or their enormous proportions, that these plants engage the attention of the voyager. Sometimes torn from the depths of the sea by the violence of the storm, these shoals of *Fucus*, or sea-grass, are carried by the currents into the interior of the Bay Riédle, and are soon buried under the sands, and considerably help to choke up the bay, and to enlarge the isthmus which separates it from Oysters Bay. Thus, in this distant part of the world, we see realized the grand system of the influence of marine plants in increasing the land—an effect which Linnæus has before particularly noticed; but without extending this digression, we will return to the subject of our voyage round the Isle Maria.

After doubling Cape Boulanger, we ran along the whole length of the coast N. W. of the island, which is, as I have before said, low and sandy. Vegetation flourishes but little near the sea-shore; but in the interior of the country we observed some beautiful forests, and the opposite side of

the mountains appeared to be covered with lofty trees. About five o'clock in the evening we passed Middle Islet, which we had thus named from its situation, being between Diemen's Land and Isle Maria. This islet is only a rock of granite, of about 120 toises diameter, and not more than 30 or 40 feet above the surface of the waters: it is naturally very barren; and the natives who pass from the main land to Isle Maria, being in the habit of resting there, have destroyed by fire every appearance of vegetation.

It being now almost dark, our farther survey of this coast became more and more uncertain and difficult; therefore, when we had doubled Cape Lesueur, which forms the north point of the entrance of Oysters' Bay, we prepared to land, with the intention of passing the night on shore, when we perceived a company of 25 or 30 savages, who came towards us, armed with long sagaies, and shouting aloud. This numerous company at this time was very mal-a-propos, as we were much fatigued with being two days on the sea, and really wanted rest; therefore, as we had no inclination to pass the night watching with arms in our hands, we determined to get farther into the bay, persuaded that the savages would not follow us: and in fact, they continued their course towards the west, and were soon out of sight, when immediately we went on shore.

Early in the morning on the 21st we renewed our survey of Oysters Bay, which at the farther part is so shallow, that we were several times in danger of being a-ground, although we were a considerable distance from the shore. Notwithstanding this inconvenience, we terminated our survey of the bay, and were going to double the south point at the entrance, when we heard the sound of a gun from the ships. . . and at regular intervals we heard the same sound repeated, so that we could not be mistaken in the cause. . . The last of my colleagues, M. Maugé, was certainly no more, and his remains had that moment been committed to the earth. He died the day after we had left the ship, universally regretted by all on board both the vessels. He was deservedly esteemed for many good qualities, and his zeal for the success of our expedition. His body was interred on Isle Maria, at the foot of a large *Eucalyptus*, against which a plate of lead was fixed, whereon was inscribed the sad particulars of his death; and the name of Point Maugé was given to the part of the island, where the remains of our unfortunate companions were deposited.

On leaving Oysters Bay we stood directly towards the

western part of the island, which we had not entirely explored ; after which we bent our course towards the ship, and reached it on the 21st of February, in the evening.

On the next day, early in the morning, I again left the Geographer, intending to cross the isthmus, and to visit again the monuments on the East Bay. M. Petit, our draughtsman, accompanied me. A little boat, known to French sailors by the name of *pousse-pied*, was at my command ; it held only three men, and our only protection was a single musket, which M. Petit had secretly taken with him : for, although we had on board our vessels a thousand times more ammunition than was necessary for an expedition of this kind, our commander had absolutely given orders, that the men belonging to any of the boats should be without arms, under the pretext that they used too much powder.

On the evening preceding this very day, two carpenters belonging to the Naturalist, who were attacked on Isle Maria, narrowly escaped the blows of the natives. This recent occurrence, and my solicitations, had no effect on the determined resolution of our commander ; and as there was no alternative between exposing ourselves unarmed to the probable attacks of the savages, and staying on board doing nothing, I determined to go on shore at all hazards. We shall soon see to what imminent danger we were exposed, from the captain's obstinacy.

We were not long before we discovered, on the coast south of Oysters Bay, a large fire, which, as it could only have been made by the savages, gave us hopes of meeting with some of them on that part of the land ; we therefore landed near the spot, and were not disappointed in our expectations. Fourteen natives, who were seated round the fire, received us with transport, which at the same time seemed to express surprise, admiration, and pleasure. *Médi, médi* (sit down, sit down), were the first words addressed to us. We seated ourselves, and they gathered round us. They were most of them armed with long sagaies : others had clubs, which they laid down by their sides ; and M. Rouget, our cockswain, who had landed with us, and was armed with the musket, also laid it by him, keeping his eye constantly on it, for fear that some native should carry it away into the woods—a precaution which we had learned from experience while in the Gut of Dentrecasteaux.

The arms being thus disposed of, we mutually surveyed each other for some minutes. The natives would examine our skin, and so far we permitted them to satisfy their curi-

osity; and repeated exclamations of astonishment at the whiteness of it, were the results of that examination. Presently, however, they wished to pursue their researches somewhat farther: perhaps they might doubt whether we were beings formed like themselves, or perhaps they wished to satisfy themselves of our sex: whichever it might be, they solicited this singular investigation with so much warmth and obstinacy, that we found it extremely difficult to refuse them; when perceiving at length our determined repugnance, they insisted no longer with respect to us, but pursued their inquiry with one of our young sailors, who by his youth, and being without a beard, seemed to be the more proper object for verifying their conjectures, or removing their doubts. This youth having, at my solicitation, consented to give them the satisfaction they required, the savages seemed transported with pleasure; but scarcely were they convinced that he was formed like themselves, than they set up a cry of joy and acclamation that perfectly stunned us.

Whilst the natives were engaged in these particular observations respecting us, I applied myself to the consideration of them with particular attention. Most of them were young people, from about 16 to 25 years of age; two or three appeared to be from 30 to 35 years; one only older than the rest, appeared to me to be from 50 to 55 years of age: he alone had a skin of a kangaroo upon his shoulders—the others were perfectly naked. In general, most of them were of a stature sufficiently high for their ages. Among the grown men, there was one who was not less than five feet six inches; but he was thinner and lankier than his companions: all the others varied in their stature, from about five feet two to five feet four inches. There was one among them who had his hair powdered with red ochre: this was a young man of 24 or 25 years of age, called Bara Ourou, of a more handsome make than the others, though he himself had the same defects of proportion common to his race; that is to say, an enlarged head, large and bony shoulders, a large breast, large and brawny buttocks; the extremities lank and weak, particularly the legs; the belly, also, too large for the rest of his body.

The physiognomy of these savages was abundantly expressive; the passions were strongly marked, as they succeeded each other in a rapid succession; and their whole figure was changed and modified with their affections. Fierce and ferocious in their menaces, they appear at once suspicious, restless, and perfidious. In their joy, the figure dis-

plays a convulsion that has the appearance of madness ; among the aged there is an expression that is at once sad, sullen, and severe ; but in general, among all these people, there is to be noticed at some moments an insincerity and ferocity, which cannot escape an attentive observer, and which but too well corresponds with their character.

After having thus given some time to the surprise occasioned by the examination of our party, M. Petit displayed before the natives some feats of slight of hand, which diverted them very much, and which drew from them the most whimsical demonstrations of joy and enthusiasm ; but nothing surprised them so much as to see M. Rouget run a pin into his flesh, without shewing any sense of pain, and without its being followed by a single drop of blood : at this prodigy they regarded each other in silence, as if to impart their mutual astonishment, and then all together they began to shout like so many madmen.

Unluckily for me, among our other presents were some pins, which indeed they had asked for ; and one of the natives being willing to satisfy himself, whether I possessed the like insensibility which was so much the object of their admiration, came behind me unawares, and run one of the pins into the calf of my leg so dextrously and decidedly, that I could not help crying out.

In the mean time, M. Petit and myself endeavoured to profit by their good-humour, and whilst he was engaged in sketching one of them, most distinguished by the regularity of his features, the development of his form, and the expression of his physiognomy, I applied myself, with the assistance of some words which I had collected during our stay in the Gut of Dentrecasteaux, and with the aid of gesture, to make known our friendly sentiments towards them, and of which they acquired the meaning with a degree of sagacity which astonished us much.

It was now that our interview became truly interesting : crowded together among the ashes of their fire, we appeared quite at home and satisfied with each other. I seized this favourable opportunity to ask them numerous questions, addressing myself particularly to those whose comprehensions seemed to be quickest. In this manner I successively obtained an answer to the words yawning, laughing, weeping, whistling, blowing, tying, untying, burning, spitting, making water, going to stool, breaking wind, striking a blow, wrestling, tearing, strangling, &c. &c. In general, they appeared to me to understand easily, and to be quick in appre-

hension : they soon conceived the meaning of my gestures, and, indeed, they seemed from the first moment to be at no loss, but in a good-natured manner repeated those words which I had at first pronounced wrong, and often they laughed heartily at the mistakes I made in the endeavour to repeat them aright.

I cannot pass over in silence an observation I made at the time ; it is, that they appear to have no idea of the action of embracing. . . In vain I addressed myself to several of them in turn, to make them understand what I wished to know—on this subject it was impossible ; and when, to leave no doubt of what I wished them to comprehend, I approached to embrace them, they all had that look of astonishment which any unknown action occasions in ourselves. This observation I had before made, when among the natives of the Gut of Dentrecasteaux ; and when I really embraced them, by way of making myself understood, saying at the same time, *gouánarana* (how do you call that) ? *nidego* (I do not know, I do not understand), was the invariable reply. The idea of caressing seems to be entirely strange to them : in vain I attempted to make myself understood by such gestures as were likely to characterize the action—their surprise declared their ignorance, and *nidego* again served to convince me that they had no corresponding idea. Thus it appears, that the two actions which to us have so many charms, and which seem so natural, namely, kisses and tender caresses, are entirely unknown among these savage nations. However, I do not positively assert as a fact, what may only be a conjecture ; but I can assert that I never saw, either on Diemen's Land or New Holland, any savage embrace another of his own sex, or even of a different sex.

I have before noticed the changeableness of the character of these ferocious people, and we soon had an additional and singular proof of this trait.

While M. Petit and myself were busily engaged in our different pursuits, we on a sudden heard some shouts from the interior of the neighbouring forest. At this noise the savages rose precipitately, seized their arms, and turning their eyes, with looks of surprise mingled with ferocity, towards the sea, they appeared much agitated, when we discovered a boat belonging to our ships, which was going along shore at a little distance : I had no doubt but that it was this boat, discovered by their sentinels or their wives, from the rocks or from the trees, which had occasioned their agitation and alarm. In a short time these shouts were re-

peated, and as they certainly signified that the boat was now getting farther from the shore, the fears of the natives seemed to subside a little. I took advantage of this opportunity to endeavour to make them understand, that the people whom they had seen were, like us, their friends, and that they therefore had nothing to fear, but, on the contrary, they might expect from them many presents and much kindness: they seemed to comprehend my meaning, and again laid down their arms. M. Petit and myself then endeavoured to proceed as before—he to finish his drawing, and myself to acquire a few more words of their language; but they became more and more uneasy and inattentive to us, and would no longer answer my questions: M. Petit also experienced much difficulty in finishing the sketches which he had begun.

By degrees these people seemed to become bolder: they talked to each other with much emotion, and as they looked at us, they appeared to meditate some violence against us; but M. Rouget's musket, and his countenance, which was very handsome, and at the same time had the expression of great intrepidity, seemed to keep them in some awe. Whether it was curiosity or treachery, they teased him every moment to fire at some birds that were on the neighbouring trees; but we were aware that the musket was a bad one, and we thought our situation too critical to run any risks in complying with their desires, and our refusal was another cause of suspicion and disquiet.

Their audacity increased with their distrust. One of them wanted the jacket I wore, which, from the brightness of the colours, had attracted his attention: he had already asked me for it several times, but I had refused him so positively, that I did not suppose that he would return to the charge. It however happened otherwise; for in a moment, when my attention was engaged another way, he seized hold of my jacket, and directing the point of his *sagaie* towards me, he brandished it in a threatening manner, and seemed to say, "Give it to me, or I will kill you." It would have been rash to provoke him, situated as I was; for the wretch would certainly have pierced me with his *sagaie*. I therefore affected to take his menaces as a joke; but I nevertheless took hold of the *sagaie*, and turning the point away, I shewed him that M. Rouget was presenting his musket at him, and I added one single word of his own language (*mata*), death: he understood me, and laid down his weapon with as much indifference as if he had done nothing to offend me.

I had no sooner escaped this danger than I found myself engaged in a manner, which, if not so perilous, was however very unpleasant. One of the large gold rings which I wore in my ears, was coveted by another of the savages, who, without speaking a word, slipped behind me, and putting his finger slyly into the ring, pulled it so violently, that he would infallibly have torn my ear, if the lock had not opened.

Let us now recollect that all these men had been loaded with presents by us; that we had given them looking-glasses, knives, beads, handkerchiefs, snuff-boxes, cups, &c.; that for them I had pulled off almost all the buttons from my clothes, which, as they were of gilt copper, had appeared to them to be of great value because of their brightness; let us also remember that we had given way to all their fancies and caprices, without requiring any return for all our gifts, and thus we may judge how unjust and treacherous their conduct was towards us; and I really believe, if it had not been for M. Rouget and his musket, that M. Petit and myself would have fallen victims to the ferocity of these savage people.

Certainly no one ever was more disposed, both from character and principle, to conciliate and oblige these men, and to submit to their caprices; but I must declare frankly, that the whole tenor of their conduct shewed a treacherous disposition, and a degree of ferocity that disgusted both me and my companions. In comparing what we had now seen with what had before happened in the *Gut* to several of our shipmates, we derived this inference, that it is not prudent to go among these people without sufficient means of defence against their attacks; and farther, that this principle does not only apply to the people whom we have just described, but may with equal propriety be applied to all savage or uncivilized nations, as may be easily proved by reading the accounts of voyagers.

In those very places, where the inhabitants are said to possess the greatest gentleness and mildness of character, unprotected Europeans have experienced many great dangers, and very often have fallen victims to their own generous confidence; but this discussion is not so immediately connected with our narrative, as to permit me to enlarge on the subject, or to give the many interesting particulars which I could produce, and which I mean to collect in some future work.

Tired of all the unpleasant manners of the savages of *Isle Maria*, I determined to end this perilous interview; but

wishing at any rate to repeat some experiments which I had began to make in the channel, on the development of the natural strength of the people of these countries, I therefore had the dynameter of Regnier brought from the boat, where till then it had been left; hoping that the form of this instrument, and its use, might probably engage the attention of the savage people on whom I wished to try the experiment. In this conjecture I was right; they all seemed to admire the instrument, and all wished to touch it at the same time, and I had some trouble to prevent its being broken.

After making them comprehend its use, by a number of trials which we made for that purpose, we prevailed on them to try their own strength on the instrument, and seven of them agreed to make the experiment; when one of those who had first tried, and who had not been able to move the beam of the dynameter so far as I had done, seemed provoked at his want of strength, and, as if to give the lie to the instrument, he took hold of my fist in a passion, and seemed to defy me to disengage it: after a few efforts, however, I succeeded; but having, in my turn, seized him with all my strength, and finding he could not get free by any exertion he made, he appeared much ashamed, and very irritated.

Until this moment, the old man I had before mentioned had kept a profound silence; but after what had just passed, he spoke a few words to his countrymen, without any very particular expression of countenance: these few words, however, produced such an effect, that from that moment not one of them would touch the dynameter.

Before we departed, I thought proper to leave them some fresh marks of our friendship and good-will; I therefore approached the old man, and taking him affectionately by the hand, I presented him with a glass bottle, a knife, two gilt buttons, a white handkerchief, &c. and made signs that we were going, but that we should return with more presents for him and his companions. The old man seemed so much the more pleased with these trifles, as he saw we were preparing to depart: he smiled at me with an air of satisfaction, that was still mingled with something of uneasiness and ferocity.

While I was thus taking leave of the old man, M. Petit, who wished to have a sagaie, had bought one with a looking-glass: I also wished for one of their clubs, which I had obtained, when the savages, changing their tempers in a moment, again seized their weapons, and shouting all together,

menaced us in such a determined manner, that M. Rouget was obliged to point his musket at him who appeared to be most incensed against me : this was that same Bara Ourou, whom I mentioned as being the handsomest fellow of the whole company, and of whom M. Petit had been taking a likeness.

After this last outrage, there was not a moment to lose in getting to our boat ; but, fearing that these savage people would pelt us with stones or lance their sagas at us in our retreat, as had happened several times before in the channel, we therefore resolved to retire slowly and with caution : M. Petit and myself walked first, while M. Rouget came behind with his musket. These precautions succeeded, and we gained our boat without any accident, and bent our course towards the farther part of the bay. The natives took the same direction on the beach for some time, but perceiving two boats belonging to our ships, which were dragging for oysters, they disappeared in a moment among the trees of the forest, and from that time none of them appeared any more on this part of the coast.

I have given all the particulars of this long interview with the natives, that the reader may be the better enabled to judge, how many difficulties and dangers are experienced by voyagers in their communications with the people belonging to these savage nations, and how impossible it is to conquer the natural ferocity of their character, and their prejudice against us.

On leaving the savages we steered our course towards the farther part of Oysters Bay, intending to land there, and crossing the isthmus, to proceed on foot to the monuments, which M. Petit promised to draw very correctly : all this we accomplished in a short time, and then returned on our way to the ship, which we reached that night.

While we were thus exploring the Isle Maria, and studying the character of the natives, three boats belonging to our ships were almost at the same time exploring all the nearest parts of Diemen's Land, and the isles adjoining. One of these, under the command of M. Freycinet the elder, had orders to bear away to the south, and to visit all that part of the coast of Diemen's Land which lays between the cape opposite to the point south of the Isle Maria, which we had named Cape Bernier, and that of Frederick-Hendrick, where our vessels had terminated their surveys. In this space the bays of Marion and Frederick-Hendrick ought to be con-

nected, taking the chart of Tasman to be correct, as we really found it to be.

M. Freycinet the younger, having the second boat under his command, also made Cape Bernier the point of his departure, and bore away to the north as far as the parallel of the most southern of the Schouten islands, where he was to reconnoitre all that part of Diemen's Land which also was opposite to Isle Maria.

The third boat, with our engineer M. Faure, was to determine the geography of the Schouten isles, which had been but slightly surveyed by Tasman: M. Bailly also shared this labour.

We shall now shew what were the results of each of these expeditions.

M. Freycinet the elder, was absent eight days, and brought the following account: between Cape Bernier to the north, and that of Frederick-Hendrick to the south, is the great bay Marion. Exposed to all the winds from the south and by east, it is properly but an open roadstead, not very safe for ships, though there is generally plenty of water, and good bottom for anchorage. All the north coast of this bay, from Cape Bernier as far as the point Ressac, is formed of high lands; the coast may be ranged at a very little distance, and there are several small creeks where boats may shelter when the east wind is not very strong. From the point Ressac as far as the entrance of the bay of Frederick-Hendrick, is a flat sandy shore, extremely low, and describing a slight but regular curve. "The east wind which at that time prevailed," said M. H. Freycinet, "caused a frightful surf on this long sandy shore: the sea broke violently against it on every part, and even as far out as several cables length. However, wishing to stretch along shore as near as possible, I suffered myself to be driven towards the sandy beach, but I soon found myself so surrounded by such strong and heavy seas, that I was obliged to get farther out with all speed."

In the farther part of Marion Bay is an opening which communicates with the bay of Frederick-Hendrick. This passage is narrow, and the eastern extremity is protected by breakers, against which the sea beats with great force: nevertheless, it is not so dangerous as it at first appears, and M. H. Freycinet found there above three fathom water. The interior of the bay is obstructed by large sandy shoals, which are dry at low water: the south part is where the water is

deepest, and where the anchorage is safest. In the south-east is a small river of fresh water; it is on this account so much the more to be valued, as there was not to be found at this hot season of the year any fresh water elsewhere, either on the neighbouring parts of the continent or the adjacent islands. This advantage was the greater on account of the abundance of fish in this bay, and the ease with which we procured wood: unfortunately large vessels cannot come here because of the shoals.

On comparing these last labours of M. H. Freycinet with those of the engineer Faure, which we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, it appears,

1st, That Frederick-Hendrick Bay is really situated as Tasman describes it.

2ndly, That what is described under the name of Marion Bay, is only a roadstead, which is situated off the Bay Frederick-Hendrick, and to which Tasman had neglected to give any particular name.

3dly, That the Bay Frederick-Hendrick is absolutely distinct from that which is so denominated in the gut of Dentrecasteaux, and which we ourselves have named Port Buache.

4thly, That the bay and the port are separated by an isthmus sufficiently elevated and large, that the sea cannot at any time go over it.

5thly, That there is not any appearance of a channel of communication near this spot, as pointed out in the chart of Dentrecasteaux.

6thly, That the chart of captain Flinders is more correct in this particular, as he has not pretended to shew this imaginary passage, but is defective in other respects, as he places the bay of Frederick-Hendrick in the situation of the bay north of the French chart: a position which an examination of the course of Tasman, and an inspection of his chart, will prove to be wrong.

7thly, From this exploration of M. H. Freycinet, it appears also that the charts of Tasman and Marion, of this part of Diemen's Land, are more exact than those of modern navigators.

8thly, From these observations it follows, that Marion made no discovery in this part of Diemen's Land; for, without the consideration that it was not possible for Tasman to reconnoitre the bay Frederick-Hendrick, and to make the plan of it which we now have, without crossing, and consequently discovering Bay Marion, his tract shews that he an-

chored in the last bay ; in addition to which, we may convince ourselves by comparing Tasman's work with ours, that the plan of the bay called Marion is more correct in the Dutch navigator than in Marion himself ; but as it has been at all times so considered, we confine the name of the bay Frederick-Hendrick to the little port visited by M. H. Freycinet, and the name of Bay Marion is applicable to the great roadstead which extends before that port, and which is comprised, as we have said elsewhere, between the Cape Bernier to the north, and that of Frederick-Hendrick to the south.

9thly, From the whole of our labours on this part of Diemen's Land, it is at length proved, that all that part comprised between the Bay Monge, the Port Buache, Bay Marion, and that of Frederick-Hendrick, makes a new peninsula, which towards the south is connected with that of Tasman by the isthmus described in the preceding chapter, and which towards the north is joined to the rest of Diemen's Land by the isthmus I have just mentioned. This second peninsula, to which we have given the name of Forestier's Peninsula, is formed of high lands, which decline almost suddenly towards the two isthmuses : on this singular conformation we shall here make a few observations.

On slightly looking over the chart of the southern extremity of Diemen's Land, we are at first astonished at the great number of isthmuses which appear on the eastern coast : for example, the isthmus Bruny, that of the north, that of Tasman, Forestier's isthmus, and that of the Isle Maria, are, if I may be allowed the expression, crowded together ; and we shall also find another among the supposed isles of Schouten, which has been mentioned by navigators who have preceded us in these latitudes. All these isthmuses are extremely low and narrow, at the same time that, on the contrary, the lands to which they join are generally formed of high mountains. These different conformations make it necessary to reconnoitre these shores very near, to determine their real form and situation. In fact, if we keep ever so little out at sea, it is scarcely possible even to conjecture the existence of these isthmuses, or to believe otherwise than that the lands which they connect, are perfectly distinct one from the other. We shall now see that the most celebrated navigators, Tasman, Furneaux, and Flinders, are themselves deceived in this particular ; and there is no doubt but that the error in the chart of Deutrecasteaux may be ascribed to the same cause. In fact, we may conceive that his draftsmen not having gone beyond the point Renard, and not having from this point

either a sight of the very low isthmus which is situated at the farther end of the Bay Frederick-Hendrick, or that of any other land beyond, as in fact there is only the open sea, we may conceive, I say, that they might or must have concluded that there was a direct communication of the north bay, in which they then were, with the Bay Frederick-Hendrick of Tasman, which they also knew to be near and in the same direction. Thus it is, that physical and geological observations, which are too much neglected by geographers in general, may often throw a light on, and sometimes resolve difficulties of this sort that are of consequence to the navigator.

The mission of M. Freycinet the younger, was not so difficult to execute as that of which I have just given the results; neither did it occupy so much time, and this young officer, who left the ship on the 20th of February, returned on the 22d in the evening.

At a short distance to the north of Cape Bernier he discovered a large salt marsh, which by a narrow opening obstructed by stones, communicated with the sea. Beyond this marsh, and off the north islot, he had also reconnoitred a small port, into the farther end of which several streams of brackish water discharged themselves, some of which might probably supply fresher water during the rainy season. He named this bight Port Montbazin: he then continued his course to the north; he was in a short time off a large point, which he called Cape Bougainville. Here the coast takes a direction to the N. N. W., and forms, off the southern extremity of Schouten Island, a small deep cove, but exposed to the winds from the south and by east. At this point terminated the survey of M. L. Freycinet. It now remains to give some account of the mission of M. Faure to the Schouten islands.

To the north of the Isle Maria, appears on all the charts of this part of the world, a long chain of islands, which under the name of the Schouten Isles, project on the eastern side of Diemen's Land, leaving a large channel, or rather a long strait between this land and the islands. These isles were first discovered by Tasman, in the year 1642: they were more particularly explored by Furneaux in 1770, and captain Flinders in 1799 reconnoitred them still nearer. The united labours of three navigators so justly celebrated, left us not the least doubt of the existence of these isles; but as none of them had gone into the strait which must lie between

them and Diemen's Land, M. Faure was ordered to make this discovery.

After having, in the course of the day on the 19th of February, ranged the coast of Diemen's Land as far as off Cape Bougainville, he bore away on the morning of the 20th to the N. E., that he might stand right in for the most southern of the isles which he was to reconnoitre. At eleven o'clock he discovered an islot which was situated in the very direction he was steering. "It was at this time," said M. Bailly, "that we began to smell a strong and most unpleasant odour; it increased as we drew nearer this islot: when we had come within a short distance of its shores, we found them covered with an amazing number of sea-cows; the largest of them, which were of a yellow colour, occupied the higher lands, while those which were smaller, and which appeared to be black, filled the cavities which were in the lower part of the rock. The shores of this islot were rather steep, so that when any one of the sea-cows on the higher part would descend lower, it generally slid down, carrying with it those that were lower. A deep sea surrounded this rock: at two boats length from the shore the soundings were fourteen fathom, and the bottom was full of fucus and sea-weeds, which rose to the very surface of the water."

At four o'clock in the evening M. Faure landed in a small creek near the cape S. W. of Schouten Island, which, from the name of this geographer, we named Cape Faure. "This island," continued M. Bailly, "is entirely formed in the eastern part of lofty granitic mountains, which are very steep, and where there is but very little appearance of vegetation, the rock being almost every where naked. The western shore is more level and more pleasant: it is composed of a soil disposed in horizontal beds, and is well wooded, and the tout ensemble makes an agreeable prospect: the sandy beach which spreads before it, makes the landing easy, while on the contrary, the eastern coast is very steep." In the E. S. E. of Cape Faure are seven little islots, which project a-head of the south-east point of Schouten Island: we named these Taillefer Islots, from the name of the worthy physician whom we shall presently have to mention in a more particular manner.

After having reconnoitred all the western coast of the Schouten Island, in the course of the morning of the 21st of February, M. Faure found himself off the narrow strait which separates this island from another land which he sup-

posed was one of the other isles of Schouten. "This channel," continued the companion of M. Faure, "is very deep, affording good room for working to windward between the steep shores, at the foot of which there is never less than eighteen fathom water." We have described it in our charts by the name of Geography Straits, thus to preserve the memory of the expedition to which we owe the discovery of this part of Diemen's Land.

On crossing Geography Strait, M. Faure intended to bear away towards the north, to reconnoitre the eastern coast of the Schouten Islands, and to return by the strait supposed to lie between these isles and Diemen's Land: but all of the 21st and 22d days of this month were spent in the same vain research; he could discover no such passage, and was therefore obliged to return on the 23d to the Geography channel, to stand right in west for the same lands of which he had just lengthened all the eastern coast. About noon he landed in a small creek situated towards the southern extremity of what he then supposed was the second isle of Schouten; and as, since the preceding evening, it had been terrible weather, he determined to rest there till the next morning, the crew being exhausted with fatigue, not having been on shore for two whole days.

M. Bailly took this opportunity to make some useful observations on this point of land. "High granitic mountains," said he, "whose summits were almost entirely bare, formed all the eastern coast of this part of Diemen's Land; that rose suddenly from their base; the land which lay between them being extremely low, and cannot be seen at sea at any great distance. It is no doubt to this singular conformation, that we must attribute the error of navigators who had preceded us in these latitudes, and who had taken these lofty mountains for so many islands. We have said that the eastern shore of these supposed isles is steep, wild and barren; that on the west is low, pleasant and well wooded; this contrast, which my friend M. Peron has also seen in the general constitution of the Isle Maria, doubtless proceeds from the same physical causes. This part of Diemen's Land has inhabitants; for we observed in several places the remains of their fires and the fragments of their meals."

The 24th of February was spent in steering again towards the north, in coasting the western shore of the Schouten isles: but the impetuous squalls being come in from the south, our voyagers had only time to shelter under the lee of a small island, which, from its being an asylum in this cri-

tical moment, they named the Isle of Refuge. According to M. Bailly, it is about a quarter of a league distant from the coast, and is only a granitic flat, which rises only a few feet above the waves; it is covered with trees of a middling size; but there is not any appearance of fresh water.

On the 25th was completed the survey of the western coast of the supposed Schouten isles: the remaining doubts on the subject of these isles were at this time entirely removed in the most positive manner; for after having successively explored several deep coves separated from the eastern shore by some low sandy isthmuses, on one of which they discovered a large pond of fresh water, our companions found themselves at the extremity of a bay, which they carefully examined on every side. Its extent, according to M. Bailly, is near fifteen miles long, and about four leagues across the mouth: the bottom is of a good quality; and the soundings always gave from five to fourteen fathom: it is sheltered from every wind, except those from the south by east to the south east; and these are in a great measure broken by the Isle Maria, and by the islot of Sea-cows. Its extent makes it capable of receiving any number of vessels of any size; and wood may also be procured there, the shore having good landing for small boats, and the interior abounding with forests. Fresh water may also be supplied from the large pond on the peninsula. The appearance of this bay is besides very picturesque; two chains of lofty mountains parallel to each other encompass this land, giving it the appearance of a beautiful valley surrounded by the waves.

If we now state the results of these divers labours, it appears,

1st, That instead of the five or six isles of Schouten, described in all the charts till this time, there is in fact only one.

2ndly, That the part of the coast which extends from the cape north of this Schouten island as far as $41^{\circ} 6'$ south latitude, consists of a new peninsula, which we named Freycinet Peninsula.

3dly, That there is really no other strait, nor other channel, than that which runs between Schouten Island and Freycinet Peninsula.

4thly, That all the space between the supposed Schouten isles and Diemen's Land forms a large and very fine bay, to which we gave the name of Bay Fleurieu, in honour of the illustrious scholar to whom France and her navy are so much indebted for so many valuable and honourable works.

5thly, That Diemen's Land, previously enlarged by us, with the peninsula of Tasman, and that of Buache, is also farther increased, by these last surveys, with all the Schouten isles, one only excepted.

From all these results it follows, that our work has so specifically embraced all the particulars of the geography of this part of Diemen's Land, that it may be esteemed as correct as is possible to be made in an expedition of this kind.

All these labours being thus terminated, we set sail on the 27th of February in the afternoon, and steered our course to describe the south side of the Isle Maria. But before we quit it entirely, let us draw a slight sketch of its physical constitution; this appears to me to be the more indispensable, as most of the particulars may also be applied to the neighbouring lands, and more particularly to Schouten Island and Freycinet Peninsula.

The Isle Maria, first discovered in the year 1642 by Abel Tasman, is situated on the east side of Diemen's Land, in the great Southern Ocean; it lays in $42^{\circ} 42'$ south latitude, and in $145^{\circ} 54'$ east longitude from the meridian of Paris; its form is very irregular: larger and more elevated towards the south, it has also the same appearance towards the north, while the middle being more compact, from the east to the west it forms only a small isthmus of from 250 to 300 paces in width, that is scarcely raised 30 or 40 feet above the level of the sea. The geographic situation of this island, its being exposed to the polar winds from the south, the smallness of its extent, the elevation of the N. E. and S. E. parts, the vicinity of the lofty mountains of Diemen's Land, the form of the island being so extremely narrow towards the middle, that the interior is almost entirely occupied by the waters, finally the large marshes which are situated on the north coast of Oysters Bay, are so many circumstances likely to diminish the proportion of heat in this island. And in fact, though we were at the time in the midst of the hottest season of these countries, the extreme term of the temperature which we experienced during our stay, never exceeded 15° R. and the mean term was from $12^{\circ} 9'$ R. The nights particularly were very cool; and the thermometer, at four o'clock in the morning was scarcely at 8° . The same causes which we have here pointed out, as being capable of diminishing the heat of the temperature of this isle, on the contrary, increase the humidity of the atmosphere: the vapours also are con-

stantly very great; and evening and morning, the tops of the mountains are for a long time enveloped in mist.

The soil also partakes of this general quality of the atmosphere: it is every where humid, where the sand and the rocks are not too naked: in lower places it is marshy.

Fresh water is very scarce on the Isle Maria; and if we reflect on what I have said of the nature of the country, and of its particular constitution, we may easily conceive the cause of this scarcity. We could only discover in Oysters Bay one very small stream of fresh water on the south coast, and a few holes dug by the natives on the borders of the marshes on the north coast: the water of these last was stagnant and bad. In Riédlé Bay I discovered two very small rivulets, the one at the foot of the hill on which was the tomb; the other on the same shore, but a little nearer the spot where we landed. The water of these small rivulets was good, but as it is very dangerous, if not impossible to anchor in the east bay, these two streams are of little use to navigators.

The barometer varied much during our stay; it sunk several times from $28^{\circ} 4'$ to $27^{\circ} 10'$, and even $27^{\circ} 9,5'$. With respect to the atmospheric constitution, it is not unlike that of the latter end of autumn in our climates.

The mineral productions of the Isle Maria are not numerous; the general granitic nature of the soil, excludes, as I may say, every other substance. The granites which we collected are of two kinds: the one of a dark green colour with small specks, forms the rocks of the south point and of the south-east: this kind is also seen on the southern coast of Oysters Bay, and towards the north point of the same bay, but only near the farther part: finally, it appears to be the base of all the rocks that are not high.

The second kind of granite which is seen on Isle Maria, is remarkable for its large crystals of yellowish feldspath, and for the greenish colour of the mica or dust which is found intermixed between the crystals of feldspath. This beautiful granite, which M. Bailly has since found in the Furneaux isles also, I first observed in the Bay Riédlé, under the bill of the tombs. All the masses of rock in the vicinity of the second rivulet of fresh water, are formed of this kind of granite, and all the high peaks of the N. E. part seem to be of the same substance.

Among the sorts of free stone we also remark two kinds: the one of a close substance and fine grain, of a homogeneous

quality ; whitish and sparkling ; form masses of a very large size ; obstruct the valleys which leave the granitic rocks between them : some of the breakers appear to be composed of this freestone.

The other kind of stone is brittle and calcareous ; it forms horizontal beds, which lie in a regular manner on the summit of the granitic ramparts on the eastern shore ; their origin seems to have been produced by a long succession of calcareous deposits.

Among the mineral productions of the Isle Maria, we must not omit to mention a sort of iron ore of a peculiar kind, of a fine red colour and of an earthy grain. It is found on many parts of the island, and supplies the natives with the principal ingredient which they use to colour their hair red.

The vegetative earth, though of little depth on the hills and mountains, is, on the contrary, of considerable depth in the valleys, very rich, black, and greasy ; and when it is much heated it becomes red, which indicates its having a strong acid property.

In the marshy places which are found near the north shore of Oysters Bay, this same earth, formed almost entirely of decomposed vegetation, has an appearance similar to that of a sort of turf.

The sands of the shore of the Bay Riédlé, are blacker, and contain a great proportion of the decomposition of marine plants : that of Oysters Bay, mingled with the remains of shells, is whiter, finer, and more calcareous.

There does not appear to be any trace of volcanic substance on these shores.

Vegetation does not appear to be so healthy on the Isle Maria as on Diemen's Land : the eastern coast is too steep and mountainous, and too much exposed to the rage of the winds to be very fertile : that on the west is either too sandy or too marshy. Nevertheless, taking it all together, this western side of the island is pleasant enough in its appearance : it seems to be well wooded, and in some places the grass is of the finest quality. Among the plants peculiar to this isle is a new kind of *Typha*, of the stalks of which the inhabitants of the Isle Maria make their canoes, which gives them a great superiority over those of the channel of Deutrecasteaux.

In the class of mammiferous animals, I only saw one kind of *Dasyurus*, that was scarcely as large as a mouse. I obtained one that was alive, in exchange for a few trifles, of a savage who was just going to kill and eat it.

The marine mammaliæ were very numerous on these shores; and we saw great shoals of dolphins and whales, and innumerable legions of sea-cows. These last animals alone give some importance to the Isle Maria. We shall hereafter have occasion to return to this subject.

The birds almost all belong to the different species which we had observed in the channel, with the exception of a kind of perroquet and a beautiful bulfinch, which we saw for the first time on the Isle Maria.

Among the reptiles, we caught some different kinds of lizards; one of them belonged to a new genus, and was not unlike the *Scincus*, or land crocodile.

Of fish I found several new species, as also of insects and crustaceous animals: among these last was a large kind of Maia or crab, of which we caught such numbers every day, that they were distributed to the crews of both ships.

Of testaceous animals our collections were enriched with the wavy volute (*Voluta Undulosa*, N.) several Turbo, a rose-coloured Casca, of the most extraordinary beauty, with an elegant Telinus, and a great variety of Phasianellæ, which formed extensive banks on different points of Oysters Bay, with an intrinsic shell, which seemed to constitute a new genus neighbouring on the Trochus, and of which a somewhat similar species of fossil is found at Grignon, near Paris. Among the soft zoophytes I have collected three new kinds of sponge, an elegant Medusa, several Ascidizæ, and a beautiful Actinurus; but I must repeat, that the enumeration of these different objects, however succinct it might be, would lead me much farther than the nature of my present work would admit.

CHAP. XV.

The Eastern Coast of Diemen's Land. The Straits of Banks and of Bass.

[From the 22nd of February to the 22nd of March, 1802.]

WE have seen in the preceding Chapter, that the islets Taillefer lay off the Schouten Island: there are seven of them,

five being only so many large rocks that rise more or less above the waves. Beaten continually by the stormy sea, these islots are naked, barren, broken, whimsically shaped, of a dark reddish colour; one only of them, which is the largest, has a few stunted languishing trees; the substance of these islots seems to be granitic, like that of Schouten Island, from which they are separated by only a narrow channel, but which nevertheless is very deep.

Schouten Island itself, is in every respect one of the most remarkable points of these regions: it is entirely composed of lofty black mountains, which leave between them several deep valleys: their declivities toward these valleys are rapid and smooth, and less steep towards the sea; but nevertheless, always inaccessible. The eastern side of these lofty and barren hills, is absolutely without the least appearance of verdure: their summits may in many parts be distinguished by granitic peaks, which one would be tempted to take for so many columns raised by the hands of men.

Towards the north part of the island, one of these rocks bends so as to form the appearance of an immense hook. A deep sea washes this terrific coast.

Between the Schouten Island and Freycinet Peninsula is situated Geography Strait, which we described in the preceding Chapter.

Diemen's Land is terminated on this point by a large cape, two or three hundred feet in perpendicular height: this we named Cape Degerando, in honour of the estimable scholar of that name.

Beyond this cape the lands rise higher and higher: two groups of mountains seem to spring from the bosom of the waters: these are joined at the base by a low sandy isthmus, which can only be seen at a short distance; farther off they appear like two distinct islands. These high mountains are primitive and very large; their colour is that of brown earth; the declivities are rapid, naked, and cleft in many parts: here and there on the surface are a few sharp points; in several places their borders are formed like ramparts.

The Bay Thouin is narrow and not deep, open to the east, and lays between two masses of mountains which project out a good way beyond, forming two large capes at the entrance or mouth of the bay. That on the south projecting farthest, and being most remarkable for its height and the grandeur of its form, we gave this the name of Cape Forestier: it is situated in latitude $42^{\circ} 11' 23''$.

From Cape Forestier as far as that which we had named

Cape Lodi, the coast forms several small sandy creeks. In this last space the lands are not so high as those on the south, but become again more elevated towards the Point St. Patrick, of Furneaux : in this part they seem well wooded, and pleasant valleys may be distinguished between the mountains. All this part of the coast was covered with fires and smoke when we passed it. From Point St. Patrick to that of St. Helena, the lands continue high, and rise in elevations one above another : the last of which lay far back in the interior of the country. Some peaks appear at distances on this long chain of mountains : one of them we named the Peak of Arcole : its top is very pointed, and appears in form like a three-sided pyramid. The most remarkable of these peaks seems to be above 513 toises in height : it rises like an immense cone five or six leagues in the interior of the lands. We named this Peak Champagny : it is situated to the south-west of the Point St. Helena.

At a short distance to the south of this same point, in $41^{\circ} 23' 30''$ south, is a little island, which deserves the more particular mention, as, in times when most of the springs of fresh water on the main land were dried up, it could furnish that article to our unfortunate companions, whom, as we shall soon see, we were forced to abandon on these inhospitable shores. We named this Isle Marouard, from the name of the cadet who commanded the long-boat at the time when this disaster happened.

The Bay of Fires, of Furneaux, occupies the space between the Point St. Helena and that of the Eddystone : it is large, not very deep, and open to all the winds from the east. The shores of this long bay consist of lofty mountains, covered to their summits with verdure : Cape Eddystone is itself very high and steep.

From this point to Cape Portland the coast sinks rapidly : in many places it is only formed of level and sandy downs ; however, there are some mountains in the interior of the country, but the farther we go north the more distant they are from the sea shore.

A short distance beyond the Eddystone is a narrow creek, but very deep : it is entirely full of breakers.

Farther on we see two groups of rocks, a mile in extent, and of very odd appearance ; one might almost suppose them to be the ruins of two large villages, and this illusion is so perfect, that we fancy we see the steeples of these villages, which are represented by the lofty points of granite that rise above the other rocks.

From Cape Degerando to the Eddystone Point, the eastern coast of Diemen's Land follows the general direction from north to south; but beyond the Eddystone it runs N. N. W. and S. S. E. as far as off Cape Portland, where it terminates to the N. E. This part of the coast is very low, and the navigation dangerous, from a great number of rocks, many of which are level with the water.

Cape Portland itself is very low, and almost under water, as we shall have to demonstrate more particularly hereafter: it forms the south point of the entrance of the straits of Banks. Let us rest a moment at the mouth of this strait, to conclude all that concerns the reconnoitring of the eastern coast of Diemen's Land.

Furneaux was the first who discovered and visited this coast in 1773, but retarded by bad weather, he could not complete to advantage the work in which he had engaged. We do not find, besides, in his relation, any detail either respecting the topography, or the navigation of this part of Diemen's Land; he has even neglected to make those observations which were necessary to the construction of his chart.

Captain Flinders in 1779 lengthened this coast near enough; but however, he made no alteration in the work of Furneaux, and did not himself give any nautical or topographic particulars on the subject of this part of Diemen's Land.

Our work will henceforth leave nothing to be desired on the subject: for the unfortunate circumstances which I have to relate, placed us in a situation that we returned to this coast several times, and explored the whole of it so near, that it was impossible for any particulars of consequence to escape us.

The reader will doubtless recollect, that on the 27th of February in the morning, we set sail from Oysters Bay to explore the eastern coast of the Isle Maria. Until this time we had been fortunate in all our labours on Diemen's Land, and we hoped still that our good luck would not forsake us, but we were much mistaken, for we had no sooner doubled Cape Peron, than the winds became contrary; and the strong currents bore us away to the south; and when the wind seemed to be changing in our favour, it ceased on a sudden, and the most dead calm kept us immoveable on the surface of the water. All these united obstacles opposed us in such a manner, that we did not reach the coast of Schouten Island until the 6th of March in the morning.

During the whole of these eight days we were almost continually enveloped in a thick fog and moist atmosphere, so that our two ships could scarcely see each other, and several times we were obliged to make the necessary signals to the *Naturalist* with the guns. All our decks ran with water, even in the day, and during the night the more condensed mists dissolved into such a penetrating moisture, that nothing could escape its power. The temperature was from 10° to 14° , though we were still in the hot season of these countries. This deplorable state of the atmosphere much increased the suffering of those who were yet sick.

On the 6th of March, in the course of the morning, we passed at a great distance the Schouten Island and the islets Taillefer. About noon we were off Cape Forestier, when our geographer, M. Boulanger, went in the long-boat, commanded by M. Marouard, to take a nearer survey of all the particulars of the coast. The ship was to take a parallel direction to that of the long-boat, and not to lose sight of it; but M. Boulanger had scarcely been gone a quarter of an hour, when our commander, all at once, without any kind of apparent reason, stood out farther to sea, and we soon lost sight of the boat. It was not till night that we put about again towards the land: a strong breeze had sprung up which blew fresher every moment, and our proceedings were very undecided: night came upon us, and we lost sight of the coast on which we had so lately forsaken our unfortunate companions.

The two following days were spent in seeking them, but we could not discover any thing of either men or boat: to complete the misfortune, the *Naturalist* was separated from us by the squalls which we had experienced in the night of the 7th instant. This day we sent out our chaloupe: she made a useless cruize, and when she returned, the sea was so rough that it was with great difficulty we could get her again on board: two of her planks were stove in against the side of the ship.

In so critical a situation, our commander called together the principal officers on one side, and the master and his mates on the other; to consider what was most proper to be done. "To seek our companions," was the unanimous reply. This search was the more difficult, from the absence of the *Naturalist*, the want of the long-boat, the damage of the chaloupe, and the extreme roughness of the sea. Under these circumstances, we had no other means of making the search than with the ship itself; and it was certainly a very dangerous

enterprise to steer with a large vessel close along the bendings of a wild and unknown shore. Our commander was ill, and shut himself in his cabin, after having given the command to his lieutenant, M. H. Freycinet, and ordered him to make the search required by the crew and principal officers. All the day on the 9th of March we were anxiously working along this terrific shore, and M. Freycinet managed this business with a degree of coolness, intrepidity, and precision, that was deserving of the greatest praise.

This search was notwithstanding as fruitless as those preceding; and as there remained no hope of finding our friends except towards the north, we bent our course for the straits of Bass. During our stay on this coast, we had time to be convinced that the sea is generally very rough, the least wind is sufficient to make it absolutely tempestuous, and unsafe for boats. A wind from the offing no sooner began to rise than we immediately saw the waves foaming up to the very horizon, and in a few moments the swells were so great, and followed each other in such quick succession, that our ship laboured very much; notwithstanding it still was the fine season of these climates.

While we were bearing away towards the strait, we discovered, all at once, on the 10th of March, a small ship bearing down upon us. We joined her, and her captain coming on board us, we learnt that he had left Port Jackson twenty days, to take sea-cows on the shores of the Isle Maria: that the English colony on New Holland was in a very flourishing state, and already supplied not only all the necessaries, but many of the luxuries of life; and also, that we had been expected there every day for some time; that orders had been given to the English government for our reception, with all the consideration and respect due to the nature of our mission, and the dignity of the nation to which we belonged. In return for this agreeable news, we told the English captain of the loss of our chaloupe, and requested, that if he discovered any trace of our unfortunate companions, he would give them all the assistance in his power, which he promised. We descried and pointed out to him the situation of the islot of sea-cows in Bay Fleurieu, as one of the places most favourable for his present pursuit: we then parted and continued our way to the north.

We were again impeded by the same obstacles as when on the eastern coast of the Isle Maria, and it was not till the morning of the 17th that we saw the Isles Furneaux, which form with the north-east point of Diemen's Land, one of the

passes of the great strait of Bass, of which I must here say a few words before I proceed.

It is sometimes the case in geographical discoveries, as with discoveries in other sciences, that after having escaped all the efforts of genius, all the researches and perseverance of the learned scholar, they at length present themselves, as it were, to those who have never made these researches, or busied themselves in such studies and labours. Thus the discovery of the famous strait which separates New Holland from Diemen's Land, attempted in vain by so many celebrated navigators, was reserved for the surgeon of an English ship. And what is perhaps not less astonishing, that the discovery was not made till the year 1798, that is to say, ten years after the establishment of the colony of Port Jackson, notwithstanding its proximity to this settlement.

This strait is about 50 leagues wide from north to south, and of nearly an equal length from east to west : the eastern mouth is considerably lessened by the Two-Sisters, the Furneaux Isles, whose number and size are not yet thoroughly known, the Isle Clarke, Isle Preservation, the Isle Swan, and the little islot belonging to it. Between Diemen's Land, the Isle Swan and its islot on one part, and all the other isles on the other part, there is a channel ten miles in breadth : it is to this principal pass that captain Flinders, who first discovered it, thought proper to give the name of Banks's Straits. Between the isles Furneaux to the north, and the promontory of Wilson, which forms the southern point of New Holland, and which projects above twenty miles towards the interior of the strait, is situated Kentsgroup, the numerous rocks of the promontory, the pyramid, and several other very dangerous rocks, which obstruct the great pass north of the mouth of the strait. To the west appear the Hunter Islands, flanked with a great number of rocks, shoals, and terrible reefs. More towards the north, and exactly in the middle of the western mouth of the strait, is situated the large island King, the islots of the New-year, the Elephants' rock, and several reefs which are connected with the particular plan of this group. I shall have occasion in the course of this work, successively to describe in detail each of these lands ; it will suffice at present to observe, that abstracting all the physical circumstances, besides those which I have just mentioned, the navigation of the straits of Bass must be difficult and dangerous ; and when I add that strong currents prevail in this strait, and that it is subject to terrible

gales from the south-west, the reader will be less surprised at the succession of imminent perils to which our ships were exposed every time we entered this passage: he will also be able to judge of the frequency and cause of the shipwrecks, of which we shall have to give an account in another place.

I have already said, that on the 17th of March we first came in sight of the Furneaux Islands; these are very high mountains, which in favourable weather may be discovered easily at the distance of twelve or fifteen leagues at sea: they present, in every respect, the same wild scene as the Schouten Island. One of the following chapters will give a more particular account of them.

We had no sooner got into the strait of Banks than the sky became covered with dark and heavy clouds: however, we pursued our course. During the night, rain and wind succeeded each other without intermission.

On the 18th we sailed along all that part of the coast which lays between Cape Portland and Waterhouse Island. This part of Diemen's Land, as we have before observed, is extremely low, and almost under water in many places; but in the interior of the country may be perceived a lofty chain of mountains, in the direction from the N. N. W. to the S. S. E.; a circumstance constituting a sufficient reason for the prodigious difference between the S. E. and N. E. points of Diemen's Land.

Until this time we had some hope of finding our long-boat or meeting with our consort; but after having in vain spent two days in search of them, we despaired of seeing them again through the remainder of our voyage, and the event but too well justified our fears on the subject.

In the course of the day on the 20th we saw a great number of dolphins, and several whales from forty to fifty feet in length. I neglected to observe in another place, that off Cape Lodi, we had before seen an immense shoal of large fish.

From the 21st to the 26th of March we experienced one of the strongest gales that we had ever encountered in these seas: several of our sails were carried away by the squalls, and we had nearly been lost in the night of the 21st on the Isles of Furneaux. To escape this misfortune we were obliged, notwithstanding the force of the tempest, to carry all our sails, and in the course of the morning of the 22d instant, we succeeded in clearing the strait by the pass between Kent's group and the promontory. At nine o'clock in the

morning we doubled the pyramid, an enormous rock, which at a distance has the appearance of a gothic ruin: then standing right in to the west of the isles of Kent's group, we succeeded in doubling them, though with much difficulty, luffing up very near these islands. These terrific granitic rocks presented a majestic and dreadful spectacle, naked and barren: the roaring waves broke against them with such noise and force, as seemed to threaten every instant to bury them under torrents of foam. The chart of capt. Flinders, although generally correct, is incomplete in this particular, for he points out but twelve of these islots, and we counted sixteen at least.

On the 24th of March the storm still continued, and on this day we saw an immense number of whales. I have already mentioned the abundant number of these large fish, which are seen near the shores of New Holland: I shall hereafter enlarge on the subject of these extraordinary animals.

On the morning of the 27th the hurricane ceased, and we hastened to enter the straits again, as we were impatient to make the south-west coast of New Holland, one of the principal objects of our mission. In the course of the morning we ranged a part of the land, which, from the Ram-head, extends as far as the promontory of Wilson: they are not so low as the chart of Flinders seems to make them.

In the environs of Kent's group we discovered a few more islots, which are not marked in the chart: one of them was in shape and colour like a brioche*, and we called it by that name.

In the middle of the day on the 28th, we were in sight of the islots which project a-head of Wilson's promontory: we successively surveyed about twenty of them, large and small, but all steep, barren, and broken by the waves. The English chart does not mark near so many, and therefore, in this respect, is defective: it is still more so in the situation in which it places the promontory: in this chart it is marked as being in $38^{\circ} 57'$ south latitude, and in $144^{\circ} 41'$ east longitude from the meridian of Paris: while our own observations place the most southern extremity of this promontory in $39^{\circ} 10' 30''$ south latitude, and $144^{\circ} 20'$ east longitude. So great a mistake must be ascribed to the incorrectness of the means used by capt. Flinders to determine this important point. This celebrated navigator says, indeed, that Bass

* Brioche, a sort of French bun.

not having in his cruize round the promontory made any exact observation, he himself could not determine the situation of it but by the reckoning; and this method, as Flinders observes, cannot be much depended on in latitudes where such strong currents prevail as in the straits of which we are here giving an account. Before I conclude this article I must observe that the islots of Kent's group also appeared to us, in this chart, to be marked as lying too far towards the east: but I can only slightly take notice of all the results of our observations; they will be given by Freycinet, with the particulars which their importance requires. But let us return to our subject.

The lands of the promontory are very high, and present two or three elevations of mountains which rise towards the interior of the country. All the length of this coast there is a great deal of water, and the navigation appeared to us to have no other dangers than those occasioned by the currents, and the proximity of the islots and rocks which I have noticed before.

The promontory of Wilson forms a large cape in the west, to which Bass gave no particular name: this cape is scarcely marked in the chart of Flinders. A-head of this cape are six large islots, one of which is nearly a mile and a half in length.

Directly to the north is a very large and deep bay, which we named Bay Patterson, in honour of the worthy English voyager and scholar of that name, and the intimate friend of Mr. Bass. Several lofty peaks were to be seen on the east coast of this bay, and in the distance we perceived a chain of high mountains.

On the 29th of March, at day-break we began to explore a second bay, which is also, like the preceding, to the north-west of the promontory; this was named the Bay of Venus, from a vessel commanded by capt. Bass, and which will make part of our subject hereafter. The lands of this second bay are high towards the two points, but all those which form the contour are much lower. In the interior of the continent we see the same long chain of mountains of which the lands of the promontory seems to be the extreme point.

On the same day in the afternoon, we were off the isle which closes the fine port Western, discovered by Bass, but of which the particular geography was completed by our consort, as we shall hereafter see.

Here finish the labours of the English navigators, and at this same point began our long exploration of Napoleon's Land.

CHAP. XVI.

Napoleon's Land.

[*From the 29th of March to the 8th of May, 1802.*]

UNDER the name of the south coast and south-west coast of New-Holland, is generally comprised all that part of this continent which stretches from the 33d to the 39th south latitude, and which from the 112°, stretches out as far to the east as the 144th degree of east longitude, thus forming an immense scarp of 800 or 900 leagues in length, of which the two extremities are connected, the one with Cape Leuwin to the west, and the other to Wilson's promontory towards the south.

Of this large space, that part which from Cape Leuwin to the isles St. Pierre and St. Francis, was all that was at all known at the time of our departure from Europe. Discovered by the Dutch in the year 1627, it had been visited in our days by Vancouver and Dentrecaesteaux; but this last navigator not having gone beyond the isles St. Pierre and St. Francis, which form the eastern boundary of Nuyt's Land, and the English not having carried their researches towards the south farther than Port Western, it consequently follows, that the whole of the coast laying between this last point of Nuyt's Land, was entirely unknown at the time we arrived at these shores; and as the point in question was nothing less than to resolve by this exploration the problem of New Holland being a continent, and to discover if there was any large river belonging to that continent, we every one felt an additional degree of zeal and courage.

On the 30th of March, at day-break, we steered towards the shore, which we soon made. A large cape which was called Cape Richelieu, projects out a-head, and forms the entrance of a deep bay, which we named Bay Talleyrand. On the eastern coast of this bay, and almost at the farther part, is a port, of which every winding may be perceived from the mast-head: we described it by the name of Debut Port; but having afterwards learned that it had been already more particularly reconnoitred by the English brig the Lady Nelson, and that at that time it was named Port Philip, we preserved this name with so much the more plea-

sure, as it reminded us of that of the founder of a colony in which we received such generous and effective assistance.

At three o'clock we were off a large cape, which is situated in $38^{\circ} 42'$ latitude, and $141^{\circ} 49'$; this we named Cape Suffrein. The lands here are high, but rise still higher as we steer towards Cape Marengo, which place terminated our survey of this coast.

On the 31st we stood in for the land from the first appearance of day-break. The sky was serene and clear, the sea smooth, and the wind favourable: so many advantages gave us opportunity of ranging the coast very near, and thus our geographic observations were made with the utmost precision. All that portion of land which from Cape Marengo stretches along the western shore as far as Cape Desaix, a space of about twelve miles, is very high, and Cape Desaix itself is well wooded: but at this point the aspect of New Holland changes all at once, to a steep beach almost perpendicular, of a greyish or yellowish hue, without any appearance of verdure or vegetation, which forming a number of small capes and little creeks of no great depth, describes in the distance an appearance of a long chain of regular fortifications, or rather something like the gigantic wall which separates China from Tartary. Cape Volney, near which we were about noon, is remarkable for a chain of rocks which stretches a good way out. Beyond this we discovered a portion of land which seemed detached from the main land, and which we named Isle Latraille, in honour of the worthy and learned naturalist of that name.

As we continued our course along the shore, we came a-head of a peak of a conic form, to which we gave the name of the Peak of Reconnoissance, and the nearest cape we called Mount Tabor Cape.

At this period the barometer remained at from $28^{\circ} 7'$ to $28^{\circ} 8'$, which was higher than we had observed it until this time: the atmosphere is also very serene and clear. The thermometer, in the course of the day, varied from 13° to 15° , and in the course of the night sunk to 10° .

A-head of Cape Desaix, in the Bay Daubenton, and at a short distance to the west of Cape Folard, we perceived smoke in different directions—an almost certain indication of inhabitants being on these inhospitable shores. We observed several kinds of thrushes, goelands, boobies, and puffins; but, with the exception of some flying fish, all sea animals seem to have deserted this coast, which affords them

no shelter, and against which the troubled waves beat incessantly. Our collections were therefore confined to a few kinds of new and singular fucus. One of these, which I described by the name of *Fucus phylophorus*, seemed to me to be particularly remarkable for the curious disposition of the leaves: on each side of a large flat stalk grow, at equal distances, plain pointed leaves; from the edges of these leaves proceed others of a similar shape, and each supported by a separate bulb: in some instances, even a third rank of leaves proceed from these secondary leaves. I could not determine the precise end of this sort of generation, which is so much the more singular, as the real organs of the reproduction of the plant, the globules, common to most kinds of the fucus, are very much spread in this species, and grow on a long pedicle at the base of the mother-leaves.

At eight in the morning, on the 1st of April, we discovered a small isle, which we named Isle Fourcroy. This island is almost quadrangular, slightly indented on the edges of the shore: it is low, regularly level, of a sad greyish colour, sterile like the sea shore of the continent: it is situated in $33^{\circ} 26' 15''$ south latitude, and $139^{\circ} 52'$ east longitude. A remarkable cape appears off this isle, which we named Cape Reaumur.

About noon we had got into a very large bay, which was called Tourville Bay. We soon discovered another blackish island, which, like the former, was steep, barren, and low, separated by a small space from two islots of the same description. We named it the Dragon Island, because of its whimsical form; for towards one of the points it is shaped like the half-opened mouth of an enormous reptile. The waves which wash its shores, and the islots which belong to it, abound with innumerable unfledged sea-fowl, too young to make use of their wings: these animals appear for the space of above three quarters of a league, as if heaped one upon another. Their prodigious number, the deafening and confused noise which they continually make, the tender solicitude of the parent birds, which fly in thousands over the heads of their young, at the same time screaming with terror at the sight of our vessel; the strange appearance of the islots which serve as a refuge to those hordes of sea-birds; all together present an interesting and picturesque scene.

Cape Montaigne terminates west of the large Bay Tourville: beyond this appear the barren shores of Cape Duquesne, which are low and of a yellowish colour; but now

the darkness made our farther survey very uncertain, and therefore we suspended our researches when we came in sight of this cape.

All that part of the coast which we had just reconnoitred, appeared low and barren, like that which we had seen on the preceding evening; we must, however, except the part which lies between the Dragon Island and Cape Duquesne, where the land here and there presents a few stunted shrubs and trees.

At the farther part of the Bay Tourville, we again observed large quantities of smoke.

The barometer on this day was at from $28^{\circ} 6'$ to $28^{\circ} 7'$, and the thermometer gave 15° as the mean term of heat, a temperature similar to that of the spring in our own country.

April 2.—Beyond Cape Duquesne appears the great Bay Descartes, terminated towards the west by another cape, which, from the name of the immortal author of the Spirit of Laws, we called Cape Montesquieu. It was nine o'clock in the morning when we came off the Bay Descartes, and we began to enter it, when we were becalmed, and compelled to suspend our operations.

It is worthy of remark, that since we had made the land on this coast, the same phenomenon had happened every day at the same hour. A brisk wind from the N. N. E. and varying to the N. E. sprang up at break of day, and insensibly abated from eight to nine, and from nine to ten o'clock, and about eleven or twelve a dead calm succeeded. Soon after, the wind changed from the east to the south-east, blowing fresh, and thus we were enabled to extend our labours and researches. Probably it may be attributed in a great degree to the breezes from the east and by south, that every attempt made to reconnoitre the coast, until this time, coming from the north-west to the south-east, have always been in vain.

We continued our course the instant the calm ceased. The sea broke violently against the white sandy downs which form the beach. Beyond these downs, three or four leagues up the country, we perceived three peaks, the largest we named Mount St. Bernard: it has some resemblance to the Table Mountain. A neighbouring cape we called by the same, Cape Mount St. Bernard.

While we thus pursued our discoveries, as we imagined in perfect security, we perceived on a sudden a long chain of breakers, which we escaped by observing the reflection of

the sun sparkling on their surface. We were so near that we had scarcely time to stand eastward on the larboard tack, and double them at a very little distance. During all these manœuvres we dared not heave the lead for fear of alarming the seamen. This reef was in fact a frightful spectacle; the breakers extended a length of several miles off the coast, which was of a yellowish sterile appearance. These rocks were indented like the teeth of a saw, and were scarcely to be distinguished in the midst of the foaming waves and the eddies. Towards the western point of these breakers, which we named the Carpenters, are two small whitish islots. Cape Boufflers, in sight of which we ended our researches on the 2d of April, is situated some miles to the north-west. Divers kinds of goelands and sternes were the only animals we observed, and on the waves we perceived several *Medusæ*, besides a large sea-cow which swam sleeping on the surface. Towards the farther end of the Bay Descartes, we saw the smoke of some fires rising from behind the downs; but in general the barren nature of the whole of this coast must drive from thence all the human race, as it does not appear to produce sufficient but for a very small number.

April 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th.—From Cape Belidor to Cape Boufflers, the coast is diversified with a number of pleasant little creeks; it then sinks farther in, to form the Bay D'Estaing, terminated to the north-west by a large cape which we named Cape Buffon. From this point as far as the Bay Rivoli, in a space of above forty miles, the continent has no bay, nor any kind of shelter even for the smallest vessel. Exposed on every side to the impetuous winds from the south-west, and beat against incessantly by the waves of the immense Southern Ocean, this part of New Holland is still more terrific than those which we have hitherto described. An immense surf broke the whole length of this shore, making a dreadful noise, which was heard even in the time of a dead calm. On several points where we approached nearer the coast, we observed this surf foaming under the surge of the waves: the most hideous sterility is seen in every direction, and there is not the least appearance of there being even the smallest stream of fresh water. We may judge of the wretched situation of navigators who are so unfortunate as to be lost on these frightful shores.

Such however had nearly been our fate in the course of the day on the 6th of April. At three o'clock in the afternoon, at a moment when we were most occupied in our geographic labours, we were close to a shoal of rocks so level

with the surface of the water, that we could not perceive them, till the instant we were almost a-ground.

During this last part of our researches, (that is to say), from the 3d to the 7th of April, we observed some sea-cows on the waves, also a new species of Beroë, (*Beroë dactylöides*, N.), a species of Salpa, (*Salpa octædra*, N.); and in the evening of the 4th of April, the sea appeared covered with a beautiful species of portune, which was particularly remarkable for the rose-coloured head, and the bright blue colour of the eyes. I have described it by the name of *Portunus cyanophthalmus*, N.

The temperature of the sea on the surface, was at the time at 14° of Reaumur. Independent of these animals, on the morning of the 5th of April, we saw a numerous shoal of dolphins; and on the same day we met a shoal of scombres, a species of fish of the mackerel kind, (*Scomber thynnus*, Lacepede). The sea, during the whole of the night, was extremely phosphorescent; the sky was dark and cloudy; and the barometer was only at 28° 3'. These atmospheric variations seemed to correspond with the changes of the wind, which was at that time N.W., and which consequently brought with it the fogs from the Indian sea. At the farther end of the Bay of Rivoli, we observed the smoke of some fires on the coast.

7th of April.—This bay appears in form of a large oval, which goes eight or ten miles into the land, and is terminated to the south by Cape Lannes, to the north by Cape Jaffa: near this last point is a large chain of reefs, which much contracts the entrance. About 50 miles from Cape Jaffa, is another bay, the mouth of which is from six to seven leagues in extent, and goes still more into the lands; we named this bay, Lacepede. Cape Bernouilli, which forms the eastern point, has a very dangerous reef runs out a-head, which, as we approached, brought us into a depth of but six fathoms, rocky bottom; it was not without difficulty that we doubled this reef. To describe the particular constitution of this new part of New Holland, we must, if it is possible, increase the inhospitable appearance of monotony and sterility, which is so general on these shores. The human race seemed, nevertheless, numerous on this coast; if we might judge from the numberless fires which we saw at the farther end of Lacepede Bay. Innumerable flights of cormorants, the inhabitants of some islots near Cape Bernouilli, appear to be the exclusive possessors of these terrific rocks.

On the 8th of April at noon, we reckoned ourselves to be
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in $36^{\circ} 1' 10''$ south latitude, and $137^{\circ} 7' 40''$ longitude. We had now reconnoitred a length of coast of 944 miles, measuring all the bendings of the shore, from Wilson's promontory to the point where we now were. Soon after this hour, and at a little distance from Cape Villars, we perceived towards the bounds of the horizon, a shoal of dolphins, of such a great length, that at first, we thought them to be an immense chain of reefs; but their swift progress soon convinced us of our error, and we then began to think of making war on them, while the poor animals seemed inclined to assist our wishes; several detachments, like an advanced guard, preceded the principal body; these doubled our ship very near: the quickness of their evolutions, the boldness of their leaps, engaged our attention so much the more, as we had never before seen such an amazing number of these large fish at one time. It appeared difficult to us to imagine how these thousands of dolphins could find sufficient food in seas which seemed not at all to abound in fish of a smaller size, or how they could play and sport without dashing one another to pieces, from being so astonishingly crowded together. In a few minutes we killed nine immense large ones with our harpoons, and such a quantity of fish, seemed to us like a gift from Heaven; for at this time the scurvy had begun the most terrible ravages among us, and the salt provisions, which had become almost putrid, and to which we had been reduced for several months, increased this dreadful distemper every day more and more.

We had but just finished our fishing, when signal was made at the mast-head, of a sail being in sight. At first, every one thought it was the *Naturalist*, and our joy was general; but as we came nearer the ship, we soon perceived, that it was not our consort. As she made for us with all sail set, she was presently under our stern, when she hoisted the English flag, and we at the same time hoisted French colours, and lay to, in imitation of their example; the English captain now hailed us, and asked if we were not one of the two ships which had sailed from France to make discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere? On our answering in the affirmative, he hoisted out a boat and came on board us; we now found that he was captain Flinders, the same who had already made the circumnavigation of Diemen's Land: that the name of his ship was the *Investigator*; and that it was then eight months since he had sailed from Europe, with the intention of reconnoitring the whole coast of New Holland and the archipelagos in the South

Seas: he had been for the last three months off the coast of Nuyt's Land; and having been prevented by contrary winds, he had not been able to get at the back of the Isles St. Francis and St. Pierre, as he had intended. We also understood, that at the time of his departure from England, he had another ship with him, from which he had been separated by a storm, and that a few days preceding, he had been attacked by the same squall of wind from the equinox, which had driven us into imminent danger in the strait of Bass, and had lost his long-boat, with eight of his best seamen and his first officer. This singular coincidence in misfortune, may serve as a proof of the perils always attendant on expeditions of this sort.

In giving us all these particulars, captain Flinders shewed great reserve on the subject of his particular operations; we only learnt from some of his seamen, that he suffered much from those winds from the south, which had been so favourable to us; we now knew properly how to appreciate the excellent instructions we ourselves had received. After conversing with us above an hour, captain Flinders returned on board his own ship, promising to come on board us again on the morrow, and bring us a particular chart of the River Dalrymple, which had lately been published in England.

On the 9th of April captain Flinders returned according to his promise, and brought with him the chart, and soon after we parted, to continue our geographic researches.

We now came to a part of Napoleon's Land, where the constitution of the soil, hitherto so simple, was so complicated, that it would be impossible for me to detail the particulars, however interesting they may be; it is therefore by the more prominent features that we must describe the new subjects which will here be presented to our view. Beyond a bay of about ten miles in width at the mouth, and which was called Bay Mollien, we first discovered the peninsula Flenrieu, which is 15 or 16 leagues in length, formed of very high lands and elevations of mountains, which all proclaim that they are of a granitic nature.

To the west of this peninsula appears a gulph, which goes above 100 miles up into the interior of the lands, and which, in honour of our august empress, we named Gulf Josephine; a-head of this gulph, and almost across the mouth of it, is the Isle Decrés, of 210 miles circumference, separated by the strait of Colbert from the peninsula Fleuriu on the east, and by the strait of Laccpede on the west; from a second peninsula of 120 miles in length, which we

named the peninsula Cambaceres: the archipelago Vauban, composed of eight small islands, is situated near the western point of this peninsula. Beyond Cape Berthier, which terminates to the west the peninsula Cambaceres, New Holland is intersected to form the Gulf Buonaparte, which runs across this continent for a length of more than 200 miles, and its shores spread over an extent of above 600 miles. This vast gulf appears at the mouth like a large river, and insensibly becomes narrower towards the end. On the western shore of this gulf and near the entrance, is the port Champagny, one of the finest and safest harbours of all New Holland: the bottom is in every part good; the soundings even close in shore, are from ten to twelve fathoms; and the extent of this port is so large, that there is sufficient room for very numerous fleets. Off the mouth of it is the Isle Lagrange, which is about four or five leagues in circumference, and which, situated exactly opposite the middle of the gulf, leaves on each side a passage of two or three miles in width, in which it is both easy and safe to work to windward. Finally, as if nature particularly favoured the port Champagny, the general appearance of sterility is here no longer to be seen, but the lands are high and clothed with thick forests. It is nevertheless true, that we could not discover any fresh water, but the strength and healthy appearance of the vegetation, and the height of the lands, strongly indicates that there must be some streams, or at least, some considerable springs. On this most favoured part of Napoleon's Land, there doubtless exists numerous tribes of inhabitants, for the whole coast appears as if covered by the fires. So many superior advantages belonging particularly to the port Champagny, insures it a very great degree of importance, and we may without hesitation assert, that of all the points of this land, this is the most proper for the establishment of a European colony.

Off this port is situated the archipelago of Leoben, consisting of eight small islands, of which, the largest is very long and narrow. Another archipelago occupying the middle of the mouth of the gulf, we named Berthier's Archipelago. The principal isle of this last group, has the form of a large hook. Besides all these islands, there are above twenty others, disseminated about the environs of the western part of the gulf and at the entrance; we gave to each of these one or other of the honourable titles, which our country has been pleased to bestow as the reward of merit.

Not far from the gulf Buonaparte, New Holland forms

a large cape, which we named Cape Brune, then goes back for a space of 60 miles, and again advances as far as Cape Correa. Near this point is situated the group of the Jerome isles, which are nine in number; the largest of them we called Isle Andreossy; it is not less than twelve or thirteen miles in length. Farther on is the Bay Lemonnier, protected by a chain of dangerous rocks. Then passing the small Cuvier Isles, we came off the Bay Louis, which develops a coast of more than 50 miles: in this large space we observed many of the fires of the natives.

At this last point of Napoleon's Land, the isles appear very numerous, and first, the archipelago St. Francois presents its thirteen or fourteen barren islands, which lay at the distance of about 25 miles from the continent. A short distance N. E. of this group, are the Isles St. Pierre, these are three in number, and the soil and appearance very similar to the preceding. Still farther, and very near the continent, are situated the Isles Josephine, among numerous shoals and breakers. The Rambarde, a frightful chain of reefs, occupies almost all the space which separates these isles from those of the archipelago St. Pierre, leaving however a good passage between them and the southern extremity.

To the west of the group Josephine, are the Geography Isles, forming a small group of four isles among several islots. Twenty miles farther to the N. W., we discover the three small islands, Jean-Bart: from this last point, to reach the Isles La Bourdonnais, it is necessary to steer near 50 miles to the west; and from thence, as far as the group of the Isles of Montenotte, to bear away near 40 miles towards the S. S. W.

If we reckon with these last islands, all those which from Wilson's promontory are spread abroad on Napoleon's Land, there are more than 160: but all these isles are low, barren, and of a sombre hue: most of them do not produce a tree or even a shrub; the lichens alone, seem to creep over the surface of the ground. On the largest, and also on that which has not quite so sterile an appearance, the Isle Decrés, for example, which is not more than 70 leagues in circumference, and on which in the interior, are such large forests, we could scarcely discover or obtain, even by digging into the sandy earth, and collecting with care all the water which issued from the rocks, enough of this precious element to fill a few casks; and all the other isles appeared to be totally without any fresh water of any kind. . .

Can we therefore be surprised, that there did not appear to be any inhabitants on these islands, or that we found no trace of the human species on these numerous archipelagoes so near the continent? But let us return to the continent itself, which we have forsaken awhile, to take notice first of the adjacent isles.

The reader will doubtless recollect, that one of the objects more particularly recommended in our instructions, was, to penetrate to the back of the Isles St. Pierre and St. Francois, and to reconnoitre very particularly all that part of the continent which was partly concealed behind this archipelago. On this point was supposed to be a strait, which intersecting New Holland into two large islands, would open into the end of the Gulf of Carpentaria. On this point also, the best informed naturalists, not supposing it at all probable that so large a continent should be entirely without any rivers, have placed the mouth of such as they thought must be somewhere in New Holland; and this hypothesis is authorized, we must allow, by the immense gulf which is situated on the S.W. coast of this vast continent. Unfortunately this ingenious supposition has not been confirmed by experience, for there are really no rivers at the back of the Isles St. Pierre or indeed St. Francois, or any other part of Napoleon's Land.

In fact, beyond the Cape Lavoisier, which forms the N.W. point of the great Bay Louis, which we have already mentioned the coast behind these two archipelagos, is indented into a number of inconsiderable bays, and then inclines towards the Isles Josephine, forming with them a large bay, which we shall describe more particularly hereafter, and which we named Bay Murat. From thence as far as the Cape of Adieux, where we terminated our survey of this coast, and which is situated in $32^{\circ} 19'$ south latitude, and $128^{\circ} 42'$ longitude, the shore of the continent again displays a number of small and inconsiderable bays, without any appearance of a strait, or even a river. All this last part of New Holland, although of a somewhat more varied aspect than the rest of Napoleon's Land, appears quite as sterile, and whatever part of it we visited on shore, had but too much conformity to this general appearance.

*Sterilis profundis squalet soli,
Et fœda tellus torpet æterno situ.
Seneca, in Herc. fin.*

I have thus given a hasty sketch of the general appearance of Napoleon's Land. How many dangers and arduous labours

did we endure in the research of these particulars! At two different seasons we visited these dangerous shores: hurricanes and storms, shoals and breakers, threatened us perpetually with destruction, and from which we several times very narrowly escaped. Twice with the *Geographer*, we attempted to penetrate to the farther part of the Gulf Buonaparte, and twice we there had nearly perished. The *Casuarina*, however, reconnoitred the whole of this gulf, eight months after this period.

The 13th of April was particularly marked by extreme danger: attacked by dreadful squalls of wind, we were obliged, through the whole of the night, to beat to windward in the east gulf, having several times not more than a few feet water, and drawing six or seven knots.

The night of the 19th of April was still more dreadful. At that time we were in the Gulf Buonaparte: impetuous winds from the W.S.W., blew with terrible violence; the sky was covered with thick black clouds; torrents of cold rain, like melted snow, fell, accompanied by flashes of terrific lightning; the ground swells were so violent and so sudden, that we were obliged to tack continually till day appeared. And happy were we, that we had been able, by dint of incessant labour and exertion, to escape the numerous perils of that dreadful night!

These dangers, however, were not to be compared with the shocking ravages which the scurvy spread among our people. Several of our men had already been committed to the deep: already more than the half of our seamen were incapable of service: only two of our helmsmen were able to get on deck. The daily increase of this epidemic, was alarming to an extreme degree. And in fact, how should it be otherwise? Three quarters of a bottle of stinking water was our daily allowance: for more than a year we had not tasted wine; we had not even a single drop of brandy; for those liquors, so indispensable to European seamen, and particularly in such voyages as ours, was substituted three sixths of a bottle of a bad sort of rum, which is made in the Isle of France, and which is there only used by the black slaves. The biscuit served out to us was full of insects; all our salt provisions were putrid and rotten; and both the smell and taste were so offensive, that the almost famished seamen, sometimes preferred suffering all the extremities of want itself, to eating these unwholesome provisions, and even in presence of the commander, they often threw their allowance into the sea. . . . Besides, there were no comforts

of any kind for the sick; none of the necessaries allowed by authority; none of those consoling attentions from the superior, which are so grateful to the feelings of all men, and which are certainly great alleviations in times of such painful and afflicting privations, these comforts were totally unknown. The officers and naturalists, strictly reduced to the same allowance as the seamen, suffered with them the same afflictions of body and mind.

Such was the melancholy state of our ship, when in the morning of the 30th of April, we came in sight of the Isles St. Pierre and St. Francois; eager to get at the back of these islands, and at length resolve the grand question, whether New Holland was really an entire continent, or whether there was behind these islands any river that intersected it? but our attempts for eight days successively were in vain; the hurricanes, calms, and currents, alternately drove us from these shores; and our crew being in so exhausted a state, could only make ineffectual attempts. We were therefore compelled to defer this important discovery to a future time, and endeavour to make the nearest place to refresh. In the following chapter, we shall see how immediate the necessity was for this determination.

Thus terminated our first survey of Napoleon's Land. In the course of 43 days, we had reconnoitred above a thousand leagues of coast; including in this general calculation, all the isles and the numerous bays which we successively had coasted, from Wilson's promontory to the south, to Cape Adieux to the N.W. But several points of this immense space had certainly escaped us: the geography of the Isles Decrés was not completed: we had not reached the ends of the two gulfs; the port Champagne had not been explored, and the question of the entireness of the continent, which was an essential object of our mission, was still undecided. A second cruize to Napoleon's Land was therefore indispensable, and this consideration ought to have made our commander bend his course to the south, that we might winter in Port Jackson.

CHAP. XVII.

*Return to Diemen's Land—Stay in the Bay Adventure—
Arrival at Port Jackson.*

[From the 8th of May, to the 20th June, 1802.]

THE winter had now set in in these southern latitudes; the frequency of the storms and squalls of wind, the roughness of the sea, had convinced us of this truth, during the latter part of our stay on Napoleon's Land: these imperious circumstances concurred with the epidemic that reigned on board, to make the want of rest the more urgent, it therefore appeared natural to steer the nearest way for Port Jackson, and consequently to cross the Strait of Bass, to get into the great Southern Ocean: our commander, however, was of a different opinion, and without any kind of apparent reason, gave orders to steer to the southern extremity of Diemen's Land. So extraordinary a resolution, spread a general consternation among us, and the melancholy presentiments which it inspired, were soon justified by successive misfortunes.

On the 9th of May, a brisk wind from the N. N. E., carried us a good way to the south: during the whole of the night on the 9th, the horizon appeared all on fire, the flashes of lightning followed each other in such quick succession; and we had also very heavy rain.

From the 10th to the 15th, the weather was dreadful; the sky, always loaded with heavy clouds, incessantly poured down torrents of cold rain; the winds blew in squalls, and with great violence: a thick and penetrating fog darkened the atmosphere, and almost choked our men. Our unhappy scorbutic crew were covered with ulcers and putrid sores; every day increased the number of the sick, those appointed to attend them, were themselves affected by the same cruel distemper, and our doctor himself, M. l'Haridon, was ill.

We now saw a number of albatrosses, the perpetual inhabitants of the South Seas, and the thermometer had already sunk to 8°. This quick change of the atmosphere compelled us to take to our winter clothing, and our sick companions painfully experienced this alteration of the temperature of the air.

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On the 19th, in the morning, we discovered Diemen's Land ; at noon we saw the Mewstone Rock ; at four o'clock in the afternoon, we were off the Isles of Swilly ; and we hoped, before night, to be in the channel Dentrecasteaux ; but the winds deceived us : we lay-to under the Isle Bruny.

On the 20th in the morning, we found ourselves very near the land, but we could hardly distinguish it through the thick fog, with which it was covered ; at nine o'clock we discovered the entrance of the Bay of Adventure, and the lofty reddish columns of the Fluted Cape risen (if I may be allowed the expression), from the depth of a stormy sea ; these columns appear four or five hundred feet above the surface of the water, like an enormous causeway of basaltic prisms, against which, the tumultuous waves driven hither, from the frozen ocean of the pole, by the south wind, break with great noise and violence. This basaltic constitution, which we have before had occasion to remark on the Isle Tasman, and on some other points of Diemen's Land, or the adjacent islands, is so much the more extraordinary, as there does not appear to be any volcanic substances, even in those very places where this constitution was observed.

A-head of the Fluted Cape, projects the Isle of the Penguins, a barren rock ; thus named by Furneaux, from a species of *Aptenodytes minor*, which this navigator discovered here, and which he mistook for a penguin. This mistake, though of but little consequence in geographic nomenclature, is, nevertheless, an error to be remarked, as it is connected with the knowledge of natural history. It is, in fact certain, that all the species of the penguin genus, are confined to the cold seas of the Northern Hemisphere : while on the contrary, the *Aptenodytes minor*, are found near the still colder waters of the Antarctic Hemisphere.

After passing the Isle of Penguins, we came opposite to the anchorage, in the Bay of Adventure. Here the appearance of the lands changed all at once ; the Isle Bruny is in this part formed of lofty mountains, and the valleys extend to the sea shore ; numerous streams descend from the mountains, which are clothed with thick forests to the very summits, while the coast is adorned with beautiful trees and shrubs, that are evergreen. The stillness of the waves at the farther end of the bay, the verdure and coolness of the adjacent forests, formed a delightful contrast with the barren aspect and sombre hue of the Fluted Cape, and the noise of the waves, which were still to be heard in the distance.

We had no sooner cast anchor, than several boats were sent for wood and water, and to carry on shore those of our sick who could bear the motion. I myself, went with my friend M. Bernier, and we spent the day together, in exploring the farther end of the bay.

On the 21st, at four o'clock in the morning, I again went in search of subjects for my collection, and was well rewarded for my labour. At length, in the morning of the 22d, our commander gave orders to set sail: so exhausted was the state of our crew, that we were above four hours in raising the anchor. As soon as this labour was ended, we steered our course to the N. N. E., bearing away towards the Isle Maria, which we gained in the course of the evening. But before we return to the account of our voyage, I shall give a few particulars on the subject of the Bay of Adventure.

The Bay of Adventure was discovered in the year 1770, by captain Furneaux, who named it after the ship which he commanded. This bay is connected with the eastern coast of the Isle Bruny, which forms, with Diemen's Land, the grand channel Dentrecaesteaux; the isthmus St. Aignant, which is situated N. N. E. of the Fluted Cape, separates it from the channel. The lands of the isthmus being very low, and the breadth being not more than a few hundred paces, it seems astonishing that the discovery of this channel, successively escaped both Furneaux and captain Cook, who, a long time before admiral Dentrecaesteaux, had made some stay in the Bay Adventure: the latitude is $40^{\circ} 20' S.$, and the longitude $145^{\circ} 12' E.$ of the meridian of Paris. The topographic plan of this bay, drawn by the ingenious French artist, M. Beautemps-Beaupres, is particularly to be valued, for its peculiar correctness in every particular.

Of all the particular parts of Diemen's Land, and the adjacent isles, that which we are now describing is doubtless the best watered, and for that reason, is the most interesting to navigators: it is probably the only part, where one or more vessels could be supplied with fresh water. This advantage appeared to me, to depend less on the height of the mountains, and the thickness of the forests, than on the nature of the soil, which is entirely composed of granitic rock, of a very fine grain, and a bed of clayey earth, which itself, laying under the vegetative land, spreads over the whole of that part of the isle where we then were. From this disposition, it consequently results, that the rain-water and the dews, and the still more abundant water of the mists and the clouds, condensed by the mountains, not being

able to sink deep into the soil, are thus forced to run on the surface, where they form the numerous streams I before-mentioned, besides several ponds and marshes, large enough to support several sorts of fresh water fish, which are found in great plenty.

From the few meteorological experiments that I was able to make in Adventure Bay, I found that Reaumur's thermometer, ashore in the day-time, varied from six to ten degrees: that the mean height of the barometer, was 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1, 4: while the hygrometer fluctuated from 92 to 97; and the temperature of the sea at its surface, was very little different from that of the atmosphere.

After what I have said of our acquaintance with the inhabitants of Diemen's Land, it will be perceived that those of Isle Bruny belong to the same race; and they occasionally pass from one isle to the other. It is probable, that at the time of our anchoring in Adventure Bay, they were all on the main land; for we could not discover any traces of them ashore. The reason why they seldom frequent Isle Bruny, I attribute to the scarcity of the large oysters, turbot, and other fish, that form their principal food.

On doubling Isle Maria to the south, we passed in the morning of the 24th Geography Strait, Capes Degerando, Tourville, &c. and arrived off Cape Lodi; where we were visited by tremendous weather. Every day produced hurricanes and tempests; and so thick a fog surrounded us, that we could scarcely distinguish the highest mountains of Diemen's Land. It likewise often thundered, and in the morning of the 3d of June we had a storm of very large hail; a circumstance the more singular, as neither the season nor the state of the atmosphere indicated the approach of such phenomena.

The number of our sick increased every hour; and every day we had to commit some of our unfortunate companions to the deep; while from the diminution of our numbers, all hands were required above deck to manage the ship; and the fatigues they underwent, exhausted the few who were in health. At length, there were only six who were able to keep the deck; the sick below made the vessel re-echo with their painful cries, and a general consternation prevailed. We could now no longer direct the ship: all the tackle gave way, and we had not hands enough to repair or to shift the sails. There was not a moment to lose, and we saw that our commander had too long delayed coming to anchor. In short, it was necessary to quit these stormy seas at the

extremity of the globe, and hasten towards Port Jackson. "Then," said the commander in his journal, and the fact was too fatally evident; "we had but four of the crew capable of doing duty on deck, including a midshipman." It may be guessed from this slight remark, what ravages had been made amongst us by the scurvy! indeed, not one of us was free from it; and it even extended to the domestic animals, particularly two rabbits and a monkey, which died of this disease. Amidst all these disasters, our second physician, M. Taillefer, paid the kindest attention to all who were in want of his assistance.

Till the 5th of June, the storm had not entirely ceased; but as we made much way to the northward, its violence gave us less trouble. During the night, we passed the southern point of New Holland, which is called by Cook the Ram Head. On the 7th died our purser, Racine, who was one of the most respectable of our company.

From the 7th to the 15th of June, the stormy weather was incessant. On the night of the 14th we had much thunder and hail, and the lightning was so vivid and constant, that we were almost blinded with its refulgence. At length, on the 17th, the man at the mast-head sung out, that a ship was in sight and preparing to board us, and shortly the vessel was alongside; when the captain informed us, that he had only been two days from Port Jackson on his way to New Zealand to catch whales; that captain Flinders had been some time in that harbour; that the *Naturalist* had been at anchor there several days, but had gone out in search of us; that the long-boat which we had been obliged to abandon on the eastern shore of Diemen's Land, had been fallen in with by an English ship from Port Jackson, and that its whole crew were safe on board the *Naturalist*: he concluded with saying, that we were expected with the utmost anxiety in the colony, where the orders of the English government had been received, commanding the governor to shew us every kind of attention, and adding, that we should be sure of meeting with every possible accommodation. He also apprised us that, only a few days before he sailed, an official account had been received of the conclusion of peace between England and France.

Notwithstanding this pleasing intelligence, we were obliged to tack for many days off Port Jackson, without being able to enter it, on account of the debility of the crew, who were unable to perform the necessary manœuvres. Our joy, however, became incomprehensible, when, on the 20th we

perceived a large English sloop coming towards us. We soon learned from the commanding officer, that for three days we had been perceived by the signal posts on the coast, and that the governor supposing from our manœuvres, that we were in great distress, had sent off the sloop, with a pilot and the necessary number of hands to conduct us into the harbour. Full of gratitude for this assistance, we very shortly came to anchor.

Thus terminated this long navigation, one of the most fatal with which naval histories can furnish; one which had deprived us of nearly the whole of our crew. At this critical period, nearly all our scorbutic patients were so ill, that it would have required several days to convey half of them on shore: two of them died the day after we anchored; but all the rest recovered so rapidly, as to strike us with astonishment; not one of those who had been landed died, and in a few days, those who were actually on the brink of the grave, recovered their health. We were, in short, lost in wonder at the magical effect of the country and the vegetables upon a disorder, to counteract which, all the medicines on board ship, all the most active operations, and energetic attentions, had proved fruitless.

Happily the means of preventing these disastrous epidemics are now better known; for natural philosophy and chemistry have afforded great aid to the system of nautical medicine. The diseases, however, which afflicted us, must afford a dreadful lesson to future navigators; in fact, they arose from no other cause, than the contempt of our commander for all the precautions that were indispensable to preserve the health of the crew. He despised the liberal orders of government in this respect; he disdained all the instructions that had been given to him in Europe; and oppressed his whole company with the most horrible privations. May his conduct be a warning to his successors, and save them from regret and remorse.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Operations of the Naturalist in Banks's Strait—Isles
Furneaux—Kent Bay—Clarke's and Preservation Isles
—Cape Portland—Isles of Swan and Waterhouse.*

[From the 8th to the 19th of March.]

THE reader will doubtlessly recollect the separation of the *Naturalist* and the *Geographer*, on the eastern coast of Diemen's Land. Before we give the details of our residence at Port Jackson, where the *Naturalist* came to anchor a few days before our arrival, it appears necessary, that the order of occurrences may not be interrupted, to expose first the result of the labours of the philosophers, during this last part of their navigation. Messrs. Boulanger, Freycinet, and Bailey, shall be the principal narrators of the events that happened.

“Notwithstanding our eagerness to follow the route of the *Geographer*, we could not, says M. Freycinet, keep her in sight. The superior sailing of that vessel, and the multiplicity of tacks she made, without making any of the usual signals, together with the bad weather that prevailed, sufficiently account for our separation.

“On the 8th of March we made towards land, in the hope of discovering the *Geographer*. At four in the afternoon a sail was perceived in the E. S. E., which we immediately took for our consort, but on coming up, we discovered her to be an English brig. The captain informed us, that she was called the *Endeavour*, and that she had been a fortnight out from Port Jackson to Isle Maria, to catch *Phocæ*. This brig had been built in the port just mentioned; her hull was made of the wood of the *Casuarina*, and her masts of the *Eucalyptus*. We gave this vessel some account of the roads to which she was proceeding, and pointed out the parts where the sea-cows most abounded.

“On the 10th, early in the morning, we observed another sail, which we discovered to be making towards us, and that she was an English brig. What was our surprise on recognizing the long-boat of the *Geographer*, with Messrs. Boulanger, Maurouard, and the eight sailors who had followed them. We were astonished at the danger they had

escaped, as we had no doubt that they rejoined their ship on the 6th of March. We learned that M. Boulanger, having in vain on the evening of the 6th endeavoured to rejoin the Geographer, M. Maurouard and he had resolved to keep close to the shore; that the 7th had been occupied by them in coasting along it, and continuing their geographical observations, but being forced to pass another night in the open air, they had suffered much from the cold and rain, with a violent breeze from the S.W. 'The horror of our situation at this period, said M. Boulanger, may be conceived: the small portion of provisions and water which we had received as our day's allowance on leaving the ship, was exhausted, and we were sinking under fatigue, from being incapable of sleeping, and soaked with sea water. On the 8th however, we caught a number of cormorants, and had the happiness to discover the Isle Maurouard, where we found fresh water, and passed the night. On the 9th, continued M. Boulanger, we proceeded along the shore, till we came in sight of the Furneaux Isles, when we fell in with an English brig, the Harrington, commanded by captain Campbell. This generous Englishman received us in the kindest manner, and gave us every assistance: he supplied us with abundance of provisions, particularly salt beef and potatoes of Port Jackson, and the biscuit made there; his brig had been built in the colony, and had come to Banks's Strait, to load with seal's and sea-cow skins, collected there from various parts, by men who reside for this purpose on King's and Furneaux Isles. Nevertheless, captain Campbell obligingly offered to take us to Port Jackson, if during the few days he should be visiting the River Dalrymple and Port Western, we should not discover our ships. If this should not happen, he proposed to land us on the Furneaux Isles, and take us up on his return. We, however, declined giving up the search for our ships, on which this generous captain offered to furnish us with tables of the setting of the sun, to direct us in our route, as well as a supply of powder and ball, for shooting fowl.

"On the 10th of March we prepared to leave captain Campbell, to cruise before Banks's Strait, when from the mast-head we perceived a large ship, which we soon discovered to be the *Naturalist*; therefore taking leave of our host, we got into the boat and made for the French ship, on board which we soon arrived; happy at having thus escaped all the calamities which generally happen on such a separation."

The account of M. Boulanger leaving no doubt that the Geographer was still to the southward, captain Hamelin resolved to wait for her in Banks's Strait ; in consequence of this decision, he came to anchor on the 10th, off Swan Island, and on the 11th, Messrs. Boulanger, Freycinet, and St. Cricq, were dispatched to Cape Portland, to determine its position, while the other gentlemen were sent to Kent Bay for similar purposes.

Preservation Isle was one point to which Messrs. Faure and Bailly were sent. This isle, says the last-mentioned gentleman, from its situation at the end of Kent Bay, which it protects from the westerly winds, is surrounded by a great number of rocks and islots, which form the retreat of an abundance of Phocæ. The island itself, is nothing but a large granitic plain, about 100 feet above the level of the sea : its shores are every where intersected by sandy creeks, at the mouths of which are rocky breakers, against which the sea dashes with great fury, and which seem to have been placed there by nature, expressly to prevent the entrance of the waves. Most of these rocks form breakers only a few feet under water, while others rise a little above the surface.

The granitic rock, which forms the whole substance of Preservation Isle, is covered with a thin stratum of vegetable mould, merely sufficient to produce a few slight shrubs and thin grass, beneath which is found a prodigious number of the white and blue *Aptenodytes minor* ; these birds have their nests in pairs, and build them in burrows formed by the roots of shrubs and a kind of thick grass. In those parts where the grass does not grow, they form their nests in the soil. It is difficult and fatiguing to walk on the ground where these nests are made, because it is so hollow, that the feet of the passenger sink at almost every step, even knee deep ; during the day these birds remain squat, and as it were, benumbed in their nests : but as soon as night arrives, they rush in crowds towards the shore to search for fish and other animals, on which they feed ; and from these excursions they do not return till break of day ; to keep their nests from cold, they cover them with dry leaves and feathers ; in these nests they rear their young, till they are strong enough to walk to the shore and feed themselves.

These birds are not very bold, and only defend themselves by making a few blows with their beaks, at those who attempt to take them ; they appear to be very fond of heat, for, during the night, they came in great numbers towards our fires, till many of them were burned. One of our sailors

who had wrapt himself in a blanket, was so assailed by them, that he could not close his eyes, as they attempted with the utmost obstinacy to get under his covering; and though in a rage he wrung the necks of several, yet the rest returned incessantly to the charge. These birds have a very shrill cry, similar to that of wild ducks; as we were not here in their time of laying, we could not procure any of their eggs, but almost all their nests contained in each two young ones, tolerably fledged; this circumstance seemed to indicate, that every covey of this kind of bird is not more numerous. Their flesh has a very disagreeable taste, and their fat is a kind of oil, which liquefies on applying the slightest heat, but which, penetrating the whole substance of the animal, communicates to it an oily taste and a nauseous smell. Roasted, or rather broiled on live coals, these birds have a taste similar to red herrings, and this was the only way of dressing them, which rendered them eatable.

The north eastern coast of Preservation Isle, is at once the most healthy and the best sheltered. The southern coast, on the contrary, is covered with breakers and shoals, which render it inaccessible. A vast quantity of the wrecks of ships of different sizes, which cover the surface of the isle, prove the frequency of storms, and their deplorable effects. The shipwreck of the Sydney, a vessel belonging to the colony of Port Jackson, is remarkable from the following circumstances. Of the whole crew, only seventeen men were saved. After remaining some time on Preservation Isle, they resolved to get to the continent of New Holland, and return by land to Port Jackson; they succeeded in reaching Wilson's Promontory, whence they went on foot to the English establishment, a distance of six hundred miles. On their way, they experienced all the horrors of hunger and thirst, and were much annoyed by the hordes of savages who inhabit those inhospitable shores, with whom they were obliged to have many battles. From these terrible obstacles, only three of the unfortunate mariners reached the end of their journey, the other fourteen having perished by the fatigues they underwent, or been killed by the savages.

We soon left Isle Preservation for Clark's Island, and shortly found ourselves at the mouth of Kent Bay. This bay does not afford the advantages which might be expected from its position and size; in fact, a sand bank, which does not contain water enough to float a canoe, obstructs the whole of the eastern parts, and occupies nearly one half of the total extent of the bay; while on the western side are

rocks, which render the navigation dangerous, and the anchorage difficult. This is not the case with a small harbour which lies between Clark's and Preservation Isles : it is safe and convenient, being about three miles long, by a mile and a half wide, and having from six to fifteen fathom of water, with a sandy bottom.

On the 17th of March, in the morning, we proceeded to join the *Naturalist*, at the anchorage where we had left her ; but this ship not being there, and the thick fog not allowing us to remain long in the offing, we disembarked on Swan Island, and after a few hours rest, we sailed to Waterhouse, the place of our rendezvous with the *Naturalist*. This part of Diemen's Land is inhabited by great numbers of small animals, similar to kangaroo rats ; we caught one which unfortunately we could not keep : we also saw a species of small animal, which our crew did not fail to call rats, though it was evident that they belonged to a genus, or order quite different. They had long and silky hair, their colour was a yellowish grey, and they were so little timid, that they came amongst us to pick up the remains of our meals : one of the sailors even caught one in his hand without affrighting it. Waterhouse Isle is frequented by a great number of *Phocæ*, some of which are of an enormous size : there are also great numbers of dead whales, which are cast ashore by the waves.

The next day we made every effort to discover the *Naturalist*, but without avail : our uneasiness therefore became general ; and we formed the most melancholy conjectures of its fate and our own, when we suddenly discovered that ship tacking off Waterhouse. We immediately made sail, and in a short time joined our companions ; happy in having escaped the dangers of every kind, which for five days had surrounded us.

CHAP. XIX.

Operations of the Naturalist in Bass's Strait—North part of Diemen's Land—Dalrymple River—Wilson's Promontory—Account of Port Jackson—Description of Sydney Town, Paramatta, &c.

[From the 19th of March to the 28th of June, 1802.]

AS the Geographer was not visible in Bass's Straits, and as every thing still seemed to prove that she must be to the southward, captain Hamelin resolved to go in search of her. He therefore sailed on the 21st of March, and for six days tacked along the eastern coast, without discovering the least trace of the commander: but all attempts at a junction were impossible, for the Geographer had begun her survey of Napoleon's Land.

Disappointed in his researches, but retained by the precise orders of his chief, captain Hamelin, on the 1st of April, again appeared off Waterhouse; and that he might not make a useless stay in Bass's Strait, he sent Messrs. Faure and Freycinet to the River Dalrymple, for the purpose of ascertaining the correctness of the English chart. These gentlemen were engaged in their investigation till the 7th; M. Freycinet reported, that very strong currents set in at the mouth of that river, and that its navigation was rendered very difficult by banks of rock and sand. He found the chart of captain Flinders to be, on the whole, very correct; and he corrected such slight errors as he had time to discover. The soil on its banks is rich, and the vegetation vigorous; much timber is produced there, but it does not appear fit for naval purposes. So high as they went, they found the water of the river to be too brackish for the relief of navigators.

Captain Hamelin next proceeded to cruise off Waterhouse Isle; and M. Boulanger was sent to reconnoitre Wilson's Promontory, while M. Faure proceeded to Western Port, to revise the English chart. These occupations took up eight days, and the result was, that they

discovered the English charts to be very incorrect in every respect: that a sort of peninsula, as it is laid down in Flinders's chart, is a real island; that Western Port has two entrances, one to the eastward, which cannot be entered by large ships, and the other to the west, having two distinct mouths; that the harbour has a good anchorage, and sufficient space to contain a great number of vessels: there are also several currents of fresh water, which would afford abundant supplies to navigators. In short, Western Port is one of the finest that can be met with; and combines all the advantages that would be necessary for forming a valuable establishment.

During our stay at Western Port, our companions had an interview with the savages of this part of New Holland. The human race appears very scanty in this quarter. Such of the natives as they saw, appeared suspicious, diffident, and treacherous; and their language seemed to bear no other resemblance to that of the people of Diemen's Land, than the excessive rapidity of its pronounciation. In other respects, such as by their whole shape, the conformation of their heads, and their long and thin hair, the inhabitants of the promontory, are eminently distinguishable from those of the canal of Dentrecasteaux. Their teeth are handsome and well placed, and they have not the custom of pulling out one from the front. Their food is almost entirely shell fish, and they paint their bodies and faces in white and red stripes, circles, crosses, &c. they also perforate the cartilage of the nose, through which they pass a skewer six or seven inches long, like the inhabitants of Port Jackson, and they wear a sort of collar, made from a number of tubes of very thick straw; and also, like the people of Diemen's Land, they bedaub their bodies and faces with charcoal. Of thirteen savages, whom our company saw, only one was covered with a black skin: the rest were entirely naked. When they want to warm themselves, or probably from mere amusement or indifference, they set fire to a wood, which produces the most disastrous conflagration. These are all the observations which our people could make concerning the savages of the southern point of New Holland: however imperfect they may be, they apply so exactly to the different nations, whose curious history we shall hereafter have to describe, that no doubt can remain, as to the whole of the hordes having descended from the same race.

At this period captain Hamelin found himself in a very

awkward situation : he had just finished his survey of every part of Bass's Straits, without having discovered any trace of the Geographer ; his provisions were exhausted, or rather, he had not at the utmost ; more than would last him till he could put into some port in the Indian ocean, and before he could get to which, he was ordered to make a survey of the whole south western coast of New Holland. In this exigency, he could not do otherwise than make for Port Jackson ; he therefore crossed the strait, doubled Cape Stower on the 20th of April, and on the next day, was in the latitude of Mount Dromedary, precisely on the same day, and at the same hour, that it was discovered thirty years before, by the immortal Cook. At length, on the 24th of April, he came in sight of Port Jackson, and on the following day he anchored in that beautiful harbour.

This being a period when war raged in all its fury between Great Britain and France, captain Hamelin conceived that he should not be allowed to put into the port, or that at any rate, the assistance of which he was so much in need, would be refused him. But his alarm was soon dispelled ; for the English received him instantly, with that charming generosity which the height of European civilization can alone explain, and is alone capable of producing. The most distinguished houses in the colony were thrown open for our crew, and during the whole time we remained here, we experienced that delicate and affectionate hospitality, which is equally honourable to those who confer it, and those who are its objects. All the resources of the country were at the command of the French captain, and M. Hamelin had already begun to lay in a complete stock of provisions, previous to sailing to survey the south western coast, when the arrival of captain Flinders at Port Jackson gave a new turn to his ideas. He then learned, that the Geographer had been for several months on that very coast, and as the commandant had several times asserted that his intention was to proceed, after that campaign, to the Isle of France, he himself resolved to go thither in quest of him. Accordingly he redoubled his activity, and on the 18th of May he set sail, leaving ashore his first lieutenant, M. Milius, who was sick.

A few days before the departure of the Naturalist, official intelligence had been received, of the conclusion of peace between England and France : this event, however, could not increase the kindness which the English displayed towards us, but it was for them a subject of exultation ; we

should have been equally delighted, if we had not had reason to reflect on the futility of human hope: the demon of war had not yet assuaged his passion, and it was a mere chance, as will be afterwards seen, that our consort did not become his victim. Captain Hamelin, in short, set sail, and doubled the southern point of Diemen's Land; but from the 5th to the 20th of June, the weather was so tempestuous, that after getting to 47 degrees south, he found that his survey would occupy twice the time on which he had calculated when taking in his provisions; besides this, as the scurvy had begun to appear amongst his crew, he resolved to put back. In short, on the 27th of June, in the evening, he again came in sight of Port Jackson, into which he entered on the following day; but, owing to contrary winds, he could not come to anchor till the 3d of July; when he found that we had got there a few days before.

Thus, for the second time, and after inconceivable dangers, two ships came together, whose difficulties had arisen entirely from the obstinacy of the commander, who had forced them at two periods to separate, when it would have been most advantageous for them to act in concert.

Our arrival at Port Jackson did not excite so much surprise amongst the colonists as might have been expected; but for ourselves, we were completely astonished at the flourishing state in which we found this singular, and distant establishment; the beauty of the port at first attracted our whole attention. From an entrance, says commodore Philip (whose description is not in the least exaggerated), of not more than two miles across, Port Jackson gradually opens, till it forms a spacious harbour, with sufficient depth of water for the largest ships, and room enough to contain, in perfect safety, all that could on any occasion be collected. Even a thousand ships of the line might manœuvre here with ease. The bay takes a western direction, extends to the distance of thirteen miles inland, and has at least a hundred little creeks, formed by very narrow tongues of land, which afford excellent shelter against winds, from any point of the compass.

Towards the middle of this magnificent port, and on its southern bank, in one of the principal creeks, rises Sydney Town, the capital of the county of Cumberland, and of all the English colonies in this part of the world: seated at the base of two hills, they are contiguous to each other; and having the advantage of a rivulet, which runs completely

through it, this infant town affords a view, at once agreeable and picturesque. To the right, and at the north point of Sydney Cove, you perceive the signal battery, which is built upon a rock, difficult of access: six pieces of cannon, protected by a turf entrenchment, cross their fire with that of another battery, which I shall presently mention; and thus defend, in the most effectual manner, the approach to the harbour and the town. Farther on, appear the large buildings that form the hospital, and which are capable of containing two or three hundred sick. Amongst these buildings, there is one particularly worthy of notice, as all the parts of it were prepared in Europe, and brought out in commodore Philip's squadron; so that in a few days after its arrival, there was an hospital ready to receive such of the crews as were sick. On the same side of the town, at the sea shore, you observe a very fine magazine, to which the largest ships can come up, and discharge their cargoes. In the same direction are several private docks, in which are built brigs and cutters, of different sizes, for the purpose of trading, either inland, or beyond the colony. These vessels, which are from fifty to three hundred tons burthen, are built entirely with the native wood; even their masts are obtained from the forests of the colony.

The discovery of the strait which separates New Holland from Van Diemen's Land, was made in a simple whale sloop, commanded by Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the *Reliance*. This vessel may be said to have been consecrated to that great discovery, and hazardous navigation; for it is preserved in the harbour, with a sort of religious veneration: some snuff-boxes have been made out of its keel, of which the possessors are both proud and jealous; and the governor himself thought he could not make a more acceptable present to our chief, than a piece of the wood of this sloop, encased in a large silver tooth-pick box; round which were engraved the principal particulars of the discovery of Bass's Straits.

It is at the spot called Hospital Creek, that the ships of individuals unload their cargoes. Beyond the hospital, in the same line, is the prison, which has several dungeons, capable of holding from an hundred and fifty, to two hundred prisoners; it is surrounded by a high and strong wall, and has a numerous guard on duty, both by day and night. A short distance from the prison is the store-house, for the reception of wines, spirituous liquors, salt provisions, &c.





Sydney, New South Wales, with the entrance into Port Jackson.

Published Jan^r. 1. 1820 by Rich.^d Phillips Bridge Street.

In the front of it is the armoury, where the garrison is drawn up every morning, accompanied by a numerous and well-composed band, belonging to the New South Wales regiment. The whole western part of this spot, is occupied by the house of the lieutenant-governor-general: behind which is a vast garden, which is worth the attention both of the philosopher and the naturalist, on account of the great number of useful vegetables which are cultivated in it, and which have been procured from every part of the world, by its present respectable possessor, Mr. Paterson, a distinguished traveller, and member of the Royal Society of London. Between the house and the magazine, just mentioned, is the public school: here are educated in the principles of religion, morality, and virtue, those young females, who are the hope of the rising colony; but whose parents are either too degenerate, or too poor, to give them proper instruction. In the public school, however, under respectable matrons, they are taught, from their earliest years, all the duties of a good mother of a family. Such is one great advantage of the excellent colonial system established in these distant regions.

Behind the house of the lieutenant-governor-general, in a large magazine, are deposited all the dried pulse and corn, belonging to the state. It is a sort of public granary, intended for the support of the troops, and the people, who receive their subsistence from the government. The barracks occupy a considerable square, and have in front several field-pieces; the edifices, for the accommodation of the officers, form the lateral parts, or ends of the building; and the powder magazine is in the middle. Near this, in a small private house, the principal civil and military officers assemble. It is a sort of coffee-house, maintained by subscription, in which there are several amusements, but particularly billiards; at which any person may play, free of expence. Behind the armoury, is a large square tower, which serves for an observatory to those English officers who study astronomy: at the base of this tower, the foundation of a church has been laid, of which the building, just mentioned, is intended to form the steeple; but a structure of this kind, requiring considerable time, labour, and expence, the governors have hitherto neglected to carry it into execution; preferring the formation of such establishments as are more immediately necessary for the preservation of the colony. While waiting, however, for the erection of a church, divine service is performed in one of the

apartments of the great corn magazine. Two fine wind-mills terminate on this side the series of the principal public edifices. Over the rivulet that intersects the town, there was a wooden bridge, which, together with a strong canseway, may be said to occupy all the bottom of the valley. We passed over this bridge, in order to take a rapid view of the eastern part of Sydney Town. Before our departure, the wooden bridge was destroyed, to make way for one which they were about to build of stone; at the same time, a water-mill was built here by the government, and strong locks had been formed, either to keep in the water of the rivulet, or to stop that of the marshes, which runs to a considerable distance into the valley, and might be advantageously employed in turning the mill.

At the east point of the creek is a second battery, the fire of which crosses that of the signal station. The one of which I am now speaking, was dismantled at the time of our arrival at Port Jackson; but it has been put in order since our departure. On the shore, as you approach the town, is a small salt-pit, where the Americans, who were allowed to settle for the purpose at Port Jackson, in 1795, prepared most of the salt used in the colony. Farther on, and towards the bottom of the harbour, is the part called Government Creek, because it is reserved for the agents, and vessels of the state. Between this creek and the salt-pit, is the place for docking and careening the ships. The natural quays are so perpendicular, and well formed, that without any kind of labour or expence, on the part of the English, the largest ships might be laid along them in perfect security. Near the Government Creek, are three public magazines, one of them contains all the articles necessary for the various purposes of domestic life, such as earthenware, household furniture, culinary utensils, instruments of agriculture, &c. The number of these articles that is here amassed, is truly astonishing, and the mode in which they are delivered out, is wise and salutary. In this distant country, the merchandizes of Europe bear so high a price, that it would have been next to impossible for the population to procure such as are indispensable to the common wants of life: the English government has therefore anticipated these wants, by filling large store-houses with every article that can be required, all of which are delivered to the colonists at fixed prices, that are extremely moderate; sometimes even below what they cost in Europe. But in order to prevent avaricious speculations, or waste, no one is admitted into these

depôts without a written order from the governor; in which are specified the articles that the bearer is in need of. In another house are preserved the different uniforms and clothing for the troops and convicts, as well as vast quantities of sail-cloth and cordage, for the government-ships. The last of the three buildings just mentioned, is a kind of public manufactory: in which are employed female convicts. Behind these magazines is the governor's house, which is built in the Italian style, surrounded by a colonnade, as simple as it is elegant, and in front of which is a fine garden, that descends to the sea-shore: already in this garden may be seen, the Norfolk Island pine, the superb Columbia, growing by the side of the bamboo of Asia: farther on is the Portugal orange, and Canary fig, ripening beneath the shade of the French apple-tree: the cherry, peach, pear, and apricot, are interspersed amongst the Banksia, *Metrosideros*, *Correa*, *Melaluca*, *Casuarina*, *Eucalyptus*, and a great number of other indigenous trees: beyond the government garden, on the other side of a neighbouring hill, is the wind-mill, the bakehouse, and the state ovens, that are used for making ship biscuit: these are capable of furnishing from fifteen, to eighteen hundred pounds per day. Not far from a contiguous creek, at a spot which the natives call *Walamoula*, is the charming habitation of Mr. Palmer, the commissary général; a rivulet of fresh water runs before it, and empties itself into the creek, which here forms a safe and convenient basin. Here, Mr. Palmer has built several small vessels, which he employs in whale fishing, and catching *Phocæ*, or sea Elephants, either at New Zealand, or in Bass's Straits. The neighbouring brick-fields furnish a considerable quantity of bricks and tiles, for the public and private buildings of the colony.

A short distance to the southward of Sydney Town, to the left of the great road that leads to Parramatta, you observe the remains of the first gibbet that was erected on the continent of New Holland. The increase of habitations having caused it to be, as it were, surrounded, it has been succeeded by another, that has been erected farther off, in the same direction, and near the village of Brick-field. This village, which consists of about two score of houses, contains several manufactories of tiles, earthen-ware, crockery, &c. its site is agreeable, and the soil, less sterile than that of Sydney, is better adapted to the different kinds of cultivation that have been introduced into these distant regions.

The great road just mentioned, passes through the middle

of Brick-field ; while a small rivulet intersects it, in an opposite direction. Between this village and Sydney Town, is the public burying-ground, which is already rendered an object of interest and curiosity, by several striking monuments that have been erected in it ; and the execution of which, is much better than could reasonably have been expected from the state of the arts, in so young a colony.

A croud of objects, equally interesting, demanded our notice in every direction. In the port we saw, drawn up together, a number of vessels that had arrived from different parts of the world, and most of which were destined to perform new and difficult voyages. Some of them had come from the banks of the Thames, or the Shannon, to pursue whale-fishing on the frigid shores of New Zealand : others, bound to China, after depositing the freight which they had received from the English government, for this colony, were preparing to sail for the mouth of the Yellow-river ; while some, laden with pit-coal, were about to convey that precious combustible to India, and the Cape of Good Hope. Several smaller vessels were on their way to Bass's Straits, to receive skins, collected by a few individuals, who had established themselves on the isles of those straits, to catch the marine animals that resort to them. Other ships, stronger built than those just alluded to, and manned by more numerous and daring crews, who were provided with all kinds of arms, were on the point of sailing for the western coast of America. Laden with various sorts of merchandize, these vessels were intended to carry on, by force of arms, a contraband trade on the Peruvian shores, which could not fail to prove extremely advantageous to the adventurers. Here they were preparing an expedition, to carry on a skin trade, with the people of the north-west shores of America : there all hands were engaged in sending off a fleet of provision ships to the Navigators', the Friendly, and the Society Islands, to procure for the colony a stock of salt provisions. At the same time the intrepid captain Flinders, after effecting a junction with his companion-ship, the *Lady Nelson*, was getting ready to continue his grand voyage round New Holland ; a voyage, which was soon afterwards terminated by the greatest misfortunes. In short, at this period, the harbour of Port Jackson had become familiar to the American navigators, and their flag was continually flying in it, during our residence.

All these great maritime operations gave to the place a character of importance and activity, far beyond what we

expected to meet with on shores, scarcely known to Europeans, even by name, and the interest we took in the scene, was only equalled by our admiration.

The population of the colony, was to us a new subject of astonishment and contemplation. Perhaps there never was a more worthy object of study presented to the philosopher; —never was the influence of social institutions proved in a manner more striking and honourable to the distant country in question. Here we found united, like one family, those banditti, who had so long been the terror of their mother country: repelled from European society, and sent off to the extremity of the globe; placed from the very hour of their exile, in a state between the certainty of chastisement, and the hope of a better fate; incessantly subjected to an inspection, as inflexible as it is active, they have been compelled to abandon their anti-social manners; and the majority of them, having expiated their crimes, by a hard period of slavery, have been restored to the rank which they held amongst their fellow-men. Obligated to interest themselves in the maintenance of order and justice, for the purpose of preserving the property which they have acquired; while they behold themselves in the situation of husbands and fathers, they have the most interesting and powerful motives for becoming good members of the community in which they exist.

The same revolution, effected by the same means, has taken place amongst the women: and those who were wretched prostitutes, have imperceptibly been brought to a regular mode of life, and now form intelligent and laborious mothers of families. But it is not merely in the moral character of the women, that these important alterations are discoverable, but also in their physical condition, the results of which are worthy the consideration, both of the legislator and the philosopher. For example, every body knows that the common women of great capitals, are in general unfruitful; at Petersburg, and Madrid, at Paris, and London, pregnancy is a sort of phenomenon amongst persons of that description; though we are unable to assign any other cause, than a sort of insusceptibility of conception: the difficulty of researches, as to this subject, has prevented philosophers from determining how far this sterility ought to be attributed to the mode of life of such women; and to what degree it may be modified or altered, by a change of condition and manners. But both these problems are resolved, by what takes place in the singular establishment

that we are describing. After residing a year or two at Port Jackson, most of the English prostitutes become remarkably fruitful; and what, in my opinion, clearly proves that the effect arises much less from the climate, than from the change of manners amongst the women, is, that those prostitutes in the colony, who are permitted by the police to continue in their immoral way of life, remain barren the same as in Europe. Hence we may be permitted to deduce the important physiological result, that an excess of sexual intercourse destroys the sensibility of the female organs, to such a degree, as to render them incapable of conception; while, to restore the frame to its pristine activity, nothing is necessary but to renounce those fatal excesses.

While we were reflecting on these numerous and interesting subjects, all the officers and principal citizens of the colony were uprenmitting in their assiduities towards us. Our numerous sick were received into the government hospital, where the English surgeons paid them all possible attention. Doctor Thomson, the chief physician of the colony, directed the mode of treatment with the greatest tenderness: and whatever we were in need of, that the place could furnish, was put at our disposal. The governor-general gave us an unlimited credit on the public treasury, and our commodore was furnished with royal printed checks, to fill up, with any sum that he might wish for; and these checks, without any other security than the signature of the French commandant, were accepted by the inhabitants, with a confidence highly honourable to the government of our country. Our salt provisions, spirits, and biscuits, were exhausted; but by means of these checks we obtained fresh supplies; and several times the magazines of the colony were open to supply us with articles which our agents could not procure. Thus, by this generous relief, we were enabled to reclothe our crews, who were in want of every thing; repair our ships, purchase one, instead of that we had lost; and be completely prepared for continuing our voyage.

At the same time, our scientific researches met with every encouragement; a guard of English soldiers were appointed expressly to protect our observatory, which we placed on the north point of the eastern bank of Sydney Cove. The whole of the country was open to the excursions of our naturalists, and we were even permitted to wear our arms, as were the persons of our suite: while guides and interpreters were furnished us for our longest journeys. In short, the

English government behaved to us with such generosity, that they acquired our warmest gratitude.

The principal object of our stay at Port Jackson, was, that we might devote proper attention to every part of the surrounding country. While our crews were repairing the damages the ships had sustained, and getting in fresh supplies of provisions, the naturalists extended their researches to every branch of the physical history of this interesting country. The scurvy, which had affected all my joints with swellings and stiffness, had already begun to yield to the influence of diet and the climate; and as soon as I was able, I went down to the coast of Botany Bay, the harbour of which is situated some leagues to the south of Port Jackson. A large and commodious road leads from Sydney Town to this great bay: all the intermediate country is sandy and barren, and appears unfit for any kind of cultivation; consequently one does not meet with any European habitations. After passing the high hill, at the foot of which is the establishment of Mr. Palmer, the country opens upon a sandy plain, which extends as far as the swampy banks of Cook's River. Various species of *Hakea*, *Styphelia*, *Eucalyptus*, *Banksia*, *Embothryum*, and *Casuarina*, grow amidst these sands, and large spaces are occupied entirely with the *Xanthorea*, the gigantic stalks of which grow to the height of from eighteen to twenty feet. In the distance may be perceived the smoke of a few huts; belonging to those unfortunate hordes of natives who exist on these desolate shores.

As you approach towards Botany Bay, the land gradually sinks, till you reach the dangerous swamps formed by the brackish waters of Cook's River, towards the north, and of George River to the south. These marshes are so extensive, and often so deep, that it is impossible in many parts to pass them, if you want to reach the sea. On their banks, and all along the two rivers just mentioned, vegetation is very active: a thousand species of trees and shrubs, which cover the surface of the soil, afforded to that part of the country which we occupied, a delightful appearance; it was this circumstance which deceived captain Cook and his brave companions; for they supposed the land to be unparalleled in point of fertility. It would have been well, however, if this bay, so celebrated by those navigators, had justified the great ideas which they formed of it. Obstructed by large banks of mud, and open at the south to the easterly winds, it does not afford to vessels that security which they are often in need of; while the marshy nature of the soil in

its environs, renders it at once unhealthy, and scarcely fit for ordinary cultivation. Hence, commodore Philip, after reconnoitring Port Jackson, was induced to abandon Botany Bay; and since that period, there has been no other establishment at it, except a kiln for the preparation of lime, which is made from the shells that abound on this part of the coasts. Botany Bay, and its environs, are called by the natives, Gwea, and to this country belong the tribe of savages, called Gwea Gal, who acknowledge Bennil-long for their chief.

Twenty-five miles, or thereabouts, to the west of Sydney Town, is the town of Rose Hill, or Parramatta; which I took the earliest opportunity of visiting. The principal physician of le Naturaliste, M. Bellefin, accompanied me; a serjeant of the New South Wales regiment acted as our guide, and was ordered by colonel Paterson, to obtain for us such facilities as we might require, to pursue our researches. A large road leads from Sydney-Town to Parramatta; it is not paved, but is well made, and kept in good condition. It is almost every where wide enough for three carriages to pass abreast, and bridges have been thrown over such parts of it as are interrupted by the waters; so that the traveller meets with no obstacle on his journey. Having been opened through vast forests, that were never before assailed by the axe, this grand road appears at a distance, like an immense avenue of foliage and verdure. A charming freshness, and an agreeable shade always prevail in this continuous bower, the silence of which is interrupted only, by the singing and chirping of the richly-plumed parroquets, and other birds which inhabit it.

The whole ground, over which you proceed to Rose Hill, is flat, with the exception of a few insignificant hillocks. In proportion as you recede from the sea-shore, the soil becomes less barren, and affords great varieties of vegetation. In some parts there are large spaces between the trees, which is covered by a very fine and sweet-scented grass, that forms a beautiful verdant carpet, and affords pasturage to numerous flocks of excellent sheep. The mild temperature of the climate, the absence of all kinds of ferocious beasts, together with the particular species, and agreeable odour of most of the vegetables, have been so favourable to these useful animals, that the finest kinds of Spain and England, thrive as well here as on their native soil. Already the wool of these antarctic animals is found to be superior to the rich fleeces of Asturias; and the English manufacturers pay

dearer for it; because they are convinced of its superiority. This discovery will probably soon open to Great Britain, a branch of commerce as easy as it is lucrative.

Woods here and there open to the view, and the traveller perceives amidst them, spots which have been cleared by the settlers; and some of which are extensive: he discovers on them, many pretty habitations, shaded by beautiful trees; and contemplates with pleasing emotion, these new fields, where the feeble grass of the north rises from the decay of the powerful Eucalyptus; he discovers with delight on these distant grounds, the most useful animals of his own country; the bulls frisk about with a vigour equal, or even superior, to that of the cold meadows of Ireland; while the cow, more fecund, gives a greater quantity of milk in these mild climates, than in our's. The English horse also, appears with the same strength and spirit that he exhibits on the banks of the Thames; while the European hog is improved, by numerous crosses, with those of the South-sea islands; which are superior in size, as well as quality of fat and lean. All kinds of poultry have succeeded as well as the larger animals, and the farm-yards are stocked with different varieties of geese, ducks, turkies, pheasants, &c. several of which are preferable to the finest of the European species.

The traveller receives additional pleasure on visiting the interior of the habitations. Beneath their agreeable roofs, in the midst of vast forests, live in perfect tranquillity, those banditti, who but a short time before were the terror of Europe, and who, familiarized with guilt, were in constant expectation of the punishment of death: here now live those numerous robbers, rogues, and pickpockets, those criminals of every kind, who in the mother-country appeared to increase in proportion to the progress of civilization. All these unfortunate wretches, who were the disgrace and odium of their country, have become, by the most inconceivable metamorphosis, laborious cultivators, and happy and peaceable members of their community. Indeed, murders, or robberies, are scarcely ever heard of amongst them; so that in this respect the most perfect security prevails throughout the colony; a happy consequence of laws as severe as they are beneficent.

In order to enjoy at our ease these striking scenes, M. Bellefin and I often entered the rural habitations. We were every where received in the most obliging manner; and when we observed the tender cares of the mothers towards their children, and reflectd that only a few years before these

very women, destitute of every tender affection and delicate sentiment, were disgusting prostitutes, the sudden revolution in their moral conduct, gave rise to reflections of the most gentle and philanthropic nature.

At length we arrived in sight of Parramatta : it is seated in the middle of a fine plain, on the banks of a river of the same name, which can be ascended by small vessels, as high as the town itself. It is not so large as Sydney Town ; but contains about a hundred and eighty houses, which form a grand street, parallel with the river, and intersected at right angles by another smaller street, which, at one end, terminates with a stone bridge, and has at the other the church ; the latter edifice, which is built in a rude and heavy style, was not quite finished at the time of our visit ; indeed, the building is conducted with less rapidity than it might be, because the governors of the colony attach, with reason, more importance to the other branches of their administration ; such as the hospitals, prisons, public manufactories, the clearing of land, the fisheries, navigation, &c. for which they reserve proper funds and disposable hands.

At one of the extremities of the great street of Parramatta, are barracks, capable of accommodating from two hundred and fifty to three hundred infantry. They are built of brick, in the form of a horse-shoe, and have in front, a well-gravelled parade, where the troops of the garrison go through their ordinary exercises : these troops consisted, at the time of our visit, of a company of an hundred and twenty men, belonging to the New South Wales regiment, under the command of captain Piper.

The whole population of Parramatta, including the garrison, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring farms, is estimated at from fourteen to fifteen hundred souls ; nearly all of whom are employed in the cultivation of land, the rearing of cattle, and the exercise of a few of the mechanical arts. The town contains an hospital, which is well regulated and of which the principal physician is Mr. D'Arcy Wentworth ; a strong prison, a house of industry for female convicts, a public school for the young girls of the colony, &c. This town is also the chief residence of the justice of the peace for the county of Cumberland, and will become in time the seat of the whole civil administration of the colony ; those branches which relate to navigation, commerce and war, being already established at Sydney.

Towards the western extremity of the grand street of Parramatta, you discover the elevation called Rose Hill, from

which the town first received its name; but it was afterwards called, Parramatta; that being the appellation which the natives give to this part of the country, and which has generally prevailed amongst the English themselves. The whole eastern front of Rose Hill, which is towards the town, is a very gentle declivity, on which appears the fine garden belonging to the government, in which many interesting experiments are made, with a view to naturalize foreign vegetables: here also are collected, the most remarkable of the indigenous plants, intended to enrich the famous royal gardens of Kew. It is from this spot that England has, at various times, acquired most of her treasures in the vegetable kingdom; and which have enabled the English botanists to publish many important volumes. An enlightened botanical professor, who combines modesty with indefatigable exertion, had just arrived from Europe at the time of our visit, to superintend the garden of Parramatta; and the learned colonel Paterson, to whom New South Wales is indebted for this establishment, has never ceased to take a lively interest in its success.

The part of Rose Hill that is opposite to Parramatta, presents an abrupt section, and forms a grand crescent, which one might, at first view, suppose to be the work of man. At the base of this singular hill, runs a rivulet, which, in common weather, is not remarkable; but when the inundations occur, which are so frequent and terrible in these regions, it becomes a source of disasters to the neighbouring plantations.

At the summit of Rose Hill, is the government house of Parramatta, which is called the Crescent; it is simple, elegant, and well laid out, though it derives its principal importance from its situation, which overlooks the town, as well as from its meadows, its forest, and river. This mansion is generally uninhabited; through its capacity and internal regulations are such, that whenever the governor-general and lieutenant-governor come to it for a few days, they can have every accommodation for themselves, and their whole suite.

To increase the natural charms of so fine a scite, the English governors established at Rose Hill the first vineyards of the colony: if the vine could have flourished at the back of the crescent I have mentioned, the government-house would then have been buried, as it were, in a rich amphitheatre of vines and verdure; but experience proved, that this position was, of all those that might have been fixed on, the most

unfavourable for the culture that was intended. In fact, this part of Rose Hill is exposed to the N.W., and nothing is more dreadful than the winds which blow from that point in New Holland.

Hence, notwithstanding the success which seemed to be ensured to plantations of this kind, by the climate and the nature of the soil, the greatest sacrifices have hitherto only been attended with the most discouraging results. In vain has the English government caused to be brought to New South Wales, the finest plants of the Cape of Good Hope, the Canaries, Madeira, and Bourdeaux; in vain has it caused to be planted, at a great expence, European vineyards at Port Jackson; the activity and information of these men, have been rendered nugatory by the north west winds. During a second journey which I made with colonel Paterson to Parramatta, I had frequent opportunities of interrogating those vine-growers, two of whom were natives of Bourdeaux: they were uniformly of opinion that the climate and soil were perfectly congenial with the vine, but it appeared to them impossible that that plant could succeed, as long as the vineyards were confined to Rose Hill. "In no part of the world," said they to me, "does the vine shoot with more rapidity and vigour than here: all its appearances for two or three months combine to promise the most abundant harvests; but the moment the slightest breeze sets in from the north west, then all our hopes are dissipated—blossoms, buds, and leaves, nothing can resist its devouring rage."

Profiting by experience, governor King at length resolved to remove the vineyards to another part of the country, which the vine-growers themselves had fixed upon, and which appeared to them likely to justify their high expectations. But whatever may be the result of this new attempt, it is certain that the English government will not abandon the culture of the vine till the last extremity, and that it will make every sacrifice to ensure success, which would soon be of the greatest advantage to its country. In fact, by one of those chances which are inconceivable, Great Britain is the only one of the great maritime powers, which does not cultivate the vine, either in its own territory or its colonies; notwithstanding the consumption of wine on board its fleets and throughout its vast regions is immense. Compelled to derive the vast supply from Portugal, France, Spain, and even from Holland, it sees with regret, a great part of the capital of the nation absorbed every year, by purchases of

this nature, and aspires with ardour to the means of liberating itself from such an enormous tribute. And it is with this view that it has attempted the conquest or possession of the Cape of Good Hope and the Canaries. But we will return to the disappointment which the English have experienced in their exertions for this purpose at Botany Bay, where, the north-west winds afford numerous phenomena which are peculiar to New Holland, and the explanation or even the existence of which, seems to contradict the most incontestible principles of the general philosophy of the great continents, and their meteorological history.

Cumberland county, which comprises all the present establishments of the English in New South Wales, is bounded to the east by the great Southern Ocean; to the north by Broken Bay and Hawkesbury River, of which we shall soon have to give a description; to the south by Botany Bay and George's River; and to the west by a chain of mountains which envelopes the whole county in a sort of semicircle. This range of mountains is only a small part of the grand chain, which, from the most northern chain of New Holland, stretches along the eastern coast of that continent, as far as its southern extremity, and unites itself by the group of Kent and the Furneaux isles, with the lofty hills of Diemen's Land, which appear to be at once the prolongation and the extreme point of the chain. In their arrangement, these mountains present a singular similarity to that of the Andes of South America. Indeed, what nature has done for the latter country she has reproduced here, but in a manner absolutely inverse. It is to the eastern coast of New Holland, that the mountains in question belong; for scarcely any traces of them are discoverable along the western shores of the continent, besides which, all that has been observed of this last portion, indicates that there exists at that part, plains similar to those of Guiana, Brasil, and Paraguay. Unfortunately there is a wide difference between the latter plains and those of New Holland; the former, clothed in every direction with a stratum of rich and deep vegetable mould, and watered throughout by grand rivers and innumerable streams, display at all times a prodigious fertility, while the melancholy shores of the western parts of New Holland, covered with unprofitable sand, and having no kind of river, but merely a few simple streams of fresh water, seem to have been devoted by nature to the most afflicting barrenness. From this comparison, I shall proceed to speak of the Cumberland mountains in particular.

These mountains, though commonly known by the names of Carmarthen and Lansdown Mountains, are so generally called the *Blue Mountains* by the English colonists, and others who have written concerning them down to the present time, that I consider it indispensable to speak of them under this last denomination. On a clear day, these mountains are easily distinguished from the upper parts of Sydney Town, that is to say, at the distance of about fifty miles: they then appear like a bluish curtain, rising but little above the horizon, and preserving a considerable uniformity. When seen from Castle Hill, that is, at about twenty miles distance, their summits are less regular, and a few of them are more prominent than the rest; their plains are distinguished by several lines, which seem to rise more and more in proportion as they advance towards the interior of the country, and their colour becoming much darker, indicates that their constitution is harsh and barren. On observing them from the environs of Hawkesbury, a distance of eight or ten miles, they seem, according to the account of M. Bailly, like a vast curtain, which bounds the horizon on the N.W.: there is no fracture or peak to break their uniformity; but a horizontal line, beneath which is perceivable a regular plain of a brownish colour, completes the melancholy aspect. On advancing to the bases of these mountains, M. Bailly recognised them to be completely uniform throughout their whole extent; the only fracture which appeared in this quarter, was one, from which issues Grose River, the source of which has not been discovered, but which appears to come from a great distance in the interior of the mountains, and which forms, by its junction with the river Nepean, the famous Hawkesbury River, of which we shall have many occasions to speak in the sequel of this history.

The height of the first range of Blue Mountains, is scarcely more than from two to three hundred fathoms; and the substance of the first plains is entirely composed of the same species of quartzous freestone, as forms all the environs of Sydney Town. Every part to which the English have proceeded, abounds with nothing but this stone; and though they have travelled more than forty miles in a right line across the mountains, they have not found any species of primitive rock. Nevertheless, from the collections made by Messrs. Depuch and Bailly, in the deep bed of Hawkesbury River, it is evident that the Blue Mountains are of primitive and granitic origin.

The small apparent height of these mountains, and their uniformity, prevented the English from perceiving all the difficulty that would attend any survey of them: they therefore contented themselves on the first establishment of the colony, with sending men to escalate their summits. At the same time several convicts wishing to liberate themselves from their slavery, attempted to pass over this shocking chain: some of the unfortunate men met their death in the attempt, and the rest were constrained to abandon it.

It was not till the month of December 1789, that the government thought proper to take any particular notice of the Western Mountains. At this period, lieutenant Dawes set off to reconnoitre them with a large detachment of troops, and provisions for six days; but, after encountering nine days of fatigue and danger he returned to Port Jackson, without being able to proceed more than nine miles in the interior of the mountains. According to his report, his course had been stopped by impassable ravines, and chains of rocks which were high and precipitous.

Eight months after the expedition of lieutenant Dawes, namely, in August 1790, captain Tench set off with a strong party of soldiers and all the necessary articles for passing the mountains; but this excursion was attended with no better success than the former. These failures having discouraged the English government, three years passed away before another enterprise of this kind was attempted; and excepting some few journeys of individuals, not less abortive than the preceding, nothing was done to ascertain the nature of the western country. At length, however, the attention of the public was recalled to the Blue Mountains by the celebrated colonel Paterson, who was authorised to undertake a new expedition, of which every circumstance seemed to indicate the success. This gentleman, after having reconnoitred the entrance of Broken Bay, was to ascend Hawkesbury River, as far as it was navigable, and thus arrive at the very base of the mountains over which he was to pass. To facilitate this navigation, there were built two canoes, extremely light and thin, on board of which were embarked an abundance of provisions, ammunition, rope-ladders, graplins, cordage, &c. A strong body of soldiers accompanied the colonel, and there were selected for his suite several bold and hardy Scotch Highlanders; while some natives of Port Jackson, were to serve as guides and interpreters. Colonel Paterson, in short, having been accustomed from his infancy to climb the most difficult mountains in Scotland, his native country;

and being familiarised with all kinds of privations arising from such an enterprise, in consequence of his arduous travels through the deserts of Africa, seemed to be capable of ensuring all possible success to the experiment, with the arrangements that had been made. Nevertheless, all these precautions could not overcome the obstacles that presented themselves; and Mr. Paterson, like his predecessors, was obliged to yield to the prodigious difficulties of his mission. At length, after having discovered the *Grose*, which empties itself into the Hawkesbury, above Richmond Hill, the colonel continued to advance for about the distance of ten miles, passing several cataracts, one of which had a rapid, at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour. Soon afterwards, the navigation became impracticable, and one of the canoes was sunk, while the other struck on the trunks of trees that obstructed the passage of the river. In vain did the travellers attempt to continue their route towards the interior of the mountains: their difficulties increased at every step: one of these mountains was not less than four hundred feet in perpendicular height: frightful precipices every where presented themselves; and no sooner had one summit been escaladed, than others appeared still more barren and difficult of access; till at length it was necessary to retrace their steps. From the point at which they had arrived, the English saw before them an immense peak, which the colonel named Peak Harrington. It was also during this excursion that they had an opportunity, for the first time, of conversing with the *Bé-dia-Gal*, a singular race of people, who live in the forests contiguous to Hawkesbury River, and who differ from the natives of Port Jackson and Botany Bay in their manners, language, mode of living, and particularly by an extremely remarkable characteristic in their physical constitution. All the individuals of this race have their arms and thighs of an inordinate length, comparatively to the rest of their frame: but our remarks on this topic will be given with more interest in another part of our work.

A year had scarcely elapsed since the enterprise here mentioned, before some other individuals ascended the Western Mountains. In August, 1794, one Hacking, quarter-master of the *Sirius*, a bold and spirited man, went out with a few intrepid fellows like himself, to pass those impregnable barriers. Their efforts were not altogether useless: they penetrated about twenty miles farther than those who had preceded: but after having cleared several very high summits, Hacking himself was constrained to retrograde. Beyond the

different peaks which they reconnoitred, the mountains presented new shapes and summits, which he conceived less accessible than those he had attained. From north to south these mountains formed an immense and impregnable bulwark, most frightfully barren. The mass of these interior peaks was apparently constituted of a reddish and ferruginous free-stone; and amongst these terrific mountains they only saw a single savage, who fled precipitately on observing them; nor did they meet with any quadruped, except a species of red kangaroo, not yet known to naturalists, and which will doubtlessly prove to be one of the most curious species of this genus, being remarkable for its peculiar manners and physical conformation.

Amongst the most interesting characters who have yet appeared in the southern colonies of England, must be placed Mr. Bass, the surgeon of his majesty's ship *Reliance*, the same who in a slight whale sloop, adventured in an unknown sea, and discovered that famous strait to which public gratitude has affixed his name. This extraordinary man also attempted to pass the Blue Mountains; and in the month of June 1796, he set off, accompanied by a small number of men of courage and skill. Never was more hardihood displayed than on this occasion. With his arms and feet protected by iron crotchets, Mr. Bass several times escalated horrible perpendicular mountains: being often stopped by precipices, he caused himself to be let down by ropes into their abysses. But even his resolution was of no avail, and after fifteen days of fatigue and unparalleled danger, he returned to Sydney, confirming, by his own failure, all that had been asserted of the impossibility of going beyond those extraordinary ramparts. From the summit of one very elevated peak, Mr. Bass saw before him at the distance of forty or fifty miles, a second chain of mountains, much higher than any of those which he had passed; and the intermediate space presented neither less dangers nor obstacles than what he had already encountered. During this perilous excursion, Mr. Bass and his troop had to suffer a want of water; their provisions were exhausted, and these barren mountains affording them no means of a supply, they were reduced to a state of the most devouring thirst. "If, by chance," said this intrepid traveller to me, "we met with a small portion of moist earth, or even some mud in the holes of the rocks, we were glad to apply our handkerchiefs to the surface of such substances, and suck them as hard as pos-

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sible, in order to obtain what little humidity they possessed."

Such had been, previous to our arrival at Port Jackson, the different attempts that had been made to open a passage over the Blue Mountains; and such were the unfortunate results. Disgusted by so many sacrifices and useless efforts, the English government for several years were indifferent as to this object. My companions and I, however, succeeded in persuading governor King, during our stay, to order a new expedition to the Western Mountains: this was in the month of October, 1802, and the conducting of it was entrusted to M. Bareillier, a French emigrant, who was engineer to the colony, and aid-de-camp to the governor. I was very anxious to make one of this interesting expedition; but governor King did not think himself justified in so far extending his complaisance. In addition to all the precautions which had been taken on the previous enterprises, the ingenious one was adopted, of establishing a chain of posts at moderate distances, which, the farther the expedition advanced, were stationed at shorter stages: thus, by means of these men an active line of communication was kept up between the main body of the troop and the nearest of the English establishments. M. Bareillier was not, however, more fortunate than those who had gone before him; it even appeared, that he could not get as far as some of his English predecessors, and the only result of his expedition was, the procuring of a small number of specimens of free-stone, similar to what appeared on the sea-shore, and which is reproduced on the whole extent of the country, surrounded by the mountains.

What is most singular in the history of these mountains is, that the natives of the country are as little acquainted with them as the Europeans: they all agree in the impossibility of passing that western barrier; and what they relate of the countries which they suppose to exist on the other side, clearly proves that those countries are totally unknown to them. They assert that there is an immense lake, on the banks of which live white people, like the English, who dress in the same manner, and have large towns, with houses built of stone. We shall afterwards see, that the existence of this great lake, this sort of Caspian sea, is as improbable as that of the white people and their civilization: I shall merely observe, that it is likely these ideas of the natives have been inspired by the establishment of the English colony.

In other respects, the savages of these parts have a sort of religious terror for the Blue Mountains: they think them the residence of a kind of evil spirit, whom they represent by a variety of grotesque figures. They suppose that this terrible daemon hurls amongst them from the summits of the mountains, thunder, inundations, and burning winds, which lay waste their territories. However ridiculous this belief may be in itself, it nevertheless has its cause in their observations of the natural phenomena: for it is in fact, from the tops of these mountains that proceed all the plagues which infest the country. Considered in this point of view, most of the religious ideas of people in general are equally worthy of the attention of the naturalist and the philosopher, and we shall furnish new and interesting proofs of this great truth.

I have now given a rapid sketch of the general history of the mountains of the county of Cumberland: this digression was indispensable, in order to obtain exact information respecting the extraordinary phenomena which are presented by the north-west winds, and which phenomena are inconceivable when the origin of those winds is compared with them.

We have just seen that all the western and north-western parts of this portion of New Holland, are occupied by a very extensive chain of mountains, the height of which appears to be equal to that of the most elevated chains already known. Who would not be induced to think, from such a constitution, that the winds which pass over these mountains must be characterised by a colder temperature? This consequence is so natural and so conformable to all the principles of natural philosophy, that it would seem not to admit of any kind of modification; and, nevertheless, it receives, in the case in question, the most decided and absolute exception; as if the atmosphere of New Holland, as well as the animals and the vegetables of this singular continent, has its peculiar laws, which differ from all the principles of our sciences and all the rules of our systems.

Far different, in fact, from the greater or less degree of cold which they might seem to be obliged to acquire from the immense mountains which they pass, the north and north-west winds are, in the county of Cumberland, real fiery currents compared to those of the most dreadful kind which occur in Africa. Their devouring heat destroys whatever happens to be exposed to its action: nothing can resist the fervor of the austral-campsin; in a few moments it parches up the most active vegetation; under its powerful

influence the springs and rivers become dry; and even the animals perish by thousands when opposed to its fatal career. But as in this part of the world, effects cease to bear any relation to their causes, it is on experience alone that we must rely; and in this respect, after the unanimous evidence of the most observant inhabitants of New South Wales, we must believe the authority of the most enlightened historian which this country has yet acquired.

In the month of February, 1791, Collins made the following observations: "At this period," said he, "most of the torrents and rivulets were dried up, and they were obliged to hollow out the bed of Sydney River, in order to procure scarcely as much water as would supply the town. On the 10th and 11th of this month, the heat became so great, that at Sydney Town Fahrenheit's thermometer rose in the shade as high as 105,0°, being equal to 32,44° of Reaumur. At Rose Hill the heat was so excessive, that thousands of large bats perished; in many parts of the port the land was covered with different species of birds, some just suffocated, and others absolutely reduced to charcoal by the heat, while several were seen to drop dead in their flight. The streams which were not yet dried up were so much infected by the great number of those birds and bats, which, having descended to slake their thirst, had expired on their banks, that the water for several days was corrupted by them. The wind then blew from the north-west, and did great injury to the gardens, consuming all before it. Persons who were obliged to go out on indispensable business, declared that it was impossible to stand with their face for five minutes towards the point from which this wind proceeded." This is only a small portion of the statement given by Collins in his Account of New South Wales. The facts which he mentions are also confirmed by the observations of Philip, Hunter, Watts, Tench, King, &c. and from the whole of which we may deduce the following consequence.

The winds which pass over New Holland from north-west to south-east, appear in the county of Cumberland with the double character of extreme dryness and heat, notwithstanding the extent and the height of the mountains over which they pass before they reach the colony.

These results and others which are analogous, may be applied with interest to the solution of the grand problem of the physical state of the interior of New Holland. We shall now pursue our description of the territory of Parramatta.

I have already observed, that the numerous woods in the vicinity of this town, the abundance of herbage, and its excellent quality, are calculated to form an immense pasturage in this part of New South Wales, proper for rearing all kinds of cattle. Such an advantage could not escape the attention of the English government; and from the first foundation of the colony, it sent hither all the large domestic animals which could be spared from the stock of the new establishment. They have since so rapidly multiplied, that in the divisions belonging to the state alone, there were a short time before our arrival at Port Jackson, 1800 horned cattle, of which 514 were bulls, 121 oxen, and 1165 cows. The breeding of these animals is so rapid, that in the space of only eleven months, the number of oxen and cows has been extended from 1856 to 2450; which gives for the whole year an increase of 650 head, or one-third of the entire number. If the increase be calculated in this proportion for a period of thirty years, it is evident that though half the number might be annually consumed, New Holland would be covered with innumerable herds of cattle.

The sheep have been still more fertile; indeed so rapidly do they breed in these distant pasturages, that captain Arthur, one of the richest landholders in New South Wales, does not hesitate to assert, in a memoir which he has just published on this subject, that in twenty years New Holland alone will be able to furnish England with all the wool which she now imports from other countries, and for which she pays annually about 1,800,000*l.* sterling. Captain Arthur himself, is the owner of more than 4000 sheep: I have seen several of his flocks, and they appear to me to be uncommonly beautiful. The farm of captain Arthur, which is in the finest possible state; comprises 3400 acres of land, of which 3160 are pasture, 40 sown with wheat, and the rest is occupied with various kinds of less important cultivation. He has also on his farm 27 horses and mares, and 182 horned cattle; of which three are bulls, 55 oxen, and 124 cows. "The climate of New Holland," says the captain, in his interesting memoir, "is particularly favourable to the multiplication of sheep with fine wool, and when the unlimited extent of the fine pasturages is considered, it is evident that in a few years, millions of these animals might be raised without any other expence than the payment of the shepherds. I have calculated, that with proper attention, my flocks would multiply thirtyfold in thirty months, and experience has already proved, that this calculation is below

their actual increase. Specimens of their wool," continues he, "have been submitted to the examination of the best judges in England, who admit that they are equal to those of Spain, and even appear to be finer than most of the latter."

Captain Arthur is not the only person who has derived in an honourable way the greatest advantages from the sheep of New Holland. In the course of my different excursions, I had frequent opportunities of seeing flocks as remarkable for their beauty and number as those of this gentleman. Mr. Palmer has about 800 sheep, which he feeds on 392 acres of pasture. Mr. Marsden has a much greater number, and most of the other colonists have their particular flocks. Wandering in the midst of woods, without enemies of any species, and ignorant of the frosts of winter, or the cold humidity of the autumn of our climates, protected from the heat of the sun by the shades of the forests which they inhabit, and feeding always on the most delicate and aromatic herbs, these flocks acquire a degree of strength and beauty which gives them a perfection hitherto unknown. On the other hand, the greatest advantage has arisen from crossing the hairy sheep of the Cape and of Bengal with those of the woolly kind from England and Spain: thus, in less than ten years they have succeeded in transforming the hair of the animals from Africa and Asia into a wool which is not yet very long, but is remarkable for a great degree of fineness, and for its soft and silky quality. "The following fact," said Mr. Arthur, "proves the astonishing rapidity of this amelioration: I have the fleece of one of my sheep of the common kind, which the manufacturers value at 9d. per pound; but when I shewed them the fleece of a lamb proceeding from this same sheep and a Spanish ram, they valued it at 3s. per pound. But it is not merely in the quality of the wool that this amelioration is observable; the advantage is also in the weight of the fleece: for example, the heaviest of those fleeces in 1800 weighed scarcely 3 lb. 8 oz.; in 1802 their average weight was 5 lb.; and at this time the beauty of the wool was so great, that each pound fetched 3s. 6d.

With respect to the sheep of the Spanish breed, which form the principal stock of the numerous flocks of New South Wales, they proceed from a considerable number of fine Merinos, which the English government has transported to Port Jackson at different periods; and thirty rams of the most beautiful kind, which were sent by the court of Spain to the viceroy of Peru during the last war, form a part of this invaluable stock, they having been taken by an

English ship within sight of the port at which they were to be landed.

In the course of my journies to the environs of Parramatta, I succeeded in procuring a variety of animals as beautiful as they are various. Upwards of 150 species of new insects had been gradually added to my collections of this kind, and amongst these species were forty butterflies, mostly of the grandest colours that can be conceived. Amongst the *Coleoptera* is an admirable *Cetonia*, to which I have given the name of *Cetonia Orpheus*, on account of the golden lyre, which appears in the most regular form on the back of this insect, the general colour of which is exactly that of an emerald.

The family of Lizards, which in every part of New Holland appears in so many singular species, has afforded me several of much interest. One of these lizards belongs to the genus *Stellion*, of Cuvier, and is distinguished by the extraordinary flatness of its body, which is no more than ten lines thick, though four inches long and five inches broad, which gives the body of this animal some slight resemblance to that of a cramp-fish. Its aerial goitre, which is extremely large, is of a deep blue colour.

Among the *Scinca* of the new genus, similar to that which I have thought it necessary to establish under the name of *Scincoida*, as well as amongst the *Tupinambis* and the *Geckos*, Parramatta afforded me several very remarkable species. I there procured that singular lizard which the celebrated Shaw has described under the name of *Gecko Platurus*, or the *Gecko* with a large tail; but it appears to me so different in its conformation and habits from the *Gecko*, properly so called, that I have chosen to separate it, in order to make it a type of a new genus, which, under the name of *Geckoides*, N. will immediately follow that of the *Geckos* in the natural order, as well as in that of the classifications of modern naturalists.

I also collected two species of frogs which were hitherto unknown, and one of which I have described by the name of *Rana pustulosa*, the other by that of *Rana pollicifera*, because it has at its hind feet a little projecting appendage, which at first view might be taken for a sixth toe. The toad genus also afforded me two new species, which I named *Bufo Leucogaster*, and *Bufo Proteus*; the individuals of the first species have a brilliant white belly, and those of the second display a great variety of colours. The protean toad is one of the smallest that is known, as it

measures scarcely one inch in length; while, by its agreeable and varied colours, it seems to be separate from the disgusting genus to which it belongs. I also collected a number of new species of *Hyla*, to which I have given such names as accord with their respective appearance. Amongst the terrestrial and fluvial shells I likewise made several interesting discoveries; as also amongst the worms, and the fish of the river of Parramatta: but such was the abundance of new objects that came before me, that I was obliged to sacrifice particulars, in order to admit the general and simple enumeration which it was necessary for me to make.

Having thus finished my labours, I returned with my friend, M. Bellefin, to Sydney Town: but, before leaving Parramatta, it may perhaps be amusing if I say something of the singular host with whom we lodged during our stay in this town. This man was a French Jew, named Larra, who, as he told me himself, had been a thief and a forger of bank notes, and as such, had been transported to Port Jackson, in the fleet under commodore Philip. After having fulfilled his time of condemnation and slavery, Larra became a free and good citizen. Corrected by misfortune, of a vice, the results of which had been so serious to him, he courageously devoted himself to labour, which alone could prevent him from experiencing misery. Having obtained a grant of land, he began to cultivate it with much success, and soon joined his fate to that of a woman of his own nation and religion, who, like him, had been transported for her infamous conduct, but who had also been brought by exile and misfortune, to an inclination for labour, as well as to a more honest line of life. Supported by the generous aid which the government lavishes on individuals who conduct themselves well, this couple jointly tilled a fertile portion of soil, and an abundant harvest was the fruit of their labours. Larra then directed his industry to other objects, and engaged in commercial speculations; which succeeded beyond his hopes. In short, by the most honourable means, he gradually acquired a fortune; and he is now generally considered as one of the richest landholders in New South Wales; while the regularity of his conduct, and the honesty of his character, have caused him to be respected by the principal civil and military officers of the colony.

It is necessary to add, that Mr. Larra does not keep a public tavern, or inn, though all persons who have business at Parramatta, and wish to be well treated, put up at his house: we were recommended to him by colonel Pater-

son, who had written to him without our knowledge, desiring him to treat us with all possible respect, the same as if he were present, and not to accept from us any remuneration. This recommendation of the lieutenant-governor-general produced such an effect upon our host, that, during the six days we remained at Parramatta, we were served with an elegance, and even a luxury, which we could not suppose obtainable on these shores. The best wines, such as Madeira, Port, Xeres, Cape, and Bourdeaux, always covered our tables; we were served on plate, and the decanters and glasses were of the purest flint; nor were the eatables inferior to the liquors. Always anxious to anticipate the taste or wishes of his guests, Mr. Larra caused us to be served in the French style; and this act of politeness was the more easy to him, because amongst the convicts who acted as his domestics, was an excellent French cook, a native of Paris, as well as two others of our countrymen. However, notwithstanding the letter of colonel Paterson, we had many instances, while with Mr. Larra, that in his quality of our countryman, he consented to receive, even from us, the price of his hospitality; for which Mr. Paterson displayed a great resentment against him. For us and our guide he charged 14*l.* 6*s.*; though this sum does not appear too much, considering the sumptuous manner in which we were entertained.

To return to the three Frenchmen who were Larra's domestics, they appeared to us to be overcome with melancholy and remorse: but this was not the case with another Frenchman, named Morand, who lived at Sydney Town, and whose history is so singular, that it deserves to be recorded. "*My only crime,*" said he, "*was that I wished to be a partner in the Bank of England, without putting in any stock:*" he related his adventure with that sort of easiness and consequence which could only proceed from the most extravagant fanaticism. "The war," said Morand, "had just broken out between Great Britain and France; the forces of the two nations were opposed; but it appeared to me more easy to destroy our rival by finances than by arms: I therefore resolved, *like a good patriot*, to undertake this ruin, and to complete it in the very heart of London. If I had succeeded," he exclaimed with enthusiasm, "France would have erected altars to my memory; but how has it happened, that, instead of being treated like a thief, I have not been proclaimed the avenger of my country! Scarcely had I arrived in England, before I began my operations, and they succeeded beyond my utmost hopes. Being ably seconded

by an Irishman, not less clever than myself, and who, *influenced like me, by a noble patriotism*, showed still more hatred towards Great Britain, I soon succeeded in counterfeiting the Bank Notes with such great exactness, that it was even difficult for ourselves to distinguish from the real ones, those which issued from our presses. I was beginning to triumph ; all my arrangements were made for inundating England with the produce of our manufactory ; I only waited for some private information with respect to the manner in which they were to be numbered, when my companion, whom I had hitherto considered as a *very honest man*, took it into his head to *steal* from our depôt, a handful of these notes, before I had given them certain finishing strokes, which, though trivial, were indispensable. The consequence was, that he was very soon apprehended ; and as he had not hesitated to *forfeit his honour* on one occasion, he had no compunction at acting the second time like a villain. He disclosed every thing ; and I was taken up and sent with him to a dungeon : all our instruments, all the contents of our manufactory, were seized ; and Great Britain was saved from the ruin which I had prepared for her !

“ Although the proofs of our project were sufficiently clear, I did not despair, thanks to the nature of the criminal laws in England, of escaping death ; but such was the pusillanimity and terror of my graceless *associate*, that I could not doubt our common fate, if I were obliged to appear at the bar to confront this weak-minded creature. To prevent my own fate, which could not interfere with his, I *resolved to prevail upon him to disencumber himself of me* ; besides, as the author of our misfortunes, it was very right that he should suffer for them. The following were the means I took to effect my purpose : in a very pathetic discourse, I undertook to prove to him, that as our fate was inevitable, it became us only to think of the means by which we might prevent pain and ignominy ; and that as we were to die for each other, it would be better to fall like men of honour, than to expire under the hands of a public executioner. The Irishman was shocked at my proposal, but could not make up his mind on the subject : I therefore remonstrated with him, that if he did not care for his own infamy, he ought to feel for his children, and spare them from the reproach of being the sons of a man that was hanged ; and that if he could not leave them a fortune, he ought to have firmness enough to keep them from shame.

“ These last reflections inflamed the Irishman with a

noble resolution !. We procured some corrosive sublimate ; I pretended to swallow it, but he took his portion in reality, and there was an end of him ! Being thus released from this *weak-minded knave*, I avoided the effect which his appearance would have against me, and was only sentenced to transportation to this colony, where I am condemned to pass the rest of my days. The time of my slavery has expired, and I follow with advantage two of my early trades, those of goldsmith and watch-maker. The two *thieves* who work with me triple my profits. In a few years I shall be one of the richest men in the colony ; and I should even now be one of the most happy, if I were not incessantly tormented with regret at having so unfortunately failed in such an *honourable* enterprise, and to see myself on this occasion regarded like a vile criminal, even by such of you, my countrymen, who cannot make allowance for the noble principles that influenced my conduct."

CHAP. XX.

On the remarkable Hydrographical and Meteorological Phenomena of New Holland.

WE apply generally, in Europe, the denomination of *rivulet* to the junction of several springs, which constitute, together, a continued current of fresh water ; which, after a limited course, either empties itself into particular reservoirs, or into the sea ; but which almost always mixes itself with other currents of the same nature. From this confusion of several rivulets is formed what we call a *river* ; which, besides the characters just described, has a more rapid course ; runs to a greater distance over continents, or large islands ; and, in most cases, falls in with similar bodies of water : thus constituting a third order of currents, for which the French are the only people who have a distinct appellation, namely, that of *fleuve*, or great river. The character of the latter, besides that of emptying itself immediately into the sea, is, that it must have a very extensive course, and consist of a voluminous mass of water.

Torrents, however considerable they may be, differ

essentially from rivulets, rivers, and *fleuves*; as their course, which is subordinate to the order of the seasons and the vicissitudes of the atmosphere, is not continual, but merely periodical. These general notions being well established, we shall make the application to the particular hydrography of New Holland; and we have for our consideration a new series of phenomena, not less singular, perhaps, than those which arise from the Blue Mountains and the north-west winds.

In the first place, throughout the whole extent of this vast continent, which comprises more than an hundred thousand square leagues of solid surface, there is not yet known a single river of the size of the Marne or the Allier, admitting, however, the definition which I have given of the word *river*. In vain the navigator, who sails along the shores of this immense land, hopes that he is frequently about to discover the mouth of a new river; in vain does he sail to a distance in the continent, with strong boats, or even with large vessels: the salinity of what he misconceived to be a river does not diminish, and at length he perceives that the water has no other motion than what is imparted to it by the ebbing and flowing of the sea. Nevertheless, the depth of the water is so considerable, its width is so great, and it extends so far into the country, that the illusion is kept up. The navigation is pursued still farther; numerous creeks are seen, which appear like large rivulets; the vessels enter them, but no where can fresh water be met with. Disappointed hope is however still sustained by the imposing appearance of the principal branch, which continues to afford all the characteristics of a great river. Already has the navigator got to the distance of sixty or eighty miles, and imagines that he can go much farther! Judge of his disappointment, when he suddenly finds this majestic river terminate in a miserable stream of brackish water, incapable of bearing the slightest boats, and the aqueous contents of which, at some periods of the year, are scarcely a few inches broad. The astonished voyager stops his course, and when he discovers that the ebb and flow are almost as strong at the end of the river as at its mouth, he cannot conceive how, in so great a space, the declivity of the land is so insignificant.

Such is the general picture presented by all the rivers of New Holland: there is not one to which the above description is inapplicable, without any other modification than what results from its greater or less extent. Thus the river George, Cook's river at Botany Bay, that of Parramatta at

Port Jackson, that of Hawkesbury at Broken Bay, the river Hunter, Endeavour river, all those in the gulph of Carpentaria, recently discovered by captain Flinders, the rivers or harbours in the Bay of Sea Dogs, that of the Swans, that of Geography Bay, that of King George's Harbour, of the gulphs of Buonaparte and Josephine, of Ports Philip, Western, &c. all reproduce a series of phenomena analogous to those which I have just described. Diemen's Land, notwithstanding the difference of its geological constitution, affords the same singularity in all its rivers. Thus the river Huon, the Port of Swans, with North and Dalrymple rivers, &c. are nothing but a sort of gulphs, more or less narrow or deep, but all of them essentially saline, subject to the influence of the tides, borrowing from them their principal motions, and terminating in feeble rivulets, which in the hot season are almost entirely dry.

However singular may appear all the facts that I have mentioned respecting the rivers of New Holland, they are not the only particulars that present themselves to our notice; the character of their inundations is a new theme for meditation and research; but I must first finish all that relates to my journey to Parramatta.

It is not only by the opening of agreeable and convenient roads, that the English government has endeavoured to facilitate the communications between its colonies and the southern ports of the country : at the end of 1793, there were established on the river of Parramatta, a kind of packet boats which daily sailed between the last-mentioned and Sydney Towns, conveying people and every sort of merchandize. The passage money is a shilling for each individual and each hundred weight of goods, and a whole boat may be engaged for six shillings.

Besides these means of conveyance, the government keeps several little vessels, most of which are very elegant and convenient; they are appropriated exclusively either to the state, or the principal officers employed by it. M. Bellefin and I returned to Sydney in one of these vessels; we embarked opposite the barracks of Parramatta, a part where the river contains sufficient water for large sloops, while two hundred paces farther it is nothing but a miserable stream, incapable of bearing the slightest canoe.

In proportion as we leave Parramatta, the bed of the river extends and becomes deeper, and we soon find ourselves in eight or ten fathoms water. On both banks one's attention is attracted by a number of little creeks running up the

country, and the courses of which are agreeably marked out by fine forests. Here the European has already shown that he exists, by his habitation and the extensive portions of soil which he has cultivated. Here, at the verdant entrance of a stream, is discovered the humble cabin of a new colonist ; while the distant sound of the hatchet announces his efforts and activity : farther on, the eye is attracted by a natural meadow, in which wander the oxen, cows, and horses, of a newly established farm ; and the picture is completed by the first ripening harvests of newly cultivated fields. Often on the summit of a picturesque hillock, may be discerned a large and elegant mansion, surrounded by more considerable cultivated lands, and covered by greater numbers of flocks and labourers—all indicating it to be the property of a rich and industrious owner. The one in question belonged to Mr. Coxe, the paymaster of the colony, to whom I had been introduced at colonel Paterson's. As soon as he perceived M. Bellefin and me, he got into a boat belonging to his farm, and coming to our vessel, invited us in so pressing a manner to pass the night at his house, that we could not resist his friendly solicitation.

While they were preparing a hasty dinner, we amused ourselves in going over his farm, every department of which was to us a new subject of surprise. It was not, however, the only possession of this kind, which Mr. Coxe had acquired on these banks, for, on a second voyage which I made to his estate, with colonel Paterson and his lady, and Mr. Laycock, junior, a lieutenant in the New South Wales regiment, Mr. Coxe took us all to dinner to another farm still more rich and elegant than that I have just described ; it is situated more inland, on the side of Castle Hill. The road which leads from one to the other of these farms, is so wide and convenient, that we went over it in a carriage: it is between six and seven miles in length, and to make it, immense loads of rubbish were necessary. The whole of Mr. Coxe's land amounts to 860 acres, of which more than 300 were sown with wheat, fifteen with maize, six with barley, and twelve with oats ; 349 acres were reserved for the pasturage of the cattle, which comprised five horses, three mares, and twenty-seven horned cattle, besides 800 sheep of the finest breeds.

After expressing our gratitude to Mr. Coxe and his lady, for all the kindness they had shown us, M. Bellefin and I again embarked, and in a few hours got to Sydney Town.

While I was making the various observations that have

just been committed to print, my worthy friend M. Lesueur had been employed in forming a rich ornithological collection; he had killed and prepared no less than 200 birds, and had amassed in our repository 68 quadrupeds; besides which, a great number of sketches and paintings had been executed.

In the mean while our crews, exhausted by long privations and horrible epidemics, were not capable of manœuvring our ships, and experience had proved to us, that those ships were too large and strong for the geographical operations which we had to pursue both on the south-west and north-west coast of New Holland. It was therefore resolved to send the *Naturalist* to France, after withdrawing from that ship almost all the able seamen which she possessed, and replacing them by the convalescent and valetudinarians of the *Geographer*. A cutter of thirty tons was then building in the dock-yard of a ship builder of the colony: this was bought for our service, and the command of it was given to M. L. Freycinet, the acting lieutenant of the *Naturalist*, and the principal author of the geographical labours which were performed on board that vessel. Captain Hamelin himself was to return to Europe, and to lay before the government the results of the voyage.

M. Lesueur and myself being forced by these new determinations to occupy ourselves incessantly in arranging the subjects which were to go in the *Naturalist* to France, we suspended all our intended researches, and for three weeks employed ourselves day and night in this delicate and difficult branch of our duty. It may be imagined what we had to undergo, when it is known that we arranged in the most methodical manner more than 40,000 animals of all sorts and descriptions, collected in various parts during a period of two years. Thirty-three large packing cases were filled with these collections, which were more valuable and numerous than any voyagers had ever sent to Europe, and which, when only partially displayed in the house which I occupied with M. Bellefin, excited the admiration of all the learned Englishmen in the colony, particularly of the celebrated naturalist colonel Paterson.

Of all known countries there is not, perhaps, one where the electric phenomena are so frequent and so terrible as in this climate. While we were crossing the isles of Montenegro to Port Jackson, we were surprised by the continuity of these phenomena, in the midst of a season, and during a state of the atmosphere, so little favourable to their exist-

ence; but towards the end of our stay at Sydney, we witnessed such frequent and violent storms, that our astonishment was inexpressible. Never had we heard such dreadful thunder claps, nor seen such vivid lightning. In one of these storms, a thunder-bolt struck the English ship the *Perseus*, which had no conductor, and had nearly caused the loss of that ship.

On the 7th of October we witnessed a phenomenon of this kind, to which I know nothing similar in the records of meteorology. The whole morning the weather had been very fine, the sky and the sea were equally calm; but in the afternoon the wind suddenly veered to the north-west, and blew fresh and in squalls; an enormous quantity of large black clouds, driven by those winds from the summits of the Blue Mountains, were precipitated into the plain. These clouds were so heavy, that they skimmed, as one might say, the surface of the ground. The heat was suffocating: Reaumur's thermometer suddenly rose from 18° to 27° . The clouds soon opened with a horrible noise; the lightning was blinding, and the thunder was seen to roll along the atmosphere in serpentine shapes, of a blueish colour. At this period of the tempest, the winds blew from all points of the compass, and their violence increased in consequence of their thus clashing. However, as a few very heavy showers of rain began to fall, we hoped that the storm would soon cease; when, from the midst of a very high cloud, blacker than the rest, there suddenly fell an abundant hail, much more remarkable for the form of its grains than from their size: some of them weighed nearly an ounce, and each of them, instead of the more or less globular shape of the hail of our climates, was of an elongated figure, irregularly prismatic, and the proportions of which, in the largest specimen which I could discover, was 29 lines long by 17 wide, and eight thick.

However novel we might consider hail of such a shape, it did not surprise the English, who, since their establishment on these shores, had witnessed several such showers, but never with such prodigious characters as in the month of December, 1795, the particulars of which are described in the work of Collins, p. 445: this storm also came from the north-west. What other climate of the globe presents such a series of remarkable phenomena?

As soon as we had finished the arrangement of our collections, I returned with colonel Paterson to visit the establishment of Castle Hill. After having ascended the river of

Parramatta, to the height of three leagues, we landed with a few soldiers, to begin our researches in natural history. Amidst those various trees which time or the axe had brought down, we found at every step, under their fungous and putrid bark, beautiful Coleoptera, and various species of lizards and reptiles, of which we made a fine collection. On proceeding into the wood, beyond the parts to which the English had extended fire and steel, we found that the insects were much more scarce than in the parts that had been cleared; and this singularity appeared to us to be caused by the custom of the savages setting fire to the forests, and thus destroying an enormous quantity of eggs, as well as larvæ and perfect insects.

Of all European vegetables, that which has succeeded best in New South Wales is the peach tree; the cause is either the nature of the soil, which is generally sandy and light, or that the state of the climate is highly favorable to its vegetative faculties. We may see whole fields covered with peach trees, and their fruit is so abundant, that great quantities of it are dried: several of the colonists prepare from it an agreeable kind of wine; others distil from this wine a good-tasted spirit; and it is not unusual to see the farmers fatten their hogs with peaches.

On reaching Parramatta, Mr. Paterson and I went to the government house, and the next day we made a second expedition in search of objects of natural history, in which my philosophic colleagues, Messrs. Paterson and Cayley, kindly enriched me with contributions of such as I had not been able to meet with.

During these little excursions, I made an observation which had struck me several times before, and which deserves particular attention. In the deep vallies which we often crossed, there ran some streams of fresh water, so feeble, and narrow in their beds, that the widest of them we could step over with ease; and yet at fifteen or twenty feet above their habitual course, we observed on the soil and on the trees, evident proofs that the water had frequently risen to that elevation. My companions confirmed this remark, and gave me some interesting details, which with the observations I had made at Port Jackson, enabled me to present the singular history of the overflowing of the rivers in this part of New Holland. All the facts which it may be necessary to state are, that all the rivers in Cumberland county overflow their banks at certain periods, like the Nile, and roll in devastating torrents over the neighbouring fields. The

English, who first fixed their residences on these banks, not being aware of such inundations, sustained great injuries, and were reduced to the necessity of either removing their habitations from those dangerous banks, or establishing them in more elevated parts, inaccessible to the water. But notwithstanding this double precaution, the cultivators on the banks of Hawkesbury river never feel themselves secure from such a disaster, as the water often rises from twenty-five to forty and fifty feet above the ordinary level of the river: while these inundations, which bear no relation to the season, recur as often as ten or twelve times in a year. This last fact is well worthy of philosophical investigation, as it is in direct contradiction to the laws which regulate the swelling and drying up of rivers in equatorial climates; while the periods of inundation are so irregular, that sometimes one has not occurred in six months, and at others, there have been three or four in a month. The only cause which we can assign is, the frequency and force of the rains which fall from the mountains in which it takes its course; but even under this idea, how astonishing it must appear, that even those heavy torrents can raise the waters of a feeble current to the height of thirty, forty, or fifty feet. What an immense extent of country the rain must have fallen upon at one and the same time; what a rapidity must the course of the water have acquired in its passage down the mountains, to unite from so many points, and almost instantaneously, in such prodigious masses! It must therefore be owned, in respect to these and other phenomena, that New Holland baffles all our analogies, and shakes those scientific opinions which are the most scrupulously admitted. In short, whatever we may have to say of this singular country, so justly called by the English the *unparalleled continent*, we shall state many other natural phenomena equally strange and incomprehensible.

With respect to the river Hawkesbury, if by its inundations it alarms the agriculturists in its vicinity, what benefits does it not confer on the whole country which it overflows. Carrying with it from the summits of the mountains and the interior of the continent, all the vegetable mould which it meets with in its course, it brings it to the vallies, and deposits it in the inundated fields, where it settles into rich strata, some of which, according to the report of Mr. Marsden, are not less than thirty, forty, and even sixty feet in depth, affording an inexhaustible manure for the most active and varied cultivation. Hence, nothing can be com-

pared to the fertility of the banks of this antarctic river; without any labour, and almost without ploughing, the land in these parts produces the richest harvests.

The singular sketch which I have just given, is not merely applicable to the river Hawkesbury; all the other rivers, and even the rivulets of Cumberland county, are subject to similar swells, and which appear to have their common origin in the abundant rains that fall on large tracts of high lands.

Mrs. Paterson having expressed a wish to go with her husband and me to Castle Hill, had come to join us in her carriage at Parramatta; we therefore set off to Mr. Cox and his family, at the farm which he occupies on the banks of the river, and which I have already described: here we slept, and the next morning early, we set off for the place we were to visit.

Of all the establishments in New South Wales, Castle Hill is the most recent: at the time I was there, it was scarcely three years old. The infant town then only consisted of a dozen houses; but already were to be distinguished on the neighbouring hills vast tracts of cultivated land, while several handsome farms were settled in the valleys. Six hundred convicts were continually employed in felling trees, to open roads through the forests; and in twenty quarters might be seen rising, immense volumes of flame and smoke, produced by the burning of new concessions. Most of the body of convicts just mentioned were Irishmen, who have been transported on account of their revolutionary principles; and it was these very men who, a short time after our departure, the English papers stated to have risen, and joined other bodies of their countrymen in the colony. The insurgents, 1300 in number, then marched against the town of Parramatta, and had a sanguinary battle with all the English troops, by whom they were defeated, and then they accepted the promises which the governor held out to them.

The English government had long wished to prevent those destructive conflagrations of the forests, and required that the soil should be cleared by simply cutting down the timber: it was expected that the projecting remains of the roots and suckers, decomposed by heat and moisture, so far from impeding agricultural labour, would become a valuable manure. This mode is employed with advantage in many parts of America; but the result has been ascertained to be quite different in New Holland, as if experience of every kind is

always to be overturned in this singular part of the world : for example, the wood of the Eucalyptus, which is so seldom met with in a sound state in the growing tree, and which appears to be so easily decomposable. This wood, probably on account of its resinous quality, withstands, when cut down, every destructive operation of the atmosphere ; and every where may be seen the remains of trunks which were cut down fifteen years ago, perfectly as sound as when they were growing, while their roots form insuperable obstacles to the progress of the cultivation.

These unforeseen difficulties having compelled the English to abandon this first method of clearing the land, they have adopted that of fire, which they perform in the following manner. After separating by a large abattis the portion of the forest that is to be burned, they set fire to it in several parts ; and in a few days are devoured those products of nature which have required her operations for centuries to bring to perfection. This last method, besides the advantage of quickness and ease of execution, also has that of extirpating all plants different from such as are to be introduced ; at the same time it imparts to the soil a fertile heat, which disposes it to produce a rich harvest, while the ashes of the vegetable that is burned on the surface, afford an additional and salutary manure.

After taking refreshment at Castle Hill, our party set off to visit a neighbouring habitation. “ I wish,” said Mr. Paterson, “ to introduce you to one of your countrymen, who is a friend of mine : he is the baron De la Clampe, formerly a French colonel, who honourably served his country in the war in India, and who afterwards, being forced by your revolution to seek an asylum in England, refused to bear arms against his nation. At length, disgusted with a life of indolence, so little congenial with his inclination and former habits, he solicited permission to establish himself in this distant climate. His wish was not only complied with, but several advantages were granted him, which will secure to him for the rest of his life, an existence, if not splendid, at least competent and peaceable. During three years which he has resided at Castle Hill, he has only come once to Sydney Town ; he shuns the world, and refuses the most pressing invitations of his best friends, in order to devote himself entirely to agriculture. But you shall yourself judge,” added Mr. Paterson, “ of his information and activity.”

Having walked about a quarter of an hour through a thick wood, we discovered the modest habitation and the fields of

the poor French colonel. At the head of six convicts, furnished to him by the English government, almost naked like himself, he set them the example of labour and fortitude. The unexpected arrival of such a numerous party disconcerted M. De la Clampe, who appeared mortified at our seeing him so miserably dressed, that it was difficult to distinguish the master from the criminals that laboured under his orders. He ran precipitately into the house to make himself decent, and soon afterwards joined us.

The interior of this rural mansion, to which we were soon introduced, presented the agreeable union of extreme simplicity and a sort of elegance, which proved the delicate taste of its owner, at the same time that he was an utter stranger to every sort of luxury.

Colonel Paterson soon apprised the baron who I was, and the nature of my visit to the colony. At the name of a Frenchman, the unfortunate emigrant advanced towards me, and embracing me with transport, "Ah! Monsieur," said he, "how goes on our dear France?" With the highest satisfaction I related to this interesting countryman all the prodigies which a great man had performed for the happiness of our nation. He heard my recital with ecstasy, and when I had finished, he animatedly offered up his vows to heaven for the happiness and preservation of the first consul.

After a frugal repast from the provisions which the colonel had caused to be brought, we set out to visit the possessions of our host, himself serving as a guide: he amused us with particulars of his operations and their result; but of all that he showed us, nothing interested me so much as a fine plantation of cotton and coffee trees, which he had planted, and which bore the most promising appearance. M. De la Clampe assured me, that after a long series of experiments, he had succeeded in making his cotton trees produce cotton of various colours, and particularly that of the fine Indian nankeens, which no European had hitherto been able to imitate, either by growing the cotton or dyeing it. "Either I deceive myself," said the French emigrant, "or in a little time I shall have created for this colony two branches of commerce and exportation equally valuable: I have only this means of acquitting myself of a sacred debt of gratitude towards the people who received me in the time of my misfortune, and I shall do every thing to hasten the period of the performance of this duty and wish of my heart—a wish so agreeable to my ideas of delicacy and patriotism."

While I was thus pursuing the enquiries peculiar to every department, over a great portion of this singular colony, two of my colleagues, Messrs. Depuch and Bailly, the mineralogists of the expedition, visited Tongabee and Hawkesbury, the two last towns of Cumberland county, and advanced as far as the base of the Western Mountains. They examined the bed of the river of Parramatta, ascertained that the stratum of freestone, under Sydney Town, extends beyond Parramatta, but at which latter place it covers at the depth of several feet, strata of bituminous schistus, full of the impressions of plants. This schistus is disposed in horizontal layers, alternately with freestone and puddings impregnated with a blackish and bituminous substance. The inference they drew from these observations was, that a vast quantity of coal might be found under the soil of Parramatta; a presumption which is strengthened by the discovery that has already been made of this substance at Port Steven, to the north, and Port Hackney, to the south of Port Jackson.

There is a fine road that leads from Parramatta to Tongabee, which the government causes to be kept in constant repair. To the distance of three or four miles beyond Tongabee, the lands are almost entirely cultivated, and are covered with houses and farms. In all this part of New South Wales, they raise quantities of cattle, and to prevent them from damaging the cultivated grounds they enclose them in meadows, like the people of North America.

Our mineralogists did not discover in any of the lands occupied by the English the slightest vestige of carbonated lime, and the inhabitants are every where reduced to make use of the small quantity only which they procure by the calcination of shells, particularly those of oysters, which latter are found at Botany Bay in vast abundance. The governors have in vain offered large rewards to those inhabitants who may discover any bank of limestone; and there is no reason to believe that such a discovery will be made. They in many parts observed the hematite oxide of iron, which they think might be made to produce an excellent iron: there is also a great abundance of crystalised native muriate of soda, in great masses; the governor has a specimen which is a foot in diameter.

On the whole, it appears that it is only in respect to its mountains, rivers, winds, and storms, that New South Wales presents a series of grand phenomena: amongst the vegetables and animals, nature has likewise multiplied her singularities, and the history of the natives affords many

peculiar subjects for investigation, while the fine system of colonization pursued by England in these distant lands, is equally to be admired. But the extent to which I have carried this chapter, precludes me from entering into farther details, I must therefore defer the reflections which remain to be made, and now terminate the account of our residence at Port Jackson.

I have already stated, that the Naturalist, having on board the scientific collection and the valetudinarians of both ships, was immediately to return to France with captain Hamelin. In consequence of this resolution, Messrs. Leschenault, Faure, and Bailly, those of my colleagues who remained on board that ship, came over to the Geographer, which on the other hand lost the interesting M. Depuch, who was too much reduced to continue the campaign, together with Messrs. Bougainville, junior, Mauronard, and Brue, cadets of the first class: these three gentlemen had the misfortune to incur the hatred of our commander, who had condemned them to be sent home, as well as our second surgeon, M. Taillefer, who had so nobly and courageously attended us in all our illness*.

These final and much to be regretted arrangements having been made, we set sail on the morning of the 18th of November, after having been 152 days at New South Wales. The particulars of the remainder of our voyage will form the substance of my second volume: I shall therefore conclude the present with a few remarks on the physical strength of the savages of the county of Cumberland, and those of Diemen's Land and Timor.

CHAP. XXI.

Results of various Experiments to ascertain the Physical Strength of the Savages of Diemen's Land and New Holland, as well as of the Inhabitants of Timor. Conclusion.

THAT singular period is still recent, in which we saw many celebrated men led away by an ardent imagination, or with

* It is an agreeable task to add, that our three companions, as soon as they returned to Europe, were made officers, and that they all three distinguished themselves in the late battles. M. Taillefer was promoted by vice-admiral Decrès, the minister of the marine, to be surgeon major of the battalion of the marine imperial guard.

dispositions soured by the misfortunes inseparable from our social state of existence, unite to ridicule that state, and despising the benefits it confers, attribute to savages all the sources of happiness and every principle of virtue. Their fatal eloquence led astray the public opinion, and for the first time sensible men were seen to tremble at the progress of civilization, and to sigh for that miserable condition illustrated in our days by the seductive title of *a state of nature*! Happily modern travellers, by successively describing various savage people, have enabled the world to form a just opinion of those ridiculous sophisms: and our expedition may in this respect still farther contribute to the progress of true philosophy.

Of all the benefits which the apologists of man in a savage state have brought forward in his behalf, his physical strength is that on which they insist most particularly and constantly. As the constant attendant of a vigorous state of health, physical strength would be, in fact, one of the first claims to superiority, and if it were to be the exclusive, or even most particular appendage of the savage state, civilization, it must be admitted, has deprived us of one of the most certain means of happiness. Hence, the detractors of social order have made the most eloquent declamations, to prove that this kind of degradation applies to civilized men, and they have striven to cause their sentiments to be believed. Till lately, however, we had no means of contradicting them, by not knowing how to compare with accuracy the physical strength of individuals and nations: but at the time of our departure from Europe, this branch of the history of mankind had excited the interest and zeal of philosophers.

The recent invention of the *Dynamometer* by Regnier, had just given a new turn to observations of this kind. Without being perfect, or being capable of proving the precise degree of absolute strength, this instrument affords the means of direct approximations: it renders the effects comparable, and from the numerous experiments which I have been able to make with it during three years, I have ascertained that in this respect it is much more accurate than was at first imagined. I had the advantage of being the first who carried it beyond the seas, and employing it amidst the hordes of the Southern Hemisphere. I omitted no opportunity of trying it, and I can vouch for the accuracy of the results which it has afforded.

My first experiments with this instrument were made on Diemen's Land. Here, as well as on the neighbouring Isle Maria, there exists a race of men entirely different from the

people of the continent of New Holland. In height they are similar to Europeans, but they differ in their singular conformation. With an uncommonly large head, particularly remarkable by the superior proportion of its length over its breadth, with broad and expanded shoulders, well formed loins, and sizeable buttocks, almost all these individuals have at the same time lank and feeble extremities; they show scarcely any muscle, while the abdomen projects and seems inflated like a balloon. In other respects, without any regular chiefs, without laws, or any form of government, destitute of every kind of art, having no idea of agriculture, of the use of metals, or animals; without clothing or fixed habitations, or any other retreat than a miserable pent-house of bark, to protect him against the south winds, without any other arms than the tomahawk and the sagaie; always wandering in the midst of forests or on the sea shores; the inhabitant of these regions unites all the characters of man in an unsocial state, and is, in every sense of the word, *the child of nature*. How different is he in his moral and physical capacities, from what he is described in those seductive accounts which have been given of him by the enthusiastic imaginations of system-mongers, who have laboured to make him appear superior to man in a civilized state!

With such a barbarous people, our experiments have been, if not rare, at least difficult and dangerous, and most of our interviews have terminated in aggressions on their part. Hence, my dynamometrical observations on these shores have been few and imperfect, as it was not possible for me to induce the people to try the strength of their loins. My experiments were tried chiefly upon savages in the most vigorous part of life, viz. from eighteen to forty years; and the result has been, that the average strength of the savages in Diemen's Land and the neighbouring isles, is far inferior to that of Europeans, who have been tried in the same parts of the world.

The results of five series of experiments on the people of Diemen's Land, New Holland, Timor, the French, and English, is as follows: the figures expressing our French kilogrammes.

Diemen's Land,	50,6
New Holland,	51,8
Timor,	58,7
French,	69,2
English,	71,4

The following is the renal strength expressed in myriagrammes :

Diemen's Land, 0

(Vide the reason given in the preceding paragraph).

New Holland, 14,8

Timor, 16,2

French, 22,1

English, 23,8

From which it results, that

1. That the inhabitants of Diemen's Land, the most savage of all, and the *real children of nature* of the modern philosophers, are the weakest of any.

2. That those of New Holland, who are little more civilized, are weaker than those of Timor.

3. That the latter are in every respect, loins, hands, &c. weaker than the English.

Hence we may infer, that physical strength is not diminished by civilization, nor is it a natural consequence of a savage state.

It was my wish to pursue these experiments to a much greater extent, particularly by making them on the Hottentot race at the Cape of Good Hope; but the interests of science compelled me to sacrifice my valuable instrument at the Isle of France. I gave it to M. Chapotin, the government physician of that colony, who has promised to try with it a number of people, of all nations, who come to that island, and his remarks will doubtlessly throw an important light on this new branch of science. For my own part, it is sufficient gratification for me to reflect, that I am the first man who has laid open, by experiments in distant parts, this wide field of observation, and opposed direct experiments and numerous facts to that dangerous opinion so generally promulgated and believed, *that the physical degeneration of man is in proportion to his state of civilization!*

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DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.



THE following is the order in which the works contained in this volume should be placed:—1. Peron;—2. Valentia;—3. Sir G. M. Keith's Voyage;—4. Macdonald.

The plate of the Savages may be placed as a frontispiece. The view of Sydney Town is to face page 272.

ANALYSES

OF NEW

WORKS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

LATELY PUBLISHED IN LONDON.

VOYAGES and TRAVELS to INDIA, CEYLON, the RED SEA, ABYSSINIA, and EGYPT, in 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806. By GEORGE, Viscount VALENTIA.— 8 vols. quarto, with numerous Plates. Price Nine Guineas. London, MILLER, 1809.

THIS important work, partly from the scarcity of modern oriental travels, and partly from the known talents and persevering disposition of its noble author, had for a long time previous to its appearance excited considerable interest. The curiosity of those who have been able to procure so splendid a publication, has been at last amply gratified; and that our readers also may have a fair opportunity to discover its merits, we shall enter at once upon the following copious analysis.

Lord Valentia departed from London on the 3d of June, 1802, accompanied by Mr. Salt as his secretary and draftsman; embarked on board the *Minerva* extra East Indiaman, captain Weltden, in the Downs; and on the 20th of June took his departure from the Lizard, with a fair wind at N. E.

On the 28th of June, in the lat. 33° 19' he was in sight of Porto Santo, one of the Madeiras, after passing through the Bay of Biscay, at the rate of 200 miles in the 24 hours, although frequently obliged to lay-to for the Lord Eldon, captain Sweet, another East Indiaman, with which, by order of the Board of Directors, the *Minerva* was compelled to keep company.

Upon leaving St. Helena, they again got into the trade,
VALENTIA.]

and had a fresh gale, which carried them for four days considerably to the south: here the weather became so piercingly cold, that they were obliged to add to their bed clothes, and take to their winter dresses.

His lordship, after having examined the marine barometer for several days, had been completely deceived by it.—Previous to the gale it daily and rapidly rose; and when the weather had become mild, it was as rapidly falling: this our author considered as only foretelling a change in the wind; the moisture usually attending a south-westerly wind depressing the glass, and the dry S. E. having a contrary effect.

October 9.—Ship's head right for the Cape, their present latitude with a light breeze from the north, and about 28 degrees of longitude to run down. Here the ship was surrounded by a great number of pintado birds, albatrosses, and other sea-fowl.

October 20.—At two this morning, his lordship was awakened by captain Weltden, informing him that they were in Table Bay. The Cape had been visible from the mast-head at 12 o'clock on the preceding day. His lordship was not disappointed in his expectations relative to the grandeur of the celebrated Table Mountain, which by moonlight had a fine effect. At three they cast anchor, and soon after breakfast his lordship set off, accompanied by captain Weltden in his boat, for the shore, and the wind blowing fresh from the N. E. they with difficulty made their way to the landing-place.

Our traveller's first visit was to sir Roger Curtis, the admiral, at whose house he fortunately met with the acting governor, lieutenant-general Dundas, and Mr. Pringle, agent to the East India Company, and commissary-general, to whom his lordship had letters from his cousin at Madeira. Here their reception was civil, and they learned that the *Minerva* and Lord Eldon were to proceed together to Bengal.

On the 21st of October lord Valentia, accompanied by general Hall and Mr. Salt, proceeded to breakfast with a Mr. Kersteen at Wineberg—the day was clear, the sun not too powerful during the ride; the ground was nearly level, covered with a brushwood of *ericæ* and *proteæ*, with the Table Mountain majestically rising on their right. His lordship observed *ixias*, *geranium*, and other plants, which he had cultivated with such care in England, growing here neglected, in luxuriant profusion; among these the *aristææ*

cyanea predominated—he also observed many plants that still continue scarce in England. The vineyard, however beautiful elsewhere, is at the Cape, his lordship observes, a most unsightly object. Our author received a polite reception from his host, who, at parting, gave him letters of introduction to a friend, at whose house they were to stop the next day, in their excursion into the interior of the country. Finding they were but five miles from Constantia, celebrated for the wine of that name, his lordship determined to visit it—but the owner of the place was absent, and he was compelled to return without seeing the cellars, which were the finest in the country.

On the 23d of October, lord Valentia and his companions, in two covered waggons, each drawn by eight horses, with a Hottentot for a driver, and a slave to assist them, proceeded through Cape Town, upon their intended expedition. These waggons, our author observes, are well calculated for the roughness of the roads, being strong, and not liable to upset, but very unpleasant from their jolting. In these waggons, accompanied by general Hall's orderly, who was to serve as assistant cook, with guns, luggage, a chest of wine, and English cheese (the Cape wine being apt to disagree with strangers, and the cheese detestable), our travellers set out on their expedition.

The road lay over the sand which separates the Hottentot country from the peninsula of Cape Town, a tract which his lordship has no doubt was formerly covered by the sea. Every thing was dreary, the heaths were not in bloom, but the *ixia gladioli* and smaller bulbous *geraniums* were; they collected several plants.

The horses travelled at about six miles an hour: the slaves of this country are very dexterous at the whip, driving eight in hand with the greatest facility, and will kill a small bird upon the wing with the lash of their long whip. At four o'clock the party arrived at Cowberg, where they were hospitably entertained until the following day, by mynheer Andreas Conti.

October 24th, our travellers resumed their journey, and being informed that a wedding was in celebration in the neighbourhood, they repaired to the spot, where they found the younger part of the company dancing merrily to the tabor and the pipe, whilst the elder males were smoking, and the females distributing wine. All, except major Hippisley joined in the dance, "which gave them," says his

lordship, "great satisfaction," they having learned from the servants the rank of their guests.

The Berg river, our author observes, is highly picturesque. In the place where they had to pass it divided itself into two branches. In passing this river his lordship felt no little alarm, on finding the water enter the waggon, and the horses beginning to swim. Every thing, however, was set to rights, and the party, by the superior skill of September, the driver, were safely landed on the other side.

After the delay of one night at the house of Nicholas Restern, who, with his wife and family presented to his lordship perfect specimens of Dutch boors, being, to use his own words, the most heavy looking, full fed animals, in the shape of men, his lordship had ever seen, on the 25th of October our travellers departed for mynheer de Wall's, near the twenty-four rivers, where they arrived in about two hours, having passed the Klein Berg river, which, though very wide, yet scarcely wetted the horses' legs. Although through the whole of this country, his lordship observes, the rivers, in winter, descending from lofty mountains, form rapid torrents, in summer they are, nevertheless, nearly dry : a few hours rain will render them for a time impassable, till dry weather reduces them to their usual bed.

Our travellers met an hospitable reception from mynheer de Wall, where they dined, and in the evening proceeded to the Rooode Sand. The scene began to change from the level sand and low brushwood, as they approached the pass where the Klein Berg makes its way from the Rooode Sand through the range of lofty mountains which separates the Cape from the interior of Africa. As the weather, before rainy, had cleared up, our travellers determined to walk through the Kleff (a pass between two mountains). The road was nearly impassable by masses of large stone, which had rolled from the height above, and the inequality of the rock itself : at length the party arrived at M. de Witt's, where they had good beds and a good supper, abundantly sufficient for twenty people.

On the following day, October 26, our travellers again walked through the Kleff, and slept at Waggon-maker's Valley, at mynheer Wagh's, who at first made numberless but ineffectual excuses for refusing to receive them : the Dutch, however happy to shew their hospitality in a country where there are no inns, are nevertheless always dissatisfied if they are broken in upon at unseasonable hours.

October 27.—On the departure of his guests, the landlord would receive no pay, they were therefore obliged to give the money to the slaves, knowing it would find its way to the master. At mynheer Wagh's is the finest orangerie in the settlement; the trees being loaded with the most delicious fruit, the fragrance of whose bloom scented the air at a considerable distance. The day was beautiful, and the scenery of a different character from what his lordship had yet seen. Several rivulets descended from the mountains, communicating a fertility to this valley that formed a perfect contrast to the stunted brushwood, interesting only to the botanist and the surrounding arid sand. Waggon-maker's Valley his lordship characterises as a perfect "Oasis in the deserts of Southern Africa," whose beauty has attracted a great number of inhabitants, whose white houses, surrounded with lofty oaks, powerfully contribute to enrich the view. The party again crossed Berg river in a boat guided by a rope, after the German manner. Here some of the party bathed, and this delay enabled a Hottentot to overtake them, mounted on an excellent horse, with a little Hottentot mounted on another, and leading a third. The boors will in this way, occasionally changing the horse, and travelling all night, travel to a prodigious distance. This Hottentot being asked the usual questions among the Dutch, as to the place they came from, that to which they were going, and their business, and lighted his pipe very ingeniously with his flint, gave the rein to his horse, and was speedily out of sight.

About the middle of the day they arrived at the Praal, a beautiful village the houses of which were white-washed, as usual, and surrounded with trees. They passed on their road to Stellenbosh, through Mr. Duckett's farm at Klapmuts. This gentleman came over with Sir George Young, with an intent to introduce into this colony the English method of husbandry; he at length proved victorious over the prejudices of the Dutch, and had the English remained masters of the colony, his lordship entertains no doubt that his services would have been attended with most beneficial consequences.

The town of Stellenbosh is very neat, and the oaks forming an avenue in every street, contribute much to its coolness and beauty; our author had seldom seen finer than those growing in front of the Landroost's house; their growth is rapid, and will bear to be transplanted at a very

large size : but the timber, his lordship observes, by no means equals the very worst produced in northern climates.

October 29.—Our travellers proceeded upon a visit to French Hoek. The weather was intolerably bad till they arrived at the house of M. Jacob de Villers, where they proposed to dine: this inclemency of the weather his lordship the more regretted, the country being more beautiful than any they had yet passed through, more particularly in the vicinity of Mr. Rousseau, a relative of the celebrated Jean Jacques.

They proceeded in a waggon to the cascade, and procured a horse, and a little boy as a guide after it should be necessary to quit the waggon. The weather cleared up as our travellers approached, and presented to his lordship a scene truly magnificent—a large body of water fell through the cleft of the mountain, 170 feet perpendicular, and rolled over vast rocks, with brushwood overhanging till it reached the vale below. Many smaller cascades occasioned by the rain, broke over different parts of the mountain.

Lord Valentia collected here some seeds of *protea grandiflora*, and a considerable quantity of bulbs, principally *hæmanthus*, which served as feed for the baboons which inhabited the rocky declivities of the mountain. His lordship considers this as the richest field for botany he had ever visited.

On the 30th of October our travellers dined as usual, by a rivulet, on cold meat, finished their last bottle of wine, killed the first covracapelle they they had ever met with, and a beautiful species of snake, called the ribbon snake; and after a tour of 300 miles arrived safe at Cape Town.

By an arrangement between sir Roger Curtis, Mr. Pringle, the company's agent, and the captains of the *Minerva* and *Lord Eldon*, it was settled that the former ship should be unclogged by keeping company with the latter, which his lordship conceived would make a fortnight's difference in their arrival at Calcutta: his lordship accordingly, accompanied by Mr. Salt, went on board the *Minerva* on November the 5th, and with a brisk gale quitted the Cape of Good Hope.

His lordship attributes the facility with which this important settlement was abandoned at the treaty of Amiens, to the credit given by ministers to the systematic plan of the Directors of the East India Company to depreciate its value; and contends that the losses the company have sustained at

the Mauritius, would be trifling, to the depredations of an hostile navy stationed at the Cape. Our author proceeds most judiciously to illustrate this by arguments, which are in substance as follow :

Notwithstanding the orders of the Directors to the captains in their service not to come within 100 leagues of the Cape, the south-west winds, which prevail all the year, blow with such violence that no ship can make head against them. Whilst close to the bay of Lagullus, a westerly current sets so strong as to carry a ship 40 miles a day.

From these circumstances a ship must necessarily keep close to the Cape, and consequently be at the mercy of every hostile power in possession of that settlement; nor could a strong squadron stationed there for the purpose, obviate this danger effectually, from the difficulty of obtaining supplies. St. Helena not being adequate to this, the nearest place would be the Brazils, which is at least a month's sailing; in consequence also of the heavy gales which prevail off this promontory, no fleet could keep its station, and being compelled to bear away from stress of weather or loss of masts, the enemy might come out and capture every vessel thus passing unprotected.

December 31.—Latitude $5^{\circ} 10'$ S. longitude $95^{\circ} 52'$ E. first got sight of Asia. At 6 A. M. saw cape Sumatra at the distance of 14 leagues. Mountains generally very lofty, with clouds hanging over them. Rain fell on the land about 12, and rendered the whole invisible.

At day light they made the southernmost of these islands, and by eleven o'clock were within two miles of it. A fine beach, in many places woody to the water's edge, with the lofty cocoa tree breaking occasionally the level line, was succeeded by a low range of hills gradually rising from the sea; in addition to this they were saluted by an atmosphere of fragrance from the shore, which increased his lordship's regret at the impracticability of landing.

A canoe with three men of the Malay countenance, copper coloured, and well shaped, put off with cocoa nuts, but would not come on board.

They passed during the night to leeward of the great Nicobar, and early in the morning the islands of Katchull and Camorta hove in sight. A canoe laden with fruit came on board from Katchull. The men, his lordship describes as ugly, and the women by no means tempting. Both sexes were naked, with the exception of a strip of cloth passing

round the waist and between the legs in the males, and a small apron for the females.

The island of Bemboka, our traveller observes, is in all the charts laid down wrong: it bearing E. S. E. of the south end of Teressa, instead of N. E. as they have placed it. They ran along the lee of Teressa, whose only difference from the other islands consisted in having extensive tracts on the hills, free from wood, and covered with herbage; which probably, his lordship says, renders this island more healthy. The surf beat so high as to prevent their landing.

On the 4th of January they anchored off the west side of Car Nicobar, opposite a village composed of huts, which were elevated about four feet above the ground, to be out of the reach of serpents, with which that country abounds. The natives, his lordship describes as good natured and inoffensive, very muscular, but far from being well made, and although their features are ugly, they have nevertheless a pleasing expression, but their black irregular teeth, and the constant use of the betel, renders their large mouths very disgusting.

Intercourse with strangers, his lordship observes, had probably given them a suspicious turn, for every one had a weapon; they required money for their provisions, although they expected handkerchiefs, knives, and other useful articles, as presents. The coin they preferred was dollars.

Cocoa nuts, betel nuts, papaws, plantains, limes, shad-docks, and a root called cachue (evidently a species of arum), were obtained in great abundance; but yams, which were most wanted, were not to be had, nor did they see a single species of pine-apple; pigs and fowls were, however, in great abundance.

Of the botanical productions, our traveller observed a species of ginger which grows wild. The woods chiefly consisted of *barringtonia*, *cocoa-nut tree*, *tournefortia*, *borassus*, and some *areca*. The *aletris fragrans*, and several shrubs, which not being in flower, his lordship could not ascertain; the natives indeed objected to their going far into the woods.

The beach is of sand, with an intermixture of coral rock, over which, with the exception of a part nearly opposite the village (where the landing was effected without difficulty) there beats a very heavy surf.

Several tall pieces of bamboo were stuck up round the

village, which they were told marked the place where some person had been buried, and between the village and the shore, there was a range of small cleft sticks, with a piece of flesh stuck in each, intended as a talisman to keep off death, which had visited them under the terrible form of the small-pox.

The natives of these islands worship through fear, an evil spirit, to which they appropriate the best habitations in the place: offerings of different kinds are suspended in the front.

The language of the natives is broken English, mixed with Portuguese.

At night the *Minerva* sailed from the island, leaving a male and female goat. The pigs they purchased proved upon examination to be a species of the *sus babyrussa*. His lordship mentions, as a caution to captains touching here, that their cables were nearly cut through by the rocks, which consist of a species of madrepore.

On the 17th of January they discovered the continent of India, bearing N. W. by W. distant four or five leagues. They ran along shore with a pleasant breeze the whole evening, and saw immense quantities of jelly fish; these were very small, and adhered to each other so as to form the appearance of a snake: as soon as taken out of the sea they separated and moved with great rapidity.

They reached the pilot ground in the Hoogly river on the 20th, when the purser left the ship with the public dispatches, by whom his lordship also forwarded letters to lord Wellesley.

January 25th.—Our travellers, the wind being contrary, were obliged to tide it up the Hoogly, at the slow rate of 20 miles a day. From Sorgur to Calcutta the navigation is very difficult, from the sudden turns of the river, and the intricacy of the passages between the sand banks. The settlements of the French, Dutch, and Danes, as well as the English, are upon this river, although no vessel drawing more than 17 feet water, can be taken up to Diamond harbour, and even then, not without danger. They came to anchor off Fultah, a mud village similar to many others they had seen. The river is in itself, from the great quantity of water, grand, but the great quantity of mud which it contains, very much diminishes its beauty. The banks are high, and covered with brushwood, the haunts of innumerable tigers. These are the resort of the superstitious Hindoos, who at this season visit these sunderbunds in immense numbers, to perform their ablutions in the Ganges, and many to sacrifice

themselves to the alligators, which they do by walking into the river, and waiting till these devouring animals approach and draw them under, whilst others perish every season by the tigers.

In the evening his lordship received an invitation from Mr. Graham to his house; he also received, by express, an invitation from the marquis of Wellesley, inviting his lordship to a fête, to be given at the new government-house in Calcutta on the 26th, in celebration of the general peace; and a few hours after one of the governor's state barges arrived to convey his lordship to Calcutta.

On the following morning, viz. the 26th, his lordship embarked in the state barge, which, from its magnificence, reminded him of the fairy tales. It was very long in proportion to its width, richly decorated with green and gold; its head a spread eagle gilt, and its stern a tiger's head and body. The body would, with ease, accommodate twenty persons; and it was covered with side curtains and an awning. It was conducted by twenty natives, dressed in scarlet habits, with rose coloured turbans, who paddled away with great rapidity.

As his lordship advanced, the river became clearer, and the country seats of the English, which being white, with windows closed by green venetian blinds, and large porticos to the south, which covered each bank of the river, heightened the scenery with their picturesque effect. Every house was surrounded by a plantation of mangoes, jacks, and other oriental forest trees.

They landed at Mr. Farquharson's garden, about five miles from Calcutta, where his lordship found Mr. Graham's carriage in waiting, to convey him to his house in Chouringee. After dinner with Mr. Graham and several friends, his lordship and his party proceeded to the government-house, where the state rooms were for the first time lighted up. A very rich Persian carpet was laid at the upper end of the largest, and in the centre of the carpet a musnud of crimson and gold, formerly composing part of the ornaments of Tippeo Sultaun's throne; upon which was placed a rich chair and a stool of state, for the governor-general; on each side of which were three chairs for the judges and members of council; on both sides of the room, as far as the door, were seats for the ladies, who were placed according to the strictest etiquette of precedence, regulated by the seniority of the husband in the company's service.

Lord Wellesley arrived about ten, attended by a large body

of aides-de-camp, &c. and having received in the northern verandah the compliments of some of the native princes, and the vakeels of others, the governor took his seat, when the dancing commenced immediately, and continued till supper. The effect of the illumination, his lordship observes, was beautiful, although the room was not perfectly lighted up. The chunan* pillars in two rows supporting each side, together with the rest of the room, were of a shining white; which threw into advantageous contrast the different dresses of the company.

The governor-general wore the orders of St. Patrick and the Crescent, in diamonds. Several of the European ladies were also most superbly decorated with jewels. The black dresses of the male Armenians were pleasing from their variety, whilst the costly and unbecoming habits of their females, together with the appearance of officers, nabobs, Persians, and natives, conveyed to his lordship's mind the appearance of a masquerade.

About 800 persons, who were present, found sufficient room, at supper, in the marble-hall below, from whence, about one o'clock, they were summoned to the different verandahs to see the illuminations and fire-works.

All the approaches to the citadel were lined with lamps, suspended from bamboos, and the side of the citadel fronting the palace, was covered with a blaze of light. The fire-works were indifferent, but the rockets which were discharged from mortars on the ramparts of the citadel, were the best his lordship had ever seen.

The colours, however, of the several pieces were excellent, and a battle between two elephants of fire, which were driven against each other by rollers, had, at least, the merit of novelty.

His lordship returned home highly gratified by his excellency's reception.

Having consulted with his friend Mr. Graham, it was definitively settled that his lordship should visit Lucknow. Of this he gave notice to his excellency, who assured his lordship that every order should be given that could render his reception satisfactory.

For several days his lordship's time was occupied in paying and receiving visits, and in a round of dinners; and his reception was every where what he had expected from his countrymen in the East.

* A beautiful shell, nearly equal to Scagliare.

His lordship visited the botanic garden, then under the care of Dr. Roxburgh. This his lordship considers as the most wonderful display of the vegetable world, infinitely surpassing all he had before seen. He laments, however, that some small compartment is not allotted to a scientific arrangement. The finest object here, is a specimen of the *figus Bengalensis*, upon the branches of which are nourished a variety of specimens of the parasitical plants, viz. *epidendrons*, *linoderums*, and *filices*. The water, also, being covered with red, blue, and white nymphæas, has a very beautiful appearance. Thousands of plants of the teak tree, the loquat, the grafted mango, and other valuable timber and fruit trees, have been disseminated from hence over our oriental possessions: and it constitutes at present the complete centre, where the productions of every clime are collected, to be redistributed to every place where there is the remotest possibility of their being beneficial. The nutmeg is in considerable perfection. The mangusteen, however, though frequently brought, has never succeeded. The chief novelties are from Napaul and Chittagong. Most of the West India plants are here making considerable progress; but the climate, his lordship says, is much too hot for European vegetables.

In consequence of a general invitation, his lordship proceeded, accompanied by Messrs. Graham and Salt, to lord Wellesley's country residence at Barrackpore. The situation of the house is described as most pleasing, it stands upon a very extensive reach, considerably elevated above the Hoogly river. The Dutch settlement of Serampore is directly opposite, whilst pagodas, villages, and groves of lofty trees, cover the opposite sides. Here the water is considerably clearer than at Calcutta, and covered with the state barges and cutters of the governor-general, which, painted green, ornamented with gold, and contrasted with the scarlet dresses of the rowers, heightened the effect of the scene. The house, at present unfinished, has a beautiful verandah on every side; and the rooms are on a very ample scale. The park is laid out in the English style, and several of the bungalows (Hindustanee houses) belonging to the lines have been taken into it, and fitted up for the reception of his excellency's suite and visitors, one of which had been ordered to be prepared for his lordship, of which he accordingly took possession.

On the 20th of February lord Valentia, after dinner and a long private audience, took his farewell of lord Wellesley,

and upon his return at night, arranged every thing for departure on the following morning: three palanquins were accordingly purchased, in which his lordship, his English servant, and Mr. Salt, proceeded by dawk (post) in a small boat, escorted by two sepoys, and under the care of two of his lordship's native servants, with six bangys* containing changes of linen sufficient until the others should arrive.

His lordship was accompanied by Mr. Graham as far as Hoogly, whither, in consequence of the heat, they determined to proceed by water, and were carried by the tide, with the assistance of two naked dandys (watermen) at the rate of four miles an hour; the villas were but few, but huts and pagodas, occasionally, added a variety to the scene, which the great breadth of the river, here expanding into long reaches, instead of the frequent windings below Calcutta, had rendered a fine object.

Our traveller here describes the Danish settlement of Serampore, at the opposite bank of the river, as also the French settlement of Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsura; but as we are by conquest, masters of the whole country, and have consequently a right of prohibiting our subjects from trading with them; these settlements are of very little consequence, under these circumstances, either to France or to Holland.

They left their boats at Chinsura, and proceeded in their palanquins.

There were two roads to proceed to Benares; the new one two hundred miles nearer, but then it was over the wild and mountainous part of Bahar; the other, or the old road, through the populous cities of Bengal. In the former there was only three halting places, and our travellers must have proceeded day and night; in the latter there was a resting place nearly every 24 hours, for reposing during the heat of the day. His lordship chose the latter, or the old road.

Bearers for the palanquins had been ordered at the different towns, to relieve each other at intervals of 10 miles, our travellers intending to travel always during the night, and halt in the day. The scenery of Bengal, his lordship describes as uninteresting, from the uniform flatness of the country. Eight bearers were required for each palanquin; they had also three mussul or link boys, and three men to carry the luggage. These palanquins were fitted up with venetian blinds, pillows for sleeping, &c. and were of sufficient

* Wicker baskets covered with painted cloth, carried by a man, and supported by a cane across his shoulders.

length to lie down in. None of the party could speak word of the language they were nevertheless, bold enough, his lordship says, to enter upon a journey of 800 miles without an interpreter.

Having taken leave of their friends, our travellers partly undressed themselves, and having wrapped themselves well up in their bed-gowns, they went to bed in their palanquins, and proceeded upon their journey. The motion, though continual, was not violent, and they composed themselves to rest, but were awakened at the first resting place, for *buxys* (presents), upon which his lordship gave them the customary fee of a rupee for each palanquin. Our travellers were soon so well reconciled to this mode of travelling, that nothing but the application of *buxys* awakened them.

Early in the morning they found themselves upon the banks of the Cossimbuzar river. At Alga-deep they found a tent with refreshments, which had been sent from Moorsbedabad by the nawab of Bengal; without stopping, however, they took some fruit, and breakfasted in their palanquins. The country they had hitherto passed through was perfectly flat; some part of it covered with European grain nearly ripe, and the rest a barren waste, where paddy* had been cultivated, and mango* topes were in great abundance; but the formality of the square in which they were planted, destroyed the beauty of the scene. Occasionally a *bombax*, then covered with its large scarlet blossoms, which no forest tree in Europe can equal for such a mass of vegetable splendor, struck by its novelty.

The next resting-place was the magnificent tope of Plassey, so celebrated in history for the defeat of Sujah Dowlah's army, 70,000 strong, by Lord Clive, with only 30,000 men, of whom 900 only were Europeans, a victory which made us masters of Bengal, and to which, his lordship observes, we are indebted for those extensive Indian territories which we now possess.

His lordship passes over the question, by what right we concluded a treaty "with a traitor to depose his sovereign," but observes, that "those who might have felt some qualms of conscience at executing such a business, will still rejoice at the prosperity it acquired and secured to the country; and endeavours to palliate the atrocity of such conduct, not only by the prosperity derived to Great Britain, but to the security which the Hindoos have now enjoyed in their persons and

* Rice in the husk.

† Groves regularly planted.

property, unknown, his lordship says, in any other part of Asia; and the removal of the horrors of war far off from their peaceful abodes, instead of being ground by extortion, and massacred by the ambitious wars of their Mahomedan conquerors."

After making but slow progress, it was not until midnight that they arrived at captain Parlbys's house at Burhampore, although only 36 miles from the river which they had passed at six in the morning.

Burhampore is one of the six great military stations in these provinces. The cantonments are a fine range of buildings on the side of a large lawn surrounded by the houses of different Europeans. Burhampore is five miles from Moorshedabad, usually called "the city;" it is the residence of Naissir ool Moolk, the present nawaub of Bengal, and also of the celebrated Munny Begum, widow of Jaffier Ali Khan, so well known in Europe, his lordship observes, by the oratory of Mr. Burke, in the famous impeachment of governor Hastings.

This princess, though very old, his lordship reports as retaining her full health and vigour. The history of her life would, he observes, comprise all the extremes of vicissitude that could happen to a single individual, even in Asia. By the assistance of the British, she had seen her husband raised to the musnud (Mahomedan throne); she had seen him also deposed by the same power, and compelled to take refuge in Calcutta; restored, and dying in possession of the country; whilst her son was reduced to be a pensioner upon that power which seized the empire for itself. This injured woman, however, still retains the rank and property of a princess; has an absolute controul over her family, and an allowance adequate to their maintenance with dignity, were it not for that improvidence which appears inseparable from the Mahomedan character, and the prodigious increase of their numbers, from which his lordship conceives, that nothing but a succession of begums, who, from their jaghires and pensions, constitute "a kind of sinking fund," can possibly save them.

His lordship had intended to have paid his respects to this old lady, in order, as he says, to hear her voice, which is uncommonly shrill, and sometimes elevated to its highest key; but from some misunderstanding which it was too late to rectify, he was disappointed; in the evening, however, he received presents of fruit from the Begum and the nawaub. His lordship dined with captain Parlbys, accompa-

nied by a party of officers and gentlemen of the vicinity. During the dinner they were amused with a chorus of jackalls surrounding the house; these and the fox are now, his lordship says, the only wild animals in the island of Cossimbuzar, which was formerly infested by tigers and leopards; but as population increased, the rewards paid by the Company, viz. ten rupees for a full grown tiger, and five for a leopard or cub, have now completely exterminated them here, and very much thinned them in other parts.

The above premiums have already amounted to upwards of a lack and a half of rupees.

Our travellers passed Moorsbedabad in the night. The government was removed to this place from Dacca by Jaffier Khan, when he chose to watch the English in 1757, since which time the nawaubs have never enjoyed that degree of tranquil prosperity which, his lordship says, is requisite to enable them to embellish their residences. The road still lay through the Cossimbuzar island, which is one perfectly flat bed of sand; but the annual overflow of the river, like that of the Nile, gives fecundity to this otherwise barren territory. The vegetation consisted of excellent crops of wheat and barley, and occasional plantations of indigo; the paddy fields were very bare; the mango topes and palm trees were prevalent as usual, but the cocoa nut was scarce, and appeared to bear but little fruit. The villages consisted of miserable mud cottages, but they appeared in ample succession, which, together with the number of inhabitants, conveyed to his lordship a high idea of the general population of the country.

On February 25th, his lordship breakfasted with Mr. Atkinson, at Jungepore, a spot completely solitary, having no neighbourhood nearer than Moorsbedabad. The only people this gentleman had seen since his residence, were travellers by dawk (post), or on the river whilst it was passable. He never heard of more than one tiger upon the island, and occasionally a leopard. The buffaloes were quite destroyed; a few antelopes, and hog deer, and spotted deer, however remain; the birds are represented as various and beautiful.

Jungepore is the principal station for silk in the Company's possession, although nominally Cossimbuzar takes the lead. A silk manufactory was first attempted to be established at Budge-budge, but this was, however, unsuccessful. The buildings at this place were erected in 1773; about three thousand people are employed. The wages for

spinners are four rupees and an half per month. They use the Italian method of spinning. The silk is twisted, the untwisted is worth less than the Italian by two rupees a seer (about two pounds.)

They have three kinds of silk-worm in this country, and three different kinds of silk are produced; the quantity sent home has lately, from the embarrassments of the Company, been but small, but it might be increased to any amount.

The manufactory is a very large edifice, built in the shape of a gallows; on the ground floor are the coppers, where the cocoons are steeped to loosen the silk, and where it is wound off; above are warehouses.

The people looked healthy, and his lordship understood it was by no means a deleterious employment.

February 26.—On this morning, Rajamahall was in sight upon the bank of the Ganges. The town, which consists of a street of mud cottages, is on the elevated bank. Previously to 1738 it was the residence of sultan Suja, who reigned over the province of Bengal, but the palace was destroyed by fire, and in the same year the river had so completely inundated the town, that no vestige remained of its ancient magnificence.

Our travellers arrived at Siceligully. This, his lordship observes, is one of the villages formed in the wilds by the wisdom of government, in granting lands to sepoy invalids, on condition of their residence and cultivation. He was politely received by captain Wilton, at a bungalow upon an eminence contiguous to the river.

Here the spot, his lordship says, is most beautiful, with a commanding prospect. The river, after having run for nearly 200 miles eastward, making here a rapid turn to the south-east, gives a most extensive view. Close to the habitation a small hill, and on the summit are the ruins of a Mahomedan burying place. His lordship here complains much of the badness and narrowness of the roads. This he attributes to the torrents which tear up the bridges, and carry devastation through the whole country. A large allowance is made to the zemindar for the repair of the roads and bridges, but as he generally pockets the money, most of the highways remain impassable.

Our traveller here contrasts the difference between the present and former times in this respect. When the house of Timour were in full power magnificent causeways were constructed throughout their dominions, and trees were planted by their sides to shelter travellers from the sun,

a plan most useful, his lordship observes, where men are the chief instruments of conveyance; and impresses the propriety for us, while now in possession of the empire, of following so excellent an example; "but alas!" continues his lordship, "its sovereigns are too apt to confine their views to a large investment, and an increase of dividend, and they have usually opposed every plan for the improvement of the country, which has been brought forward by the different governors-general."

His lordship regretted his not being able to visit a very fine cascade in the neighbourhood of Siceligully.

He visited, however, a celebrated pass in the mountains of Terreaguiley, and passed the ruined gateway and fort. The sides of the road were covered with jungle, tigers were not uncommon, and sometimes a wild elephant passes the river, and commits his depredations.

February 27.—About eighteen miles from Bhaughulpore, our author beheld numerous nests of the loxia, which kept up an incessant chirping from a tamarind tree overhanging a tank.

Farther on his lordship first met with the convicts working upon the public road, which was here nearly 40 feet wide, and judiciously elevated. Good stone arches were erected for the passage of the torrent, running in a strait line. This reminded him of the works of the Romans.

This, his lordship considers as a most excellent way of employing the convicts, who as they are permitted to have their families with them during the day, it cannot be considered as oppressive; the women and children live, at night, in huts built near the prisons.

At Goganullah, the country is undulated, and the multitude of mosques, with the hanging foliage of the tamarind tree and the lofty palms which overtopped them, had a pleasing effect.

His lordship passed a monument erected to the memory of Mr. Cleveland, by the amulah and zemindars of the Jungleterry of Rajamahall, who, before this gentleman's time, his lordship observes, were a race of savages, and whom, by conciliatory means alone, he induced to place themselves under the protection of the British government.

Major Shaw commands the corps of Hill natives, amounting to 300, now in the British service.

A college of the Mahomedan religion exists here, but it is falling into decay; a considerable majority of the inhabitants are Mahomedans.

Our author was much pleased with two very singular round towers, about a mile N. W. of the town, much resembling those buildings in Ireland, which have so much puzzled the antiquaries, excepting that these are more ornamented. His lordship remarks the singularity of there being no tradition respecting these; neither are they held in any respect by the Hindoos of this country; the rajah of Jyenagur, however, his lordship says, considers them as holy, and has erected a small building to shelter numbers of his subjects, who repair annually thither to worship. The vegetable productions here are the same as his lordship observed all the way from Calcutta. In the plantations of different gentlemen, the bixa ovellana is in great abundance; the Chinese fruits, loquot and lochi, were in abundance, but not ripe.

Our traveller arrived at Monghyr. The race of men, his lordship observed, had visibly improved since he had left Bengal, being stouter and taller, but they had still the fault of ill made knees, and little or no calf: this is attributed to the practice of crouching, which is commenced whilst infants, when their limbs are pliable.

February 28.—Monghyr our author describes as a place of considerable antiquity; it is a fort surrounded by a wall. A grant of land, dated from this place, was found in clearing a well, admitted to have been nearly coeval with the Christian era. It is beautifully situated on a bend of the Ganges, which forms in the rainy season a prodigious sea of fresh water, bounded by the Carrachpore mountains.

This, during his government of Bengal, was the chief residence of sultan Suja, who with his brothers Aurengzebe and Morad Buksh, were in rebellion against their father Shah Jehan.

The town, however, was soon taken, and he was expelled to Aracan.

Monghyr afterwards became the residence of Cossim Ali Khan, when he attempted to throw off all dependence on the English, by whom it was captured in the year 1763, after a siege of nine days.

Since that period it has remained in possession of the British, and as a frontier town, is become a depôt of arms and ammunition, and a place of considerable importance.

The protruding point of the rock, which braves the whole force of the river, is by the Hindoos considered as a sacred bathing place. At the full of the moon, of the months Car-

tig and Maud, they proceed to the hot well of Setacoon*, upon a pilgrimage, and having there performed their ablutions, they visit the rock of Monghyr, where they purify themselves in the Ganges†. Prodigious crowds assemble at these seasons, and his lordship conjectures that the intention of collecting tribute from these pilgrims gave rise to the fort.

Directly above the bathing place is an Hindoo temple. It had five arched entrances, facing each other, which were richly carved niches intended for idols; these were removed by sultan Suja, who converted the building into a mosque. It is now the residence of invalid soldiers.

His lordship prefers a view from the habitation of the major-general, taking in the river, mountains and intermediate plains, to any thing he ever saw in India. The remains of the palace are still considerable.

The largest range of buildings is on the left, overhanging the river: on the right is the sacred point of rock; a small mosque is the most beautiful edifice now remaining. This is built of the black stone of the country, which takes a high polish, with white marble tablets, in which are inlaid verses from the Koran in black stone. The inside is built of the same materials, the floor is mosaic, and in square compartments. The baths, and the dewan khanah, or hall of audience, are in tolerable preservation. The different courts are still enclosed, and the whole of the zenana may, his lordship says, yet be traced in the ruins.

Near to the palace is a very large well, to which you descend by a wide and long flight of steps: this, which is never dry, and is supposed to have a subterranean communication with the river, is called the "Singing Well," and it is firmly believed, his lordship says, by the natives, that every seven years the noise of singing and music, such as was produced by the "nautch girls‡," in the neighbouring zenana, is heard at the bottom.

It is reported that when sultan Suja was compelled to fly to Rajamahar, he put to death all those women whom he could not carry with him, by immuring some in the walls of the well and throwing others into it. Why these unfortunate females limited their rejoicings to seven years, his lordship

* So named from Setar, the favourite wife of Ram.

† Vide Maurice's Indian Antiquities.

‡ These are the dancing and singing girls of India, of which every man of high rank in India has a private set. There are others who exhibit at any house for pay.

made various enquiries, but could obtain no satisfactory answer.

March 2.—Banképoore is the English residence belonging to Patna; it is situated on the high bank of the Ganges, here five miles wide at the rainy season, but the major part of the bed is a sand island, upon which Clive encamped when he attended Meer Cossim to Patna. Our traveller here visited one of the depôts which was erected by the Company to contain rice, and was intended to preclude all danger of famine; but when filled, his lordship says, it will not contain more than a sufficiency for one day's consumption of the neighbouring province.

This is built in the form of a bee-hive*; the walls, although 21 feet thick at the bottom, are already giving way. It cost 120,000 rupees; money, his lordship says, completely thrown away, as it is and must be completely useless.

The rice produced here is excellent, nevertheless this is not a rice country. The country, his lordship says, improves the farther you proceed north in Hindostan proper. Opium is the chief produce, not only from the monopoly in the East India Company, but from the great demand for it in China, where its importation is prohibited.

The demand for this is increasing, which our author observes is fortunate, as hitherto the Chinese have considered the British trade, which only brought them bullion, an article which they did not want†, as of inferior importance than the Russian, which, in exchange for their tea, gave them furs, which, his lordship says, they considered an article of convenience as well as a luxury.

China, our author observes, is now dependent upon India for opium, which, from a luxury, has been by long use so far become a necessary article, that the prohibition, if carried into strict effect, would excite a rebellion.

March 3.—Rai Ram Sing, vakeel from the Jeypore rajah to Calcutta, paid his lordship a visit, and as it is the etiquette in India, that an inferior never approaches a superior without an offering, he accordingly tendered to his lordship a nazur of rupees, which he touched, but declined.

March 4.—Our traveller, with Mr. Graham, went to view the town of Patna, the population of which appears very considerable. The houses are in general mud, and there are

* Banképoore apiary.

† Is his lordship here correct? Are there no articles besides bullion? Do not scarlet cloths, flint, ginseng, furs, by way of Europe, lead, not to mention et-ceteras, form a part of the British trade with China, as well as bullion?

few remains, his lordship observes, that point out the capital of Bahar. In a gateway he observed some very black stone, curiously carved, which had probably belonged to some pagoda. Here are the remains of a fort and the British factory, where the adventurer Summers (called by the natives Soomeroo) then in the service of Meer Cossim, perpetrated the massacre of 200 prisoners, who thus revenged himself for the capture of Monghyr. A monument, but without any inscription, is erected in the European burying ground to their memory.

The city was taken by major Adams, in 1763, and has since remained in our possession. This, his lordship says, is generally admitted to have been the celebrated city of Palibollera.

March 5.—Our author passed by several Mahomedan burying grounds, crossed the three squares of the Dynapore cantonments, and passed the Saone: this river, his lordship says, is celebrated for the picturesque scenery of its banks, and its pebbles, which consist of a variety of agates, onyxes, and imperfect cornelians.

March 6.—This morning his lordship found himself on a flat but highly cultivated country. In addition to the usual produce, he observed the gossypium, or cotton plant, and the *ricinus communis**, whose berry yields the castor oil, of which, singular as it may appear, his lordship observes, the India Company were so ignorant until lately, as to send that medicine from Europe.

The wheat harvest was now commenced, and the whole population of the villages was poured into the fields. The men and boys were reaping, and the women and children, as customary in Europe, leasing after them. The sickle nearly resembles that of the English. The grain is not bound into sheaves, but laid flat, and instantly piled.

His lordship now arrived at the nullah (river) where the celebrated battle was fought, October 1764, between the British and the united forces of Suja ul Dowlah and Cossim Ali Khan, in which the latter was completely defeated, although they had 50,000 men and a large train of artillery, and the British only 7000 men, of whom 1200 only were Europeans.

This victory not only secured the quiet possession of Bengal and Bahar, but gave us, says his lordship, the first connection with Oude, which now forms so valuable a part

* Cold drawn castor.

of our possessions, 120 pieces of cannon, and the plunder was considerable, as they left their tents standing.

The roads, our traveller observes, are here better than he found them at Bengal; the fort, although inconsiderable in size, commands the Ganges. This was originally only mud, but, upon being taken possession of by the English, some bastions were added without a proper foundation; their weight has consequently brought them down to the bottom of the ditch. The guns are all removed, and the fort, our author observes, is of no other use than to give a good salary to the commandant.

His lordship entertains strong doubts of the policy of destroying these smaller places of defence, which, he remarks, might be kept in order at a trifling expence, and might serve as depôts for ammunition; there is not, he observes, a single fortified place between Calcutta and Alahabad, a distance of 800 miles.

Every vessel passing up or down the Ganges, and every traveller by land, is obliged to come to at this place. The police is in this respect very strict. No one can visit the upper provinces without an express permission. His lordship had no regular firman or pass, but his journey had been notified to the commanding officer upon every station. Letters were waiting from general Dcare, inviting him to his house at Secrole (the English Benares.)

Here his lordship was hospitably received by major Maxwell, in the absence of general Dcare, and was waited upon by Mr. Neave, the senior judge of circuit and appeal, and agent to the governor-general, to make an arrangement concerning his visit to the princes. Here also our traveller received the visits of all the civil and military servants of the Company, and contrived to return a few of them.

His lordship here procured a proper suwarry*, four chubdarst†, and two soontaburdars‡, with ten hircarrabs§. These were sufficient for the necessary parade of visiting. The climate, our traveller observes, is very different here from that of Calcutta. Fires had been used but a few days before his arrival, and the nights were rather cold. The first fire-place his lordship met with was at Monghyr. Here he learned that the badness of his bearers, of which he complained much, was owing to his travelling at the latter

* State equipage complete.

† Servants of state, carrying long silver sticks.

‡ Do. carrying short silver sticks.

§ Running footmen.

end of the festival Huli, a festival kept up with great spirit by the Hindoos and Mahomedans. It is singular, his lordship remarks, that one of the amusements, during this festival, is similar to what is called *April fools*, and from the nearness of coincidence in the periods of celebration (the Huli being always in March) his lordship conceives it points out a remarkable connexion between the ancient religion of Europe and that of this peninsula.

They also amuse themselves upon this holiday with throwing pellets of red and yellow powder, which gave them a most ridiculous appearance. They wind up this festival by making themselves completely drunk.

March 10.—After breakfast Mr. Neave called to attend his lordship in his visit to the princes, sons of Mirza Jewan Bukht Jehander Shah; and to his widow, Kuthu Sultaun Begum. He was the eldest son of the present king, and the same person who waited upon governor Hastings, at Lucknow, to solicit assistance for his father. He failed in this application, but procured a settlement for himself of 25,000 rupees per month. He died at Benares, leaving three sons.

The eldest, Shegofta Bukht, is, in direct descent, heir to the throne, and has that title cut on his seal. The second, Merza-Khorum, is the son of the Begum, herself of the royal line of Timour, and as such, is much respected by the British. There is also a third son by a dancing girl, and a favourite, by whom Shah Ailum is succeeded.

The salaries paid to the royal family, were always issued from the treasury of Benares. But upon the cession of several provinces by the nawab vizier of Oude, the English undertook to pay these as well as several other charges.

The amount of the revenues allowed since the death of Jewan Bukht, his lordship says, is 170,000 rupees.

We also allow the Begum 300 rupees per month, to keep the lamps burning at the tomb of her husband, but our author says it does not cost her a quarter of the money. These sums, his lordship observes, in a country where necessaries are so cheap, are amply sufficient to maintain them not only in comfort but splendour; they are nevertheless always distressed.

Many of the first Mussulman families, our author says, have disappeared. They become soldiers of fortune in the armies of the native princes. The British service they dislike, because they cannot rise high in it, and trade is chiefly, and the collection of the revenue is, and ever has been in the hands of the Hindoos.

On paying a visit to any Asiatic prince, an inferior, his lordship observes, receives from him a complete dress of honour, consisting of a khelant, a robe, a turban, a shield, and sword, with a string of jewels to go round the neck. Lord Cornwallis, his lordship says, submitted to this at Benares; but lord Wellesley, upon visiting the upper provinces, objected to the ceremony as too degrading, and appeared in the presence of the royal family in his uniform, receiving the dresses as a present made him, in trays. Lord Wellesley had directed Mr. Neave to notify, that lord Valentia's rank as a British nobleman, required the same etiquette.

Our traveller, accompanied by Mr. Neave, set off for Shewalla, the old palace of Cheyt Sing, at present occupied by the Begum, and her son Merza Khorum. As his lordship approached the palace, he found the guard drawn out to receive him, compared to whom, he says, Falstaff's recruits were gentlemen. Upon entering the gate a salute was fired.

Here our travellers alighted from their palanquins, and perceived the prince in the dewan khanah waiting their approach. The dewan khanah is a small room elevated from the ground a few feet, open on three sides, and supported by pillars; on the fourth a purdah* was stretched across, behind which was seated his mother.

The prince advanced to the head of the steps, followed by his three sons, embraced his lordship three times, led him to a small couch close to the purdah, and seated him on his right; in fact between his mother and himself, although she was invisible.

His lordship immediately presented to her, through the hole in the purdah, a nazur of nineteen gold mohurs, in a white handkerchief. Our traveller contrived to get a peep at the old lady, who was little and rather fair; her hands were very delicate.

Our author then delivered to the prince a nazur of nine gold mohurs, in a similar manner.

This part of the ceremony being gone through, a conversation began through the medium of Mr. Neave. The Begum enquired his lordship's motives for visiting India—whether he meant to visit the royal presence? to which our traveller applied in the affirmative. They then launched forth in praises of Agra and Delhi, and the magnificence of the buildings, &c. Here his lordship felt himself most sensibly

* A curtain.

struck with the idea of what must be necessarily passing in their minds. Could they forget, his lordship observes, that these palaces were once theirs, where they reigned in all the plenitude of eastern power! that now, how great the contrast—the head of the family, blinded in his old age by the villany of a subject, was with difficulty able to procure a moderate subsistence, whilst they themselves were thankful for the palace of a zemindar*, and owed their bread to a nation upon which they had no claim. Hope, however, his lordship says, had not yet forsaken them. The Begum earnestly addressed his lordship, that, whether in Europe or in India, he would with kindness remember her son; who was placed beside him: the same request had been made to lord Wellesley.

His lordship now gave a hint that he wished to retire, and the dresses, &c. were produced in trays and laid at his feet. They could not be refused, and his lordship accepted them by a salaam†.

On their departure paun‡ and roses were presented, but they were spared the attar, (properly attaar) which his lordship says is completely detestable.

Merza Khorum, his lordship says, is in person rather short and fat, with features strongly indicative of good nature; he had seven sons: his lordship says he never experienced more pain than during this visit: every thing wore the strong aspect of poverty; the purdahs were of red and blue cloth, but in tatters. The prince himself wore a dress of gold brocade.

Lord Valentia's next visit was to the eldest son, Merza Shegofta Bukht, who resides at Talynullah. His reception was, in every respect, similar to that at Shewalla, except that the nazur given by his lordship was eleven mohars§.

The allowance of this prince being much smaller than that of his brothers, his appearance was less splendid. He was dressed in white satin, lined with pink silk. No guards appeared, but his hunting equipage and drums were waiting without the gate of the garden.

March 11.—Lord Valentia, accompanied by Mr. Neave, proceeded to Benares, to view the minars. The streets were

* Renter of land.

† Raising the hand to the head and inclining the body.

‡ Paun is the aréca nut, wrapt up in a species of pepper, with a little fine lime, that is frequently chewed by the natives, and presented by them invariably to all visitors.

§ About 227.

so very narrow, that it was with difficulty his lordship prevented his horse from touching the side. The houses were built of stone; some of them six stories high, with terraces on the summit; these are whimsically painted, and the architecture is as singular: bands of carved work, his lordship says, by no means badly executed, in general run round each story. The masons here are very tolerable workmen.

The windows here are extremely small, probably, to prevent being overlooked, and to keep the houses more cool during the hot winds.

The European style of architecture, his lordship thinks, by no means adapted to the climate; the large windows would be intolerable but for the lattys, which, however applicable to a house only one story high, are impracticable in a house of six stories. In their country houses they have larger windows, which may be cooled by artificial means; but where that cannot be done, every possible reduction is made in the apertures. The opposite sides of the streets approach each other in some places so nearly, that they are united by galleries.

The city of Benares is so holy, that several Hindoo rajahs have habitations there, in which their vakeels* reside, and perform for them the requisite ablutions and sacrifices. The land, his lordship says, is extremely valuable, and law-suits respecting it very frequent. — The number of stone and brick houses from one to six stories high, his lordship says, is upwards of 6000, the mud houses upwards of 16,000. The permanent inhabitants are upwards of 58,000; but the concourse during some of the festivals, is said to exceed all calculation. The Mahomedans are not one in ten.

The mosque with its minar† was built by Aurengzebe to mortify the Hindoos. It is built close to the river upon the highest point of land, and the foundation is laid on a sacred spot.

The mosque itself has nothing interesting. The minars are light and elegant; one of them is so light, that it is not safe to ascend it. Our author contented himself with overlooking the whole town and the river, with the thousands of inhabitants who were bathing on its banks, from the roof of the mosque.

A little stone temple dedicated to Maha-deva, his lordship says, displays its *trident* at an humble height, close to the

* Ambassadors or envoys.

† Would not these terms, mosque and minars, be more appropriate in a description of Turkey?

side of the crescent of the summit of the minars; no unfit emblem, he observes, of the state of the two religions previously to the establishment of the British power.

The Hindoos, our author observes, are rapidly reconciling their minds to the Christian government.—This he attributes to the liberal policy of protecting them. The merchants also felt the security they enjoyed under our government. Confidence once established is most rapidly diffused; and his lordship gives it as his opinion, founded upon good authority, that many Hindoo countries, now under the controul of the Mahrattas, although professing their own religion, would gladly place themselves under the dominion of the British.

It is not then by any means surprising, says his lordship, that the nawaub of the Carnatic should look up to Tippoo as the great safeguard of his religion; he was correct in his ideas; but the Hindoo can have no feelings of this sort; he has merely changed his masters; and although we do not so much unite in society with him as his former master, yet that master, says his lordship, who gives the firmest protection from oppression and insult, is naturally the object of his preference.

With respect to religion, our author observes, that there are a great number of temples to the different deities, but the chief worship is to Vishnou, Maha-deva, and their wives.

The climate of Benares is considered as very healthy. It is situated in $25^{\circ} 50'$ north, and from its vicinity to the mountains of Thibet, which in winter are covered with snow, is sometimes cold enough to produce icicles. In a morning hoar frosts are not unfrequent.

The houses of the English at Secrole are handsome; there is, however, a nakedness in their appearance, occasioned by the want of trees.

His lordship examined the staircase leading to the top of the house occupied by Mr. Davis during the ephemeral insurrection of vizier Ali, and which he defended with a spear for an hour and a half, till the troops came to relieve him. The ascent is so winding and rapid, that one person can with difficulty ascend at a time. The soldiers below could not take aim, they fired nevertheless several times, and the marks are still visible in the ceiling.

At one time, however, a man had hold of this spear, but by a violent exertion the vizier dragged it through his hand, and wounded him severely. This gallant defence, his lordship says, saved the settlement, by giving time to the

cavalry quartered at Bataber to reach Secrole, and oblige vizier Ali to retire with his followers to his residence in Maddoodoos garden. Here he defended himself for some time, and had once more the good fortune to escape with about 300 of his followers.

After various attempts to excite insurrection in Onde, he was defeated by the British troops, and compelled for protection to fly to the Jeypour rajah, by whom he was given up to colonel Collins, upon a stipulation, nevertheless, that his life should be spared, and that he should not be confined in fetters.

It is here remarked as a singular circumstance, that vizier Ali should pass through Benares; a close prisoner on his way to solitary and perpetual confinement, upon the very day twelvemonth after he had massacred the unfortunate Mr. Cherry and his friends; and justifies the severity he received, from the ferocity and depravity of his character, and the crimes he afterwards committed. It was proved, his lordship observes, by sir John Shore, that he was not the son of Asoph and Dowlah; and the allowance he received of a lack and an half of rupees per annum, was amply sufficient to have maintained him in affluence and splendour; his baughty mind, however, his lordship says, could not brook a private station, and his aim appears to have been, to have formed a Mussulman league to expel the English from the East. The persons implicated with him in this conspiracy, prove, our author remarks, that no dependence is to be placed on the gratitude of Mussulmans.

The massacre at Benares took place on the 14th January. Lord Wellesley having communicated his orders for the removal of vizier Ali to Calcutta on the 24th, the nawab vizier by his resident, and general Erskine, warned Mr. Cherry, but without success. The conspiracy was actually determined upon when the assassins quitted Maddoodoos garden, for according to a Mussulman superstition, they had carried with them their winding sheets, which had been dipped in the holy well at Mecca.

His lordship, upon calling upon Mr. Neave, found there Baboo Dheep Narrain, brother to Oodit Narrain, rajah of Benares, who waited upon him in his brother's name, to invite him to Rhamnagur.

Prince Meiza Shegofia Bukht, sent, also, servants bearing twenty-one trays, consisting of pelaws, currys, &c. with his blessing, which our author gave to his suwarry.

March 12.—Accompanied by Messrs. Neave and Salt,

his lordship proceeded on his visit to the rajah of Benares at Rhamnagur.

The castle is situated on the opposite side of the river. They crossed in the rajah's boats. The rajah being unwell, had sent his brother to do the honours upon the occasion.

The garden, as described, is square, laid out exactly in the Dutch style, with formal walls, clipped hedges, and the flowers in regular compartments. A large handsome building of stone, stands at the south end, consisting of verandalis, with stone pillars and small rooms on either side. This was fantastically painted of different colours. The view was beautiful from the terrace on the summit.

Opposite to the house is a door leading to the tank, and at the angles of the garden are handsome round summer-houses, elevated with domes above the wall, which is a considerable height.

Here the rajah often retires with his women; and our travellers observed many swings and other playthings of Eastern idleness. The tank, his lordship observes, is one of the most magnificent works he ever beheld; it is very large, and has a flight of steps to the bottom.—On the right is an extensive, and not inelegant habitation, the front of which is level with the water, the back with the top of the tank.

This was intended as a bathing place for the women, where they could amuse themselves without being visible to persons without: the baths communicate with the tank.

At the two corners are two towers, having domes similar to those on the garden wall: a small elegant Hindoo temple built of stone, is on the third side upon the right, rising into a dome from a square base. The whole outside is divided into compartments of about two feet square, in each of which is the figure of a deity, most exquisitely carved.

There are three open doors, and a false one cut in stone, the mouldings of which, his lordship says, are most delicately executed. In the wall formed by the false door is a niche for the statue of Lachmy. The statue of Maha-deva was to have been placed in the centre, to whom the whole was dedicated.

These beautiful buildings, continues his lordship, were left unfinished by Cheyt Sing when he fled from Benares. The superstition of India prevents his successor from completing them, since it would be considered as tending to inherit his misfortunes.

Cheyt Sing has married a nautch girl, with whom he resides in the Mahratta country, where he lives upon a small jaghire, sunk into debauchery and contempt. He has no issue, and the person placed on the musnud is his nearest relation: the present rajah being his great nephew, and great grandson to Bulwant Sing, who built the fort of Rhamnagar.

Their young conductor, heartily tired of his walk, joyfully returned to the castle, whilst our travellers proceeded to his brother's tent, on the border of the tank, where a breakfast was provided. It would have been improper, says his lordship, for the young gentleman to accompany them thither, their food being unholy.

Mr. Salt here amused himself with taking a sketch of the scene; and his lordship was entertained by a fellow, who imitated the dialects and manners of the different nations and tribes of India.

A small town joins the fort of Rhamnagar, consisting of two streets, crossing each other, of good width and uniform architecture; the tattys, however, conceal the fronts of the houses. At the extremity of the largest street is the gate of the castle, through which is a court, where the horses, cows, and elephants are kept.

The palace, which forms one side of a second court, is neat, with the wood work painted green, and white-washed.

His lordship was met at the door by his young conductor, who led him up stairs, where he was received by the rajah, who presented him with a large nazar of gold mohurs, which his lordship touched, making at the same time a salaam, but declined taking.

After three embraces, his lordship was led to the chief seat in his dewan-khanah, and placed on his right hand. Here he found all his court assembled, and about fifty nautch girls of all ages and description; he also presented to his lordship a second brother, hitherto without a name, but who was to receive one at the marriage of his brother Baboo Dheep Narrain, which was to be solemnized in the course of the year.

The rajah was most immoderately fat, and look ill; his complaint was suspected not to have been very creditable for a married man. He was attended by three Mahomedan physicians. Lord Valentia cannot conceive why the Hindoos do not like to employ our medical men*.

* His lordship may find his difficulties easily solved—the Hindoos do not employ our medical men on account of *their religion*.

The dewan khanah is small, the room white, the ornaments painted green; green lustres were also ranged down the centre, and in green brackets on the sides. English prints framed and glazed, adorned the compartments.

Little conversation took place, the attention of the rajah and his guests being occupied with the nautching (dancing.) Some Persian airs were pretty, and his lordship was much amused with their singing "I care for nobody, no not I," and the popular air of Maribrook.

As a relief from the heat of the crowd, which was insufferable, his lordship requested to see some rooms towards the river, to which he was accompanied by the rajah's brothers. These rooms were small, but pretty; covered with powdered talc, which gave them the appearance of silver. There is a small temple of Mahadeva attached to the palace, the foundations of which are washed by the river.

The present rajah has no connection now, his lordship says, with the zemindary of Benares, but receives an allowance from the Company; he is in comfortable circumstances, having upwards of four lacks of rupees per annum; he has no family, but appears affectionately attached to his brothers, one of whom will probably succeed him.

Upon his lordship's retiring, twenty trays of shawls, kheenkhabs, together with one of jewels, were tendered to his lordship; nine trays of shawls to Mr. Neave, and five to Mr. Salt; each chose a pair of shawls, worth about twenty rupees, but declined the rest. After the customary ceremony of attar, our travellers retired.

Our traveller had a wish to view the town of Benares by water. It is covered with buildings to the water's edge, and the opposite shore being extremely level, the whole may be viewed at once. Passing through the streets, or viewing it from the minars, his lordship observes, could have given a very imperfect conception of its beauty. Innumerable pagodas on every side, of every size and shape, occupy the bank, and even encroach upon the water. These are of the most solid workmanship, and uniformly built of stone. Many of them are painted, some gilded, and others remain of a stone colour. They have generally domes, frequently terminated with the trident of Maha-deva.

Gauts are frequent, for the convenience of ablution; and wherever the houses approach the river, they are necessarily built thirty feet high, of large stones, before they reach the level of the street above.

The contrast between the light domes of the pagodas, and

these elevated masses of solid masonry, his lordship says, is at once singular and pleasing—trees occasionally overhanging the walls, and thousands of people continually bathing or washing linen, contribute, in no small degree, to this active and extraordinary scene.

Land is here of prodigious value, and the nearer to the river the more holy. His lordship had frequent occasions to regret that so many buildings should remain unfinished, from the illiberal and superstitious notion, that were they finished by the heir, the whole of the merit would go to the original founder.

After walking through the narrow streets of Benares, half dead with heat and dust, our travellers missed their way, and took their station in a Mahomedan burying ground, under the shade of some lofty tamarind trees, until two palanquins arrived from Mr. Neave, to whose house they adjourned.

Mr. Neave presented his lordship with part of a stone which fell in the province of Benares during the appearance of a meteor. This stone is, his lordship says, of a kind not to be found any where; but what renders it more remarkable was, that no stones are to be found in the neighbourhood. Lord Wellesley has another piece of it.

March 13.—After breakfast his lordship held a durbar or levee at Mr. Neave's, for the natives "of rank sufficient to be entitled to *sit down in his lordship's presence.*" Here several shroffs exhibited specimens of their finest manufactures, in silks, gold cloth, and embroidered ganzes. These pieces were very high priced, and of the richest patterns; more of these, his lordship observes, are manufactured here than in any place in India, and they are not only used for dresses of ceremony, but are exported to Europe in considerable quantities. Our traveller conceives that the town of Benares in no small degree keeps up its prosperity by this trade of gold and silver stuffs.

His lordship procured from a banker, one of the Zodiac mohurs, now so extremely rare, that it becomes almost impossible to obtain a complete set.

Lord Valentia now expected the princes; they were by no means friends, and wished never to meet; they came therefore to different gardens in the neighbourhood, and waited till notice was sent that his lordship was ready to receive them.

Merza Khorum made his first appearance in a tolerably handsome suwarry (equiPAGE): he entered the gates on his elephant, and was complimented by a royal salute: he came

to the house in a state palanquin, his lordship's guard of sepoys presenting arms as he passed.

His lordship received him at the bottom of the steps, and having been honoured with an embrace, presented him with a nazur of thirteen gold mohurs. His lordship then led him to his seat, and placed him on his right hand.

The conversation was merely enquiries after health. His lordship presented him with a brace of double barrell'd pistols, richly inlaid with gold, to which he made not the least objection.

He was then presented with betel and attar, conducted in the same manner to his palanquin, and received the same military compliments as on his arrival.

His brother made his appearance in a suwarry, which clearly bespoke the difference between 14,000 rupees per month and 4000; the state palanquin was, however, equally splendid with cloth of gold.—His lordship met him upon the steps, whilst the salute was firing, and presented his nazur of eleven gold mohurs.

He was accompanied by his tutor, whom he requested might be presented to his lordship, and permitted to have a seat, and which shews, says our traveller, the high respect in which the Mussulmans hold their preceptors. His wishes were of course complied with.

His lordship gave him a silver hookah, and enquired after the brass plates, which were presented and laid at his lordship's feet: these are about two feet square, covered with Sanscrit characters, and fastened together by a seal ring of great size, on which is engraved the goddess Lachmy. His lordship understood from Mr. Wilford, the celebrated antiquary, that this is a grant of land similar to that found at Monghyr, and of about the same date.

As the plates were not presented to his lordship, the prince requested his lordship's acceptance of an old sword, which he said had belonged to Firrochsere, one of his ancestors, known to us as having, when emperor, given to the East India Company their first charter of free trade. His lordship, however, had some doubt on the subject, as the blade was not of sufficient value for so splendid a sovereign; the hilt was gilt copper; the scabbard green velvet.

The prince gave it into his lordship's hands, whilst, at his request, his lordship presented him with two gold mohurs over it, similar, his lordship says, to a superstition which exists in England, of not receiving from a friend any sharp instrument without making some return.

He took his leave with the same ceremonies as his brother. His lordship considered the returning his visit as a very high honour, this being purely voluntary, and not in consequence of any official application from lord Wellesley.

Lord Valentia afterwards received the vakeels of the Mahratta states, the great uncle and brother of the rajah of Benares, together with many other natives of rank; amongst these was a fine boy, son of Golam Mahomed, the celebrated Rohilla chief, who resides at Benares with his mother.

His lordship dismissed his guests with attar and betel, which he distributed according to their rank. The rajah of Benares having been prevented from being present by indisposition, his lordship sent him by his brother, an handsome gold watch, and gave another to the boy himself, at which he was highly delighted.

His lordship's durbar broke up at one, when he dined with Mr. Neave, where he attempted, but unsuccessfully, to obtain possession of the Sanscrit plates.

March 16.—In the evening his lordship departed, and accompanied by Mr. Deane, proceeded to visit the town of Juanpore, situated on the Goomty river, so named, like Menander, from its winding course. The castle, venerable in its ruins, rises considerably above the level of the country. The road lay on the opposite side of the river, through the midst of monuments and mosques in ruins, affording, says his lordship, a specimen of ancient magnificence.

A suburb of clay huts led to a large serai* (caravazzari), formed also of clay, through which our travellers passed to a bridge of great extent, which divides it into two parts, the one consisting of ten arches, being over the boundary of the river during the dry season, and with the other is capable of holding the whole volume of water during the rains.

This is said to have been built in the year 972 of the Hegira, by the emperor Abkar, and according to the legend, says his lordship, upon the following occasion :

“Abkar, when on an expedition against the rebellious soubadar, Ally Coolly Khaun, arrived at Juanpore, where upon an aquatic excursion; he saw a woman weeping, and enquired the cause.

“She informed him that she was a widow, and had come from the other side of the water to sell cotton; that she wished to return home, but had not the means of paying the ferryman.

* A kind of inn.

“Affected at her story, the emperor immediately ordered Monceim Khan Khanan to build a bridge over the river, which was completed accordingly in three years, at an expence of thirty lacks of rupees, under the superintendence of Faheem, a slave of Khan Khanan.”

The expence of this bridge, his lordship says, is enormous, the workmanship, however, is excellent. It has stood 300 years, although in the rainy season the torrents pour down with great violence, and the river rises so high as completely to cover the road on the top.

This is at present paved with stone, and is considered by the natives as one of the wonders of Asia.

On one side of the bridge is a garden and house belonging to the nawaub of Oude, completely going to decay. They passed through a wretched town, and kept close to the castle, until they came to the gateway, ornamented with mosaic work of varnished tiles of various colours; this was formerly beautiful. The courts are extensive, and the verandahs on the wall command a very pleasing prospect, particularly on the side overhanging the river and the bridge, beyond which are the ruins of different tombs raising their cupolas amongst palms and tamarind trees.

The walls of the fort are of solid stone work, and the remains of the habitations within serve as a receptacle for debtors, whose confinement, his lordship says, appears nearly voluntary, as escape appears perfectly easy.

The next visit of our travellers was to two mosques, falling into ruins, of singular construction, the latter of which was singular in its architecture, but in much better preservation. The government, with a laudable liberality, had offered to put this into a perfect state of repair, but it was strenuously opposed by the faqnirs, declaring that they would rather die than have it touched. This opposition, his lordship thinks, might be surmounted, by putting this business under the direction of a Mussulman, who would have his share of the profit, and declare it a holy work. His lordship also observed several remains of palaces and other relics of ancient magnificence.

Juanpore, in the year 1645, observes his lordship, was conquered by sultan Beooli, previous to which it was governed by independent princes, whose line became extinct in 1642. Afterwards it became the residence of sultan Secander. Ackbar also honoured it with his presence, and built the bridge above-mentioned. It has since been on the decline.

This place became more noted, from being the residence

of a race of Hindoos, called Rajekooman, with whom the practice of infanticide prevailed until it was abolished by the British government*. This practice only extended to the female children, but here it was general. A bridge, his lordship says, is to be erected here, for which the convicts were making bricks, which will be a great convenience, the high road from Benares to Lucknow leading directly over it.

March 18.—The ruins of tombs and mosques are as numerous, his lordship says, on the other side of Juanpore, as they are on the side of Benares; some are very beautifully inlaid with the coloured glazed tiles. The ryots† were all at work in the fields, some reaping, and others drawing water at their wells, which are found in almost every field.

His lordship remarks it as a singular circumstance, that in this country, which is almost a sand, and the sun is so intensely hot, a constant supply of water is always to be found, at a slight depth, during the whole summer. The fields have no fences, except, occasionally, where a row of the Indian fig is planted along the sides of the road.

In the night his lordship passed the boundaries of the territory of the East India Company, and entered those of his excellency the nawaub vizier.

March 19.—On awaking this morning, his lordship found the face of the country so very different, that he should not have recognized it as the same. The quantity of land in cultivation had been evidently diminished by the heavy hand of oppression; the crops were more scanty, but the mango topes increased in number, and appeared more beautiful, from being in the vicinity of a jungle, where the butea was conspicuously resplendent; the monkeys and peacocks were numerous. After a tedious journey, his lordship arrived at captain Delamaine's quarters at Sultaunpore.

Sultaunpore cantonment is pleasantly situated on an extensive plain, on the west bank of the Goomty, with a nullah intersecting it at right angles.

The cantonment is built, says his lordship, to contain an entire brigade; but at that time the greater part were on duty with general Lake, and several of the rest were absent, assisting the aumils‡, in collecting the nawaub's rents from the zemindars, who frequently refused to pay without compulsion. The town is on the opposite side of the river; and

* See Asiatic Researches, vol. 4.

† Labourers in husbandry.

‡ Collectors of rent.

at seven in the evening his lordship again set off, leaving Mr. Salt to follow.

His lordship's bearers here missed their way; and to add to his anxiety, there was a lurid light in the sky, with forked lightning darting from it. The country in which they were, was far from being free from wild beasts, and robberies were not unfrequent: at length, however, they regained their road, and at three o'clock his lordship was cheered by hearing the cry of his bearers, as they entered the village, answered by others; and found there the first relay of men that Mr. Paul had sent down from Lucknow.

March 20.—The jungle was here more frequent, with mango topes and villages; but cultivation was more scanty than in the British territories. By nine o'clock his lordship reached a tent, which the nawaub vizier had sent during the heat of the day, where he feasted on an excellent hot breakfast; enjoyed a perfect ablution; and after an early cold dinner set off for Lucknow. The bearers were here excellent, but at the last stage Mr. Paul had placed his own servants, who with a rapidity that astonished his lordship, by half past six in the morning, precisely one month after his leaving Calcutta, brought him to Mr. Paul's house at Lucknow.

March 21.—This, says Lord Valentia, being new-year's day with the Mussulmans, a salute was fired by the nawaub, on the first appearance of the new moon, and presents of sweetmeats were sent by him to lieutenant-colonel Scott.

March 22.—His lordship received the visits of lieutenant-colonels Scott, Marshall, and other officers. Fixed his visit of ceremony to the nawaub vizier for the following morning; and, with the assistance of Mr. Paul, arranged his suwarry for that purpose.

March 23.—At seven in the morning his lordship called on colonel Scott, and mounted upon one of his elephants, proceeded towards the palace, preceded by their suwarrys, and attended by their palanquins.

On entering the first court, they found the state elephants, with their houdahs* and coverings, drawn out on each side, with the nawaub's cavalry, camels, and led horses, richly caparisoned. The second court was lined with troops, who received them with presented arms. Here the party quitted

* Houdahs are seats placed on the backs of elephants. Amongst the natives they are flat like cushions. The Europeans have placed a seat on them resembling the body of a phaeton. The native princes have frequently canopies over them, richly ornamented with gold.

their elephants, and proceeded, in their palanquins, through a smaller into a larger court, at the end of which was a handsome palace, surrounded by a verandah, the residence of the present nawaub.

His lordship, as before, was met by his excellency at the top of the steps, *embraced as his equal*, and at that moment a salute of seventeen guns was fired. His lordship and his party were then led to a breakfast table, furnished with chairs and every other article in the European style. The greater part of the nawaub's family was present, but he introduced only his second son, who was his general and prime minister. His lordship observed there two courtiers, particularly under the protection of the English, and characterized by them, under the ridiculous titles of lords Noodle and Doodle. The person he observed with the greatest curiosity, was Almas Ali Khan, the eunuch so famous in Mr. Burke's pathetic account of the distresses which his wives and children suffered, from the barbarity of that "captain-general in iniquity, governor Hastings."

His lordship describes this Almas Ali Khan as a venerable old woman like being, upwards of eighty, full six feet high, and stout in proportion. This personage was aumil, or renter, of nearly half the province of Oude; and after all these cruel plunderings he is said to have undergone, he is supposed still to be worth half a million of money: but with all his affluence, Almas is but a slave, now nearly in his dotage, though formerly an active and intriguing courtier. His succession, by the Eastern custom, belongs to the nawaub, and, his lordship says, he carefully watches for it.

The breakfast was a complete olio; it partook of every country; tea, coffee, ices, jellies, sweetmeats, French pies, and other made dishes, both hot and cold. The service had a profusion of fine cut glass basons, and was entirely English. Upon his lordship's giving a hint, after breakfast, that he wished to depart, the presents were produced, consisting of twenty trays* of shawls, muslins, gold stuffs, and one tray of jewels. At the door were an elephant, with a silver-houdah, a horse, with its caparisons, and a state palanquin of cloth of gold. These his lordship, however, declined, taking only a pair of shawls.

His excellency amused his lordship much, by giving an account of the manner in which his arrival was announced, by a messenger stationed upon the road for that purpose.

* Cumaum.

Lord Sahéb ka bhánja, Company ki nâwasa teshrif laiâ*; the literal meaning of which is, lord (Wellesley) sister's son, and the grandson of Mr. Company, is arrived.

As his lordship did not hold that office, although he says he was received with great, nay almost equal honours, he supposed that the natives considered *him* in the same relationship.

March 26.—The nawaub had fixed this morning to return his lordship's visit: colonel Scott acted as interpreter. At breakfast his excellency was profuse in his offers of every thing his lordship could want: upon which lord Valentia requested the occasional use of one of his hummaums (hot-baths) and the use of two of his houndah elephants, for which the necessary orders were immediately given.

The following day was fixed upon for the return of lord Valentia's visit to the general, the nawaub's son, who attended his father on the preceding day.

Presents were, as usual, offered by his lordship to both his guests, upon their departure: they departed upon their elephants as they came, and upon investigation his lordship found that a few silver spoons were all that was missing; the plunder of his excellency's followers being frequently, his lordship says, to a much larger amount.

March 27.—Lord Valentia, attended by colonel Scott and Mr. Salt, proceeded to breakfast with the general Merza Mahomed Ally, second son and prime minister to the nawaub vizier, whose residence was at a palace on the banks of the Goomty, called Hussein Baug†. Here they were received with the same ceremonies, and here the same presents as had been offered by his father, the identical elephant, horse, and palanquin, were tendered to his lordship, which were again politely refused, as were a pair of carriage horses, his lordship only taking two shawls, as before.

His lordship then proceeded to his excellency's hummaum‡, which had been prepared for him: it consists of rooms, at the back of a very beautiful garden pavilion, with, as usual, a bason of water in the front: these are heated by flues under the floor. The first room is about 20 feet square, comprising three fountains, for either hot or cold water, in oblong niches on three sides of the room.

* These titles originated in a belief among the natives, that the India Company is an old woman, and that the governors-general are her children.

† Garden.

‡ The sweating bath of the Persians. The Hummums in Covent Garden, were first established by a Persian, in the reign of queen Anne.

The entrance into the inner room is on the fourth side ; at each corner is a pillar, supporting arches, which contain the roof, which gradually grows narrower until it terminates in a cupola. The floor is of fine white marble, inlaid with a mosaic work of black and red, the whole of the interior is covered with fine white chunam, ornamented with black to correspond with the floor.

Here his lordship was completely undressed, and wrapped round his middle with a piece of red linen. After which he was assisted by two men into another room, where the heat was so strong as almost to take away his breath. This room differed little in its construction from the former, except that a bason was elevated in front, five feet, filled with warm water, and on the right was another such in the floor ; the fountains were playing into the middle of the room, and from being a little cooler than the floor were very agreeable. The whole was built of red porphyry to the height of a few feet from the ground ; the rest of a red stone.

Eight men, in colour resembling the marble, and covered only with a cloth, now commenced their operations : they laid his lordship on the floor, rubbed his feet with pumice-stone, kneaded all his limbs, and rubbed him with mohair bags, with their hands, till every pore was cleansed from the soil contracted on the journey. The next process was a rubbing with a composition of clay, and afterwards with a perfumed oil, both of which were sent by his excellency, with every article of silver, basons, &c. as used by himself. The hair was cleansed with a composition of flour and other substances.

At length his lordship leaped into one of the marble basons, and having thoroughly washed, was, upon his coming out, covered with hot cloths of a very fine texture, and borders of gold. He then returned to the adjoining room, which felt much cooler, and gradually prepared him for the open air*.

His lordship expatiates upon the beneficial effects of a hot bath, which, he says, it is now perfectly ascertained, by no means relaxes. The use of hot baths in tropical climates has been ably defended by Mr. Bruce, and his lordship is of opinion that the prejudices against it will ere long be removed, and that it will become a fashionable remedy even in Europe.

* This process of bathing is very similar to that described by lady Mary Wortley Montague.

March 28.—His lordship received presents of game and curious mountain birds from the vizier. He also received a visit from Almas the eunuch, held in much consideration here from the part he has borne in politics, and having once held as aumil*, above half the province of Oude. He was visited by lord Wellesley, with a view to conciliate a person whose vast property gave him such an influence in Oude. He was notorious for his rigid duties in exacting his dues, and is supposed to have in his possession at least half a crore†.

March 29.—Two elephants, with very handsome silver houdahs, were sent by the nawaub to attend his lordship's orders: that day his lordship was to dine with his excellency, and he determined to take the same opportunity of paying a visit to the begum, his mother.

Through the outer courts of the palace they passed on their elephants, and entered the garden of the zenana at a garden house, opposite to which his highness, with his usual court, was waiting to receive them.

They were seated in a verandah, and the eunuchs passed backwards and forwards, bringing polite messages from the old lady, with thanks for the compliment of the visit.

The zenana, though a handsome building, his lordship says, had a most melancholy appearance, from the wooden lattice-work on the outside of the windows. With the begum reside her virgin daughters, some of whom were upwards of 40 years old, and their establishment of slaves. His excellency here introduced his youngest son. His lordship accepted two shawls from the old lady; they then walked close to the zenana, towards a tent where his excellency generally sleeps, and from thence to the palace where his lordship was first received, which, he says, is a comfortable Englishman's house, with suitable furniture, beds, prints, chairs, &c. but nothing can be more incorrect than many of the ornaments.

He presented his lordship to all his sons, except the eldest, amounting to seven: the absent one keeps in total seclusion.

His lordship expresses himself much disgusted at seeing English married ladies mixing in society with Mahomedans, who consider them only as on a level with the nautch girls.

The party at dinner consisted of twenty-seven, of whom

* Holder of jaghires under lord Cornwallis.

† 500,000/.

sixteen were Europeans. The dinner was French, with plenty of wine, of which the Mussulmauns drank none, although they had two glasses, of different sizes, standing before them.

The room was very well lighted, and a band of music played English tunes during the whole time. This scene, his lordship says, was so singular, and so contrary to his conceptions of Asiatic manners, that he could not persuade himself but the whole was a masquerade: the apartment, the band, the music, the girandoles, the tables, chairs, looking-glasses, plates, knives, forks, and spoons, wine-glasses, decanters, cut-glass vases, every thing was English. The crowd of attendants, however, was Asiatic, for in no other country would the guards and out-door servants have filled every door-way, and even crowded round the table.

After dinner, and passing the bottle freely for a short time, his lordship and his party, having been complimented with attar, as usual, were conducted to the head of the steps, where his palanquins were waiting.

March 30.—This morning his lordship accompanied colonel Scott upon a visit to the begum of the late nawaub, where he was received by her nephew, married to a daughter of the present vizier. They were at a very small distance from her, but the thickness of the purdah prevented his lordship's indulging his curiosity by a peep. The usual messages were conveyed by the eunuchs, and she informed colonel Scott that she intended to proceed to Mecca as soon as she had married some of her nephews and nieces. This design, however, his lordship conceives she will never put in execution, being rich, and considered as *under the protection* of the English.

The suwarrys were not admitted into the garden. It was a high compliment that his lordship was permitted to approach so near. Presents were tendered as at the vizier's, but two shawls only were accepted. Wreaths of artificial flowers and foil were thrown round their necks.

March 31.—The prince Merza Sooliman Shekoo had appointed this day to receive his lordship's visit. He is the third son of the king, and quitted Delhi in hopes of being provided for. He is allowed 6000 rupees per month by the nawaub vizier, a sum fully adequate, but he nevertheless runs considerably in arrear. This prince, his lordship says, keeps up all possible state, and even treats the nawaub as if he were on the throne of Delhi, and the vizier were an actual slave. He receives the nazur from him without any

inclination of the head or salaam in return. A third son has made his appearance, but he lives as a private man. The one who fled from Benares, as being implicated in the conspiracy of vizier Ali, lives a prisoner in Furruckabad.

Attended by colonel Scott and Mr. Salt, his lordship arrived at the prince's garden gate; the floor was covered with white linen, upon which chairs were placed. On entering the gate he advanced from the house with his three children, whom he presented. His lordship and his party made their salaams, and met him a little in front of the chairs, and presented, as customary, their nazurs of gold mohurs.

His lordship describes this prince as having a fine countenance, and expressive of much greater abilities than either of his nephews; his manners also are more stately and polished: he looked the prince, and every thing in his behaviour bespoke his royal descent. The visit was short. The khelaut and turban, presented in trays as usual, were accepted, and after presenting additional nazurs and receiving attar, the party retired; but as he did not think proper to rise from his chair, his lordship gave him no salaam at his departure.

April 1.—His lordship and Mr. Salt proceeded on their elephants to visit the nawaub, at one of his country seats called Baroun: the furniture was European, and the walls were ornamented with portraits of his English friends, and the different generals who had visited the place.

His excellency was dressed in nankeen breeches and boots, with a long riding coat of velvet. A range of small rooms were erected on the roof, which occasionally served as a zenana: a vast crowd of beggars attended, to whom he very sparingly threw two rupees. Two very singular vehicles were in waiting for his lordship's examination, both of them on wheels, and in some degree resembling large elephant houdahs, drawn also by elephants; these went at a great rate, although one was as large as a small room.

This his lordship believes to have been the first time that elephants had been used in India for draught*; artillery is only pushed along with their trunks. Lord Wellesley had models sent down, in hopes of applying this idea to military purposes.

April 2.—His lordship breakfasted with Almas, who entertained him with a nautch and mimics: at the latter his lordship was so much amused, that he laughed most immo-

* Vide Campbell's History of the War with Hyder, 1780, 1783.

derately : the following, his lordship says, was the plot of the play, or tale, which was enacted :

“ A young fellow was represented as giving into every kind of debauchery, with a party of nautch girls, when his uncle, a religious old gentleman, pays him a visit. The manner of behaviour when the uncle is present, and when his back is turned, constitutes the principal business : at length he gets completely drunk, and beats his uncle out of the house.” The principal actor, his lordship says, had a wonderful command of countenance, and went through his part with great effect. The visitors took each a pair of shawls and returned home.

The following morning, being the festival of the Eéd, his lordship received a present of twenty-one goats from the nawaub, and fifty from the begum, and a note from the former, on the following day, inviting him to be present at the ceremony.

April 3.—Accompanied by colonel Scott and Mr. Grant, his lordship proceeded to the palace, where his excellency was waiting their arrival to commence the procession.

After paying the usual compliments, he mounted his elephant with a covered houdah, his youngest son but one, as usual, sitting behind him. Colonel Scott and his lordship flanked him, leaning a little forward. They proceeded as slowly as possible : first went a party of his troops ; these were followed by a grand display of hundreds of state palanquins, more like houdahs, carried by men, composed of looking glass pannels, covered with gilding and paintings of flowers : there were others also of the usual shape. Next went a collection of singers*, and performers on various instruments, making, his lordship says, a most horrible uproar. The nawaub, supported on each side by his lordship and colonel Scott, with their secretaries : different officers of the nawaub's court, and numerous other natives on their elephants, closed the procession.

As each joined in the procession, his elephant went down on his knees, and the master made his salaam. In the rear of all were his excellency's spare elephants, with open and covered houdahs, of different degrees of splendour. Soldiers carrying flags, mixed with the crowd in all directions.

As the nawaub passed, he threw money amongst the crowd ; and his lordship could not but admire the generous

* Nautcherannies.

care of the elephants, who, so cautiously avoided injuring persons who were scrambling for the money underneath their feet*.

The procession proceeded until they arrived at the large plain in front of the palace of Baroun, where they found his excellency's spare camels, horses, &c. drawn up on each side with their attendants. The horses were painted of every colour, which produced a very whimsical effect.

Next were drawn up the Candahar horse, and other soldiers in the pay of his excellency; and lastly, the whole of the two battalions of the 10th regiment were drawn up on the left, and saluted with presented arms and lowering of colours, as the vizier passed the line.

They alighted in front of a large tent of white linen, the ground being covered with the same, where the Mahomedans all repaired to pray. The English, with all the officers, entered a large tent on one side, where breakfast was set out for the whole party.

In about ten minutes, notice was sent to his lordship that the sacrifice of the camel was going to commence, upon which he immediately hastened into a small enclosure, where he found a very fine young camel, and a Cape ram, painted red, both without blemish. Close by the latter an hole was dug in the ground, over which he was laid and his throat cut.

The camel must either be killed by the chief in person, or by some holy man. In this instance it fell to the province of the latter. The beast was bound with cords tied round his feet to the ground, his head was raised by a rope attached to a pole. The priest, with a sharp spear of steel, attempted twice, but ineffectually, to pierce the artery in the breast: the third time, however, he succeeded, and the animal soon bled to death.

This festival, his lordship learned, was in commemoration of the preservation of Ishmael in the desert, and the substitution of a ram for Isaac.

They then adjourned to breakfast, where a portion of the camel and ram soon made its appearance: the flesh of the former his lordship found sweet, but tough. His excellency

* His lordship gives a very curious anecdote of the caution of this animal, when lord Wellesley visited Lucknow, where the elephants finding it impossible to resist the pressure of the crowd from behind, to avoid trampling on the people in front, actually took them up in their trunks and placed them out of danger.

cy ordered a part of it to be sent home to his lordship, who was also accommodated with the cuss* palanquin, where a fellow running by his side with water, kept the cuss so wet, that his lordship arrived at the palace as cool as if he had passed three miles in England.

Upon being conducted to the palace, the nawaub held a durbar, seated in state on his musnud, which was handsomely covered with silver plates, and ornaments of gold. A canopy of velvet richly embroidered, and supported by four light pillars, was raised over his head.

He was dressed perfectly plain: upon the right hand was placed the English gentlemen, and on the left his sons and brothers; the different courtiers, eunuchs, &c. stood behind and in the front.

As soon as the nawaub mounted the musnud, his family and servants began to present their nazurs. His brothers made their's first; next his sons; he received from all these the nazurs himself, and with his own hands placed on their heads the turbans ornamented with jewels.

They were then clothed with khelants by his chief eunuch, and afterwards he himself presented them with the shawls, belts, swords, daggers, and shields. They then presented another nazar, after which they made their salaams and retired to their seats. From some others he made the servants take the nazar, and gave them nothing; others he embraced, and took it himself, giving them dresses of different values, but not always putting on the turban, or any part himself. The artists brought specimens of their works.

His excellency took his lordship to see a small temple he had built in the gardens, over a bason of gold and silver fish. This edifice was circular, divided into compartments, with paintings of the most beautiful fish, copied from a French work.

April 10.—His lordship breakfasted with his excellency, and afterwards went to see his menagerie. Here was a great number of goats fantastically painted: There was also a tiger, a large cat, and rhinoceros; but the more interesting sight was several goats from Cashmere, the breed of which the nabob has endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to procure: the Cashmerians will only send him down castrated males.

The birds were of few kinds, and not numerous. The fine wool from which the shawls are manufactured, is not,

* The long, fibrous, and sweet scented roots of a grass, which are formed into the covering of the palanquin, and the water thrown upon them.

his lordship says, according to the erroneous notion, made from hair of the camel, but from fine wool of the Cashmere goat*, growing only in very small quantities under the hair in winter.

April 16.—His lordship went this morning to one of his excellency's gardens beyond the palace, one side of which was close to the Goomty. Here from a pavilion, they had a full view of the river, where the elephants were usually watered.

The amusement of the day was to be a fight of these animals; the plain was crowded with spectators, and with a body of foot and cavalry armed with spears.

The elephants selected were in must†, each attended by his female, whom he followed quietly until he saw the crowd. They then set off a very quick pace, and would easily have overtaken the people on foot, had not their attention been called off by the horsemen, who rode up so close that they touched them with their spears. The elephant thus touched, instantly turned his vengeance upon the horseman, whom, however, his lordship says, he pursued in vain. The moment he caught sight of his antagonist he rushed forward to meet him, and the shock was so violent as generally to raise one of them upon his hind feet.

Their trunks were elevated in the air, and they continued to push against each other for some time, the one receding as the other advanced. His lordship was surprised that the mohouts‡ were able to keep their seats. They appeared anxious for the glory of their animals, encouraged them, and drove them on with short iron spears§.

After it was thought that a pair had fought sufficiently, they were lured off the ground by their females: the first pair, his lordship says, were cowards, and ran away; the second and third behaved very well; but the fourth afforded the greatest amusement.

The stronger drove the other into the river, where he followed him. They threw the water against each other, and made several attacks. The weakest, however, when he

* This being an additional protection granted to these animals in the mountains, the quantity would probably be diminished, or the quality perhaps deteriorated, were these goats to be removed to the level country of Oude.

† Heat.

‡ The mohouts sit on the centre of the elephant's back, to be out of the reach of the trunk of the hostile elephant.

§ These are about two feet long—The usual custom is for every mohout or elephant driver to sit on the neck, and to guide the animal by the jou, an instrument resembling a boat hook.

came to the opposite bank, retreating still back, found the elevation so much in his favour, that he made a stand, and prevented the other from advancing.

The hostile animals stood looking stedfastly at each other for some time, when the mohout of the weaker drove his elephant into the middle of the stream, where they had a last struggle, but the victory still remained undecided.

This was considered as a very admirable fight, which his lordship thinks was worth seeing, once. There was no variety; all was mere brutal force, and the only visible injury was the excoriation of the animals' faces.

April 17.—Lord Valentia went to view the Ina Kkanah, where are deposited a part of the whimsical curiosities purchased by the late vizier Asof-ud-Dowlah, consisting of several thousand of English prints framed and glazed; Chinese ornaments and drawings, mirrors of all shapes and dimensions, lustres, and innumerable other articles of European manufacture.

The most valuable part of this collection are the clocks, several of which are richly ornamented with jewels. Asof-ud-Dowlah, his lordship observes, was anxious to procure every thing that he heard praised; the price to him was of no consequence; and the imbecility of his mind rendered him a dupe to those who, like general Martin*, placed no bounds to their extortion.

One of his objects was, however, his lordship remarks, more worthy of a sovereign, which was to render his capital an object of admiration: to effect this, he always considered what was splendid in other countries, which he endeavoured to imitate in his own.

When one of his ministers returned from Calcutta, the vizier asked him what was the finest work he had seen there; and on being informed that it was Fort William, he immediately insisted upon having a Fort William built at Lucknow; nor was it without considerable difficulty that he could be induced to abandon his plan.

The Imaumbarah, the place of worship attached to it, and the gateways which lead to it, our author describes as beautiful specimens of this species of architecture; and from the brilliant white of the composition, and the minute delicacy of the workmanship, an enthusiast, his lordship says, might suppose that Genii had been the artificers.

* General Claude Martin, a soldier of fortune, and a Swiss, died worth 500,000*l*.

The vast sums expended by Asof-nd-Dowlah, brought to Lucknow merchants of large property from all parts of India, and the trade between Cashmere and Bengal in a considerable degree acquired the same direction; the town consequently increased in extent and prosperity; and even at this period, when trade receives less encouragement under Saad-ut-Ali, our traveller remarks that it is not perceptibly on the decline.

April 22.—This day, his lordship says, the whole town assumed a melancholy appearance, it being the eve of Moharam, a festival most religiously observed by the followers of Ali.

This festival continues ten days, and is in commemoration of the death of Hassan and Hossein, on which occasion the Mussulmauns change their coloured turbans and sashes for black ones, unless as descendants of Mahomed they are entitled to wear green.

The present nawaub, as a Persian, is of the sect of Ali, or a Shüte, as are most of the Malromedans in India, excepting the royal family, who, as Tartars, are Soonies. Every prince has a place appropriated to the celebration, adorned with numerous lamps, &c. called the Imaumbarah.

In this are placed the supposed tombs of these young men, formed of different materials, according to the respective wealth of the owner. The nobles have similar festivals at their own houses: the late nabob kept it with great splendour, sometimes expending a lack of rupees on the occasion. Saad-ut-Ali, our author says, is more economical, and has even melted down several gold and silver ornaments made for the occasion, one or two of which produced a lack in bullion.

May 1.—The Moharam is now terminated, and his lordship visited the Imaumbarah several times on the occasion. On the last day he met the mourners' procession attending the supposed horse of Hossein, which is represented as being pierced on every side by arrows. So much weakened were Mussulmaun prejudices in India, his lordship says, that the procession was stopped at his lordship's request, and that he might view the horse with more facility, he was brought close to his palanquin.

The Imaumbarah, lord Valentia considers as the most beautiful building he had ever seen in India; it was erected by the late nawaub for the double purpose of celebrating this festival, and serving as a burial place for himself.

- It consists of three very long and finely proportioned

apartments running parallel to each other. In the centre one is his tomb, level with the ground.

The centre is earth, covered with a scanty herbage, and surrounded with a broad margin of white marble, in which sentences from the Koran were inlaid in black.

At one end lies the sword, turban, &c. which he wore when he died, and over it is a rich canopy, supported by four pillars covered with cloth of gold, now in decay. Unfortunately, his lordship remarks, it was necessary to place his tomb diagonally, that he might lie in a proper Mahomedan position respecting Mecca; instead of an ornament, therefore, this tomb is an unsightly object. He left one hundred rupees per day to a number of faquirs, to read the Koran, and pray for him. This number is now reduced to forty.

The approach to the building is through a very long quadrangle to a garden at a small elevation; on one side is a very beautiful mosque, and on the other the Bolee palace. The Imaumbarah itself is built on an elevated terrace, which gave still more splendour to the innumerable lights placed upon it, but even these could not diminish the effect of the thousands of girandoles filled with wax candles, suspended from the roof at different heights, and which were reflected by the differently coloured cut glass of which they were composed.

The floor was likewise covered with candles in glass branches, leaving only space sufficient for the crowd to pass.

The third apartment was filled from one end to the other, with a range of silver temples, or cenotaphs, raised upon platforms about three feet high, in which were deposited the supposed tombs of the three brothers: these were brilliantly illuminated, both from the ceiling and by candles placed round them in branches, which his lordship believes were near twenty in number, and were worth from 50,000 to a lack of rupees each.

Prayers were said in different parts of the building, and every evening all unbelievers and followers of Omar, Othman, and Abubeker, says our traveller, were anathematized, to the edification of the Hindoos, who crowded there in great numbers.

May 27.—Lord Valentia breakfasted with the nawaub, in order to be present at a tiger-fight. A space of fifty feet square had been fenced off on the plain between the Dowlat Khanah and the river, which was covered with a lattice-work of bamboo, several feet high, lest the tiger should get

amongst the people; a circumstance which had nearly occurred upon a former occasion.

On the three other sides was a strong lattice-work also of bamboos, perfectly securing from danger the crowd on the outside. The tiger was in a small cage on one side, from which he was driven by fire-works. He took several turns round the area, and eyed the spectators most attentively.

A buffalo was now driven in, upon which the tiger rapidly retired to one corner; the tiger watched him, but did not seem inclined to commence the attack. The tiger was several times compelled by fire-works to move, upon which the buffalo advanced a little towards him, but on his lying down, stopped and eyed him for some time. Seven other buffaloes were then introduced, but with all their excitements they could not induce either party to commence the attack.

Some person threw a dog into the area, which, his lordship says, retreated into a corner, to which the tiger was driven by fire-works; but on the dog's snarling at him, he quickly retired to another corner.

An elephant was next sent in, at whose approach the tiger uttered a cry of terror, and ran into a corner, whence he made a spring at the fence, but failed; and the elephant approaching by the direction of his rider, attempted to throw himself on his knees on the tiger, which, however, the latter avoided.

No exertion of the mohout could, however, induce the elephant to make a second attack; but advancing to the gate he made a push at it, and soon made good his way. The tiger in the mean time lay panting in the corner, without attempting to take any advantage of the opening.

A second elephant was now introduced, who rushed immediately towards the tiger, and made a kneel at him. The tiger, nevertheless, sprang on his forehead, where he fixed by his teeth and claws, till the elephant raising his head with a violent jerk, dashed him on the ground so completely bruised, that he was unable to rise.

The elephant then made off, and rushing against the enclosure, with his tusks lifted up the whole frame work of timber and bamboos, with a great number of people hanging upon it; fortunately, however, the elephant made his way through without hurting any one, and the tiger was too much exhausted to follow. The heat became now so intolerable, that the fight was adjourned.

May 31.—Lord Valentia was alarmed with a tufaun, which he thus describes. "As he was sitting, in the evening, in

his apartment on the terrace roof of the house, the heat being very oppressive, a sudden gloom and distant thunder, induced him to go out upon the terrace. The wind, which had been easterly, was now perfectly lulled, a dark cloud arose from the west, and covered nearly half the sky; the thunder was not loud, and the air was perfectly still; the birds were flying very high and making a terrible screaming. A dark brown cloud at length appeared upon the western horizon, which came on with considerable rapidity."

When at about the distance of a mile, the cloud had all the appearance of a smoke from a vast fire, rolling volume over volume in the wildest confusion, and at the same time elevating itself high in the air. As it approached, it had a dingy appearance, and as it concealed the eastern minars of the town of Lucknow from his view, convinced his lordship that it was sand driven by a whirlwind. The air was perfectly still where his lordship stood; the clouds of sand had a defined exterior, nor did the wind a moment precede it. It came on with such violence, and with a rushing sound, that compelled his lordship to take shelter in his eastern verandah, and even there the dust was driven with a force that prevented him from keeping his eyes open.

The darkness increased every moment, until at length it became black as night; and the wind now changing a little to southward, brought on the storm with tenfold violence, and nearly smothered the party with dust. The storm was so high, that even the noise of the thunder was frequently drowned by the whistling of the wind in the trees and buildings.

The total darkness lasted about ten minutes; when it at length gave way to a terrible red, but dingy light, which his lordship first attributed to a fire in the town: the rain now poured down in torrents, and the wind suddenly changed to due south. In about an hour the sky began to clear, the tufan went off to the east, and the wind immediately went round to the same quarter.

So powerful, says our author, was the penetration of the wind, that although the doors had been kept closed, and tattys were on the outside, nevertheless the bed and furniture were covered with a complete coat of dust.

Mr. Paul informed his lordship, that he was once caught in a north-wester, on the banks of the Ganges, when the darkness lasted for several hours; the present, however, his lordship observes, was the most tremendous one that had ever

been seen at Lucknow. One person was literally frightened to death.

These storms, his lordship says, are not dangerous, farther than as relates to fire; by a spark being driven against the thatched roof of the houses, already heated by the sun, or the blowing in of a roof, in which case the darkness would probably preclude the saving of any part of the town.

The long drought, says our traveller, had so completely annihilated vegetation on the sandy plains, and pulverized so much of the country, that the tufaan brought with it more sand than usual, to which must be attributed the perfect darkness.

This, our author remarks, was the most magnificent sight he had ever seen.

June 3.—His lordship went to dine at Constantia, once the seat of general Martin.

This, his lordship says, is a most fantastical building, composed of every species of architecture, and adorned with minute stucco fret-work, enormous red lions with lamps instead of eyes, Chinese mandarins, ladies with shaking heads, and all the gods and goddesses of the heathen mythology.

Its best effect is viewed at a distance, from a lofty tower in the centre, with four turrets; but on a nearer approach it only excites contempt.

The hall within is nevertheless very fine, but the other apartments are small and gloomy, loaded with stucco-work painted yellow. The general bequeathed this to the public as a scrae, every stranger being permitted to take up his residence there for two months. As yet, however, from the numerous claimants who have started up against the general's property, this, his lordship says, has been of no benefit to the public.

Our author describes the general as one of the most infamous and despicable characters that ever existed. His whole fortune, amounting to upwards of 200,000*l.* was accumulated by fraud and usury: yet, continues his lordship, with affluence to which he had never been brought up, and which of course he knew not how to enjoy, he never did a generous act, and never had a friend.

After dinner our traveller visited the general's tomb, which is down stairs in the centre of the house. It is a plain marble slab, relating that he came out to India a private soldier, and died a major-general; and though nominally, says his lordship, he died a protestant, the spectators are requested

by the testator's special directions in the last line, to pray for his soul!

On a niche over the tablet is placed his bust, and in four other niches are four paper grenadiers with reversed arms leaning over the tomb, placed there by Mr. Quiros, a native of Portugal, but then one of his executors.

Constantia, our author states, cost seven lacks of rupees. The furniture was mostly sold, the girandoles and mirrors were bought for the new government house at Calcutta. To the house is annexed a very noble garden, and extensive mango tope.

The general's house nearer town is in many respects, his lordship says, pleasanter than Constantia, in point of situation, and protection against hot winds; but the caprice of iron doors, massive stone walls, narrow winding staircases, drawbridges, and battlements, "give this house much the appearance of the castle in Blue Beard."

This house, which has a very comfortable zenana annexed, has been purchased by the nawaub.

June 4.—This being the King's birth-day, was ushered in by a royal salute fired before the resident's house. The nawaub and family met the gentlemen of the settlement, and officers of the regiment quartered here, at colonel Scott's. They were entertained by a nautch and fire-works.

July 1.—His excellency gave two dinners, which comprehended the whole European party at Lucknow; at which there were also fire-works, which had little merit, except the mortar rockets, which were very beautiful.

July 9.—On the night of the 8th the rains set in, and continued for a considerable part of the 9th; they fell very heavy at times, with thunder and lightning, but neither violent; the air was excessively damp: the temperature of the climate, our traveller remarks, is similar to that of England in summer. Previously to the rains the river was as low as ever; his lordship consequently infers, that it can have no connection with the snows on the hills.

July 18.—Lord Valentia suffered great inconvenience from the prickly heat; this is considered as a proof of health. The natives use powdered sandal wood externally, as a cure, but this his lordship thinks too cooling: he found relief in washing with lavender and rose water mixed: by this the rash is dried, but not repelled.

July 21.—It being known in the country that our traveller intended to visit Agra and Delhi, he received very polite invitations from general Perron and the Begum Somroom, to

visit them on his way: but the fluctuating conduct of Scindeah had rendered a war probable; his lordship was, however, permitted to go to Futtý Ghur. An escort, consisting of a company of sepoys and twenty horse, was ordered by the nawaub to attend his lordship upon his journey.

Our traveller notified to the nawaub his departure on the 26th, who promised to supply him with a camp equipage, and assured him that every thing should be ready.

July 24.—His lordship accepted his excellency's invitation to dinner, to take his formal leave. Accordingly, accompanied by colonel Scott, he proceeded early to the Dowlat Khanah in the same state as upon his visit of arrival. The elephants and gwards were paraded as usual, and the guests were received upon the steps of the palace, whence they accompanied him to the garden of his mother's zenana, where compliments, &c. passed between him and the old lady, through the medinn of Meer Tussain. She tendered his lordship the trays, shawls, &c. of the latter of which his lordship only chose two.

The elephants were waiting at the gate, and the whole party departed for the Sungi Dalam, or stone palace, where his highness intended to dine, in order to shew his lordship the manner in which it used to be adorned during the time of his brother.

This our traveller deems to have been a very elegant building, perfectly in the eastern style, supported by pillars and open on all sides. The whole is painted of a deep red colour, except the dome, which covers the towers at the corner, which are gilt all over, and have a very rich effect. The building, consisting of a large room in the centre, and two smaller ones on each side, make the whole a quadrangle or square, with circular towers at each corner; it is raised one story from the ground, and connected by a large terrace with a similar building upon a smaller scale.

At one end of the large apartment was a most magnificent musnud of gold, covered with brocade, and ornamented with wreaths of roses. Where dinner was served, commanded a view of the bason of water extending to the hummaum attached to the palace, where his lordship used to bathe. The sides of the bason were covered with coloured lamps; and a complete trellis-work of the same extended on each side of the walk.

The overhanging trees were perfectly illuminated by the glare, which was greatly heightened by the reflection from the water. This was the fictitious splendour, his lordship

says, of Caliph Haroun Alraschid, as described in the Arabian Nights, reduced to reality. The band was playing the whole time, which added much to the gaiety of the scene.

The tunes, his lordship says, were European, and formed a whimsical contrast with every thing else, which were truly Asiatic.

After dinner the company adjourned to the opposite building, through a lane of double silver branches, with attar placed upon stands between each—and being seated at the outer extremity of a circle, a nautch was performed; but his excellency, our author remarks, has no females who excel in that line. As it was his lordship's farewell visit, the trays of presents were presented as usual, but his lordship declined them, accepting as usual only a pair of shawls.

Upon the 25th of July, lord Valentia with great regret took his final leave of his highness Saad-ut-Ali Khan, after a residence of four months in his capital, during which time he had received from him the most flattering attentions.

His lordship describes Saad-ut-Ali as a man of the most engaging manners, of a princely and dignified appearance, but rather too corpulent; his conversation is lively and entertaining, and perfectly intelligent in the language of the eyes, which is, his lordship says, of great use at the courts of Asiatic princes, and through these speechless messengers they frequently issue their orders.

Colonel Scott assured our traveller that his language was remarkably pure and elegant, and his mind well stored with Asiatic literature.

Soon after his father's death, Saad-ut-Ali quitted Lucknow, in consequence of his brother Asof-ud-Dowlah having suspected him to have been connected with one Khoja Basunt, who was said to have made an attempt upon his life, and who was immediately cut to pieces in the nawaub's presence; but no proof was ever brought against Saad-ut-Ali.

The Bengal government, our traveller states, conceived him innocent of this transaction, protected him, and procured from his brother a pension of 40,000*l*. His highness's present pursuits and fondness for every thing European, may be traced from his long residence amongst the English. Indeed his lordship thinks that he has carried his European predilection, in abandoning the forms of an Asiatic court, beyond what is prudent.

His chief gratification is in architecture, which is chiefly Grecian. The lowest European gentleman looks upon him.

self as his equal, which he latterly appears to have felt. This he has taken a very ingenious method of counteracting, by purchasing a great number of houses built by the English on the banks of the Goomty, so that he can prevent the stay of any obnoxious European, by refusing to grant him a house to live in.

Saad-ul-Ali, his lordship says, was by no means popular when he ascended the musnud, and his rigid economy has not rendered his popularity more extensive : of this he was so conscious, that he made the British troops mount guard at his palace, and had sentinels placed at the door of his chamber.

He would willingly, our traveller states, have avoided these alarms, by retiring from government, but not being able to make such arrangements with the governor-general as he wished, he continued at Oude, and appears to be at present more tranquil, occasioned by the dismissal of those lawless bands who were ready to join vizier Ali against him. The presence of a British force at Lucknow, and the different districts of his reserved territory, entirely quells every alarm from any dissatisfaction at the extortions of his aumils.

He now, his lordship says, visits his different palaces without a guard, and any dissatisfaction at the cession of a part of his territory, is absorbed, his lordship observes, in the discovery that he possesses more real revenue, and can add more to his treasure, than when he paid the East India Company 120 lacks of rupees per annum. The treasures he received by inheritance cannot be less than two crore of rupees, and it is said that he actually accumulates from one to two lacks per week.

All other parties, his lordship says, must be satisfied with this arrangement as well as his highness. The British have attained an additional revenue and a secure payment. The ryots are shielded from the oppressive plundering of the aumils, and instead of being at the mercy of every robber, enjoy the protection of British laws. So conscious are they of these advantages, that the very land rated to the nawab at a crore and thirty-five lacks, has been let at a crore and eighty lacks.

The zemindar indeed, says his lordship, that intermediate personage, who from a tenant, from the fanciful generosity of the British, has been promoted into a landholder, may perhaps complain at not being now able to rob the traveller, or oppress the ryot under him ; nay, he is now compelled to pay his rent, or submit to have his mud fortress levelled to

the ground. These, however they may be by him individually felt as evils, are nevertheless, our author observes, blessings to the large mass of the population, which has ever been the consequence of the British government in India.

July 26.—A double set of tents is considered as necessary for the rainy season. These tents are carried on hackerys*, covered with a thatch of reeds, each drawn by four bullocks, with proper servants to pitch and take them down; these form a separate department. Lord Valentia had also from his excellency two additional houdah elephants, and another to carry their baggage.

Our traveller's escort consisted of a company of the 10th native regiment, commanded by a young officer of the name of Webb; twenty horse were to meet his lordship at Canouge: his travelling establishment consisted of 287 persons.

After an early dinner, and taking a friendly leave of colonel Scott, his lordship having passed through several half deserted villages, at length arrived at their tents at Futtu Ghur, which appears, our traveller observes, as if it had been built as an ornamental approach to Lucknow, to which a large avenue extends from it: it is tolerably populous, and built upon the same plan.

July 27.—His lordship received two of the promised tents, and two of Almas' sepoys.

The extensive power of this eunuch, as aumil of nearly half the province of Oude, lord Valentia thinks a strong collateral justification of the demand of territory from the nawab vizier, as the British forces employed in defending Oude were, when in the field, dependent on his caprice for provisions. Here the country, as usual, was sandy, flat, and ill cultivated; the villages wretched and small, till they passed Mobaun, where there is a stone bridge over the mul-lah. They then passed through the village of Leotnee, (village of thieves) properly so called, his lordship says, from the thefts committed on travellers by the natives.

July 28.—Our travellers reached Meah Gunge, the capital of Almas' district, built by himself: the outer wall is of mud, and encloses several large mango topes and spots of cultivated ground: the inner wall is brick, of no great height, with brick towers also at small distances. There are holes in the parapet for musketry.

The street is wide; and lined with trees; the gates strong

* A kind of cart.

and handsome: it seems populous, and in a thriving condition, forming a complete contrast to the wretched villages our travellers had hitherto met with.

After dinner our travellers rode into the town, and visited Almas' house, which is neat and capacious, and the three serais: the park of artillery is here, his lordship says, in excellent order: there are forty pieces, some of large calibre, with ammunition waggons and bullocks in abundance.

The vicinity of the town is well cultivated, and our author says, it must be observed to the credit of Almas, that though he was the most rigid and extortioning amil, his people were nevertheless the most prosperous of the vizier's subjects, and his troops the best disciplined.

July 29.—Our travellers passed through Assewan, a village now in ruins, and deserted for Meah Gunge, than which it is more pleasantly situated. They encamped three miles beyond Tuheah.

July 30.—Our travellers arrived at Bangernow, which is pleasantly situated on a small eminence, surrounded with mango topes, and a nullah running close to it. This place has the appearance of having once been more considerable. Every town they had hitherto passed was built of brick, but the ruins were more extensive than the habitable parts.

Great numbers, lord Valentia states, emigrated from these provinces to become cultivators of ours, encouraged by the protection which they receive; and many others have constantly entered our armies, which could not be kept up, so difficult is recruiting in Bengal and Bahar, were it not for the supplies obtained from the vizier's dominions; a strong proof, his lordship observes, of the comfort the inhabitants of the East enjoy under the British government.

A servant and hircarra of Almas attended his lordship, providing him with all necessaries, until they came opposite the village of Manarow, which being the boundary of his power, he took leave.

July 31.—After occasionally passing baggage-carts of colonel Browne's detachment, which were lagging behind, our travellers at length arrived at the colonel's encampment.

The country his lordship thought more pleasing this last day, from mango topes and cultivation: the villages were also more numerous, but he saw no town until he arrived at Meeraunika Serai. This place derives its name from a fine serai, and the tomb of the founder erected in a garden on the opposite side of the road. It is twenty miles from Manarow.

August 1.—Twenty horse, with a native officer, were sent by general Lake to put themselves under lord Valentia's orders, as an escort.

The town of Canouge, our traveller remarks, has but a single street, and that of no great appearance. The Ganges is about two miles distant, but a canal has been cut, making a bend towards the town, which brings the holy water close to the citadel. This was the site of the ancient capital of Hindostan.

His lordship's first visit was to the tombs of two Mussulmaun saints, who lie in state under two mausoleums of equal size and architecture, on an elevation covered with trees. The terrace which surrounds it commands a pleasing view of the plain, covered with tombs and ruined temples, the nullah winding through it until it falls into the Ganges two miles lower down.

Mango topes and tamarind trees were plentifully scattered around; and amidst this scene of ruin, says his lordship, appears the tomb of a British officer who was here drowned.

They were joined by a Brahmin, who producing several certificates from Englishmen, of his attention as a guide, he was retained by his lordship in a similar capacity. On the inside of the tomb were several names and dates, with quotations not inapposite.

They next visited another tomb situate upon the most lofty point: this consisted of a quadrangle and mosque similar in miniature to that at Juanpore. Several pillars in the mosque are formed of two pieces taken from a more ancient building, the rude base of one of which being placed uppermost, serves as a capital.

Several little images were lying under the trees, but these were too much mutilated to be of any interest. In the centre is a well, now filled up, where, according to custom, it is said, and not improbably, that large sums of money used to be secreted. The citadel has nothing interesting: no building of any consequence remains, and the brick walls are rapidly mouldering into decay.

His lordship procured from the Brahmin a few of the coins which were found amongst the ruins: these were small and irregularly shaped, with Sanscrit characters, and had occasionally on one side the figure of a Hindoo deity.

August 3.—Lord Valentia and suite, mounted upon their elephants, and accompanied by their cavalry as an escort, proceeded to a small distance beyond Jelalabad; and the

foujar* of the village and country round waited upon his lordship with a nazursof five rupees : he was a most respectable looking old man, with a silver beard, and said to be eighty years of age. He left a hircarrah to provide for all their wants.

Partridges and a deer were brought for sale : the former were excellent, but the latter was too lean to be good.

August 4.—At six our travellers came to the Cale Nuddi, where they found the boats sent by the Company to convey them over. The town of Kodda Gunge on the opposite side has a good serai.

His lordship arrived by seven at Mr. Grant's, judge of the district.

August 9.—Imaud Hossein Khan, nawaub of Furrackabad, paid his lordship a visit. Being by no means rich, he came with very little parade. His lordship received him with all possible attention.

This young man, whose countenance, his lordship says, is by no means interesting, succeeded to the musnud when a child, in consequence of the murder of his father by his brother, a legitimate child by the present begum, who was herself implicated in the crime.

The nawaub of Oude, at this time lord paramount of the province, seized the parricide, who has ever since been kept prisoner at Lucknow. The guardianship of the young nawaub was entrusted to his uncle Kherrudinund Khan, who acted as regent, but who, from the deformity of his person, and the gross manner in which he defrauded his nephew, has acquired among the English the title of Richard the Third ; and was suspected of wishing to carry the resemblance still farther.

The prince is of a noble Patan family. On coming of age his income was very small : he paid a paishcush† to the nawaub vizier, of four lacks and a half, and after other outgoings, his nett receipt was reduced to 60,000 rupees per annum. His uncle, however, had during his regency, by grants, &c. secured to himself a much better income.

The paishcush having been ceded to the British with several provinces, by the nawaub vizier, this young man applied to Mr. Wellesley for protection against his uncle. This was granted ; the accounts were investigated, or rather supposed to have been so, by Mr. Mercer. The regent refunded about 1000 rupees instead of at least a lack, and paid in a balance of 30,000 more.

* Military officer.

† Tribute.

Furrackabad was in a most disorderly situation: murders were there so frequent, that the people dared not to venture out after sunset. Upon this representation by Mr. Wellesley, with a view to root out the multitude of robbers, who made this their place of rendezvous, after some hesitation the nawab proposed that we should take the country completely into our possession, allowing him 9000 rupees per month, leaving him some villages and lands, and giving pensions to some of his people. This was a loss to the Company of at least a lack of rupees per annum; but Mr. Wellesley considered the security of the trade of the river and the neighbouring provinces, of so much more comparative importance, that a treaty to this effect was signed on the 4th of June, 1802.

The most active measures have since been adopted to render the country secure: a police has been established, and although seventy persons were then in prison, to be tried for murder at the next circuit, not one crime of that sort, Lord Valentia observes, had been committed since the establishment there of our police.

His lordship here remarks, that he could prove with ease, that every part of India had reason to rejoice in coming under British controul; but he thinks the blessings to this province are incalculable. These advantages, he observes, are reciprocal from the increased revenue, and augmented value of lands.

August 10 — Lord Valentia returned the visit of the young nawab. His habitation is within the walls of the old fort; commanding a beautiful view of the Ganges, and the surrounding country. His present residence is wretched, but he has nearly finished a new one that commands the whole country.

His lordship also paid his compliments to the old begum, who is accused of living a very free life, and being rich, which, with suspicion of being accessory to her husband's death, adds little to the respectability of her character.

The town of Furrackabad is only ninety years old. The Patans, who are thorough soldiers, have built it at a distance from the river. The streets are wide, and Mr. Grant is raising them, and removing all nuisances; and our author thinks it will be a very handsome town.

The trade is already considerable, and the vicinity of the cantonments will ever render it flourishing. Mr. Grant has begun with the city, but means to extend the repairs of roads through the whole district, for which purpose there is an

allowance of one per cent. on the revenue. This is paid by the zemindars above the rent.

This was voluntarily done by them after having made their terms, in consequence of a proposal from Mr. Wellesley, who represented to them the advantage of the new over the old plan, which much resembled the corvee in France.

The zemindar was obliged to repair every road which passed through his district, while those who were but a few yards distant, and shared every advantage, paid nothing at all. This new arrangement extended through the whole of the ceded provinces, but owing to the neglect of officers, has unfortunately been established but in few.

In Furrackabad it is honourably managed by Messrs. Russel and Grant, and amounts to a little more than 10,000 rupees.

The original author of this plan was William Augustus Brook, the collector, judge, and magistrate of Shehabad. Lord Cornwallis confirmed his arrangement of the one per cent. from the zemindars. The Benares district, lord Valentia says, is so oppressed by the corvee, that the magistrate has been stopped at villages, and requested to take back the place and to repair the roads.

Formerly many fine walks were made by the king, with avenues, and wells, and serais, at proper distances. Trees were also planted at the sides by rich individuals, particularly in the vicinity of Benares. An Hindoo who digs a well, plants a tree, and begets a son, is sure to go to heaven. This opinion, combined with vanity, his lordship says, has produced many splendid works.

August 15.—Lord Valentia visited his excellency general Lake, in his camp, where he was received with the greatest politeness and cordiality. His lordship's tent was pitched upon a line with the general's.

The white tents formed a pleasing contrast with the dark trees in the back ground, and the colours in front greatly heightened the effect. The soldiers were retired to their tents: the elephants were strolling about, and the numerous army followers were out in every direction collecting forage.

The whole line, which had marched in divisions from Cawnpore, had now joined, and it consisted of about five thousand troops and twenty thousand followers. This, our traveller states, is the general proportion of an Indian army, and is one of the causes of the difficulty of their keeping together, from the prodigious quantity of provisions necessary for their maintenance.

The soldiers move about nine or ten miles a day; they march at three o'clock, and they reach the ground before the sun has any power. General Lake procured cots for the whole of the soldiers, who were before obliged to lie upon the ground, like the natives, which is an expence comparatively trifling with the health and preservation of life.

August 16.—Lord Valentia set off with the general at three o'clock: as the road was dark, they were preceded by the mussalchees (link-boys); the road was covered with carts, bullocks, and troops. An Indian army appears to differ from an European one only in being more confused. His lordship took leave of his excellency in the evening, who paid some very high compliments, and expressed his gratitude in the strongest terms, to lord Wellesley, who had vested in him an unlimited power of drawing from the different treasuries, and making treaties with the native princes, and to whom he considered himself as alone responsible.

August 20.—His lordship attended the nawab to take leave; he also paid a formal visit to the regent, which, from his character having been so detestable, his lordship would have declined, but that he wished to avoid the appearance of entering into any party disputes in India.

August 30.—Our traveller set off from Fatty Ghur, and arrived at the Cale Nuddi; they crossed without difficulty, and arrived at Jelalabad, a distance of twenty-four miles.

August 31.—His lordship was alarmed in the night by a violent motion in his bed, which was so forcible, as to make him jump up in it; this he supposed was occasioned by some animal underneath; nothing, however, was there, nor could his lordship account for it until morning, when the sepoy upon guard at his lordship's tent, said he had been thrown down by a motion of the earth, and almost every person had experienced the concussion; which must necessarily have proceeded from an earthquake.

The shock was felt from hence to Lucknow, where it appears, however, to have been most violent; having destroyed the greater part of the minarets, and cracked the Roman karderwasse, and the Imaumbarah. It cracked eight arched doorways of the building in the middle of Mr. Paul's garden, where Mr. Salt slept: at Allahabad it stopped the clock at seventeen minutes past one; the waters in the tanks overflowed with violence. It was impossible to trace the progress of the shock, as it was felt at the same moment at Meerun-ka-Serai, Lucknow, Allahabad, and Calcutta.

September 1.—His lordship arrived at Muckhunpore, the
VALENTIA.]

approach to which is pleasing : a small river skirts the base of the rising ground, upon which are the mosque and town, partly obscured by trees. The road, for the last mile, was lined with faquirs, begging.

Our travellers pitched their tent in a mango tope. A large black scorpion bit one of his lordship's bearers in the toe; his lordship applied the volatile alkali, and it was soon well.

The fair begins on the 17th day of the moon : the crowd was great, although two days before it. Whilst at dinner our travellers were amused by dancers on the slack and tight rope, and feats of strength and agility.

These, his lordship says, equalled every thing of the kind he had seen in Europe ; one boy evinced uncommon dexterity in balancing different things upon his head, whilst raised upon the summit of a bamboo that was kept in continual motion ; afterwards, a female conjuror exhibited with cups and balls, eggs, pieces of money, &c. precisely in the European fashion.

They were treated with the celebrated trick of planting the mango seed, producing a tree bearing good fruit, within half an hour : this trick was executed in a bungling manner.

Our travellers proceeded on their elephants for the rowzah, or tomb. They were received by a great number of priests at the door of the outer court, and conducted through three courts to the shrine.

In each of these courts were multitudes of faquirs, raving, dancing, and praying with the most frantic gestures ; this discord was increased by drums, shrill trumpets, and large brass basons beaten with hollow sticks.

His lordship was indebted to the exertions of some of the faquirs, for making his way through the crowd. The native servants took off their shoes. The tomb was placed in the centre of a large square building, with four windows of fret-work, through one of which there is an occasional aperture.

The tomb is of the usual size and shape, and covered with cloth of gold. His lordship afterwards visited the mosque, in front of which is a fountain and two prodigious boilers, where a constant miracle is performed ; for if holy rice be put into them they still continue empty : this his lordship did not see executed.

A fellow in the fair amused his lordship with snakes and a mangose, the latter of which killed three of the former, notwithstanding their twisting round him.

On reaching the tents, his lordship found many holy men in attendance, to whom he gave two gold mohurs, about which they wrangled abundantly: "at these fairs are assembled," says his lordship, "all the rascals in India."

September 2.—His lordship proceeded to Poonah. The crops were in a wretched state: the country they passed through was, as usual, a sand, but highly cultivated with mango topes in abundance. The roads were very bad after they got into the Etawah district, where the one per cent. had been taken off, and the old corvee re-established.

The crowd they met going to the fair, was for the first ten miles as great as in London streets; the scene amused his lordship much. Mussulmauns and Hindoos equally hastening to the religious festivity. Some of the richer females with their infants in hackerys; the men on horseback; the poorer women on foot; with their husbands frequently carrying two children in the bangys, slung across their shoulders. The faquirs with their beastly appearance and flags, almost stunned our travellers with their tom-toms. They were greeted with a blessing and chorus as they passed, and during the whole of the night the road was covered.

September 3 and 4.—His lordship passed through Chibbepore, and arrived at the bungalow of captain Salkeld, where he found Mr. Paul and Mr. Salt.

Cawnpore is the chief military station in the ceded provinces. Here are barracks for 400 artillery, two king's regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, three native cavalry, and 7000 native infantry. The boats used here for pleasure, are large and convenient, having several apartments, with venetian blinds on each side, to keep them cool. Three small ones were hired for his lordship, Mr. Paul, and Mr. Salt. Here were delivered up the tents and elephants to the person sent by the vizier to receive them.

September 5.—His lordship discharged all his servants which were hired at Lucknow, except two hircarrahs.

The nawaub vizier sent his lordship, by Mr. Paul, two very magnificent Persian dresses, such as he wore himself, with a sword and shield, with four female dresses, belonging, as he said, to his own wife. These were more elegant and richly-ornamented with gold and silver, than any thing his lordship had ever seen, and gave him an high idea of the elegance of the interior of a Mussulmaun's haram.

September 6.—Our author embarked in the pinnace which had been hired by Mr. Paul, rowed by twelve dandys; they made it their sitting room. The river was uncommonly low,

but the current was rapid; the water-fowl were in numbers on the edges of the shoals, and formed an excellent mark by which to guide the boats. Cawnpore, his lordship says, was the hottest place at which he had been.

They stopped at Mr. Quiro's, at Nudjufgar, formerly belonging to general Martin. This his lordship calls an Hindostanico European house, with small rooms fortified as usual by strong doors and shutters: being upon the banks of the Ganges, is its only recommendation.

The indigo works at this place are very considerable; the usual quantity is one thousand four hundred maunds*.

His lordship viewed the indigo works, but from the heat, he did not visit the gardens, or the plantation of roses, formed to supply the manufacture of attar; which was the finest in India.

In the evening, our travellers passed the town of Suragpore, pleasantly situated on the right bank of the river, with several Hindoo temples and gauts to the edge, for ablutions; some of which were in ruins, but others building. At seven they came to anchor a little below Bucksah.

September 7.—His lordship's mangy† got them on a sand-bank, as he had done several times the day before; but this was in a more alarming manner, the river driving them down a channel that was not generally used: this was a vexatious circumstance, as they did not pass close to Dalmow, on the eastern bank, which is covered with handsome pagodas, gauts, and an extensive citadel.

This was the birth-place of Tickétröy, to whose magnificence the inhabitants are indebted for the numerous buildings.

September 8.—His lordship was in sight of Curahs, on the summit of which was the old fort, now in ruins; a new one of brick is now building. His lordship landed at a gaut, and visited one of the largest pagodas, where was an image of Mahadee in the centre, and the bull looking at him.

Sezadpore is very populous, and has some handsome brick buildings. The Ganges was muddy and discoloured; the pits of sand alternately stretching out from each side, render the navigation circuitous and difficult. At six they arrived at Allahabad, where there are a few large brick buildings, but without ornament. At some distance is the fort, placed on a tongue of sand, on one side washed by the Jumna, the other nearly approaching the Ganges: this fort completely

* A Bengal maund is 180lbs.

† Steersman.

commands the navigation of the two rivers; here is also a palace, but from the roof being flat, it is not a striking object.

September 9.—His lordship and his party breakfasted with colonel Kyd, the commanding officer, at his house above the fort: this consists chiefly of an old mosque, the centre of which, with its dome, forms an excellent room; the sides are bed-chambers.

The fort, which is well defended by the old walls on the two fronts next the river, has three ravelins, two bastions, and an half bastion. The gateway is Grecian, and elegant; one buikling is converted into excellent apartments for the officers; another into barracks for the non-commissioned officers. In the angle is a square palace, where Shah Allum kept his women.

When the king used to reside here, the zenana was divided by walls, into twelve suits of apartments; these are now destroyed; but a covered way surrounding the inner palace is converted into store-rooms for artillery; the centre building, modernized, is formed into a magazine; the large outer building is on three sides a barrack for privates; the interior front is Grecian; the fourth is for stores; to the right again, on the bank of the Ganges, is a barrack for 200 artillery men; one powder magazine is finished, and will contain 1500 barrels.

These improvements have been executed in a very masterly manner, during a residence of five years, by colonel Kyd. They cost twelve lacks, which his lordship conceives money well laid out, as no native power can ever take it, and it would require a regular siege if assailed by an European army.

This is the grand depôt of our upper provinces, which, his lordship says, appear to be daily increasing in magnitude and importance.

In the centre of the fort is a Hindoo temple, in the interior square, and supported by pillars, the top of which is level with the ground. The lingam is in the centre, and at the western end is a dead forked tree; behind is a very narrow passage; which the Brahmin assured his lordship passed from hence to Delhi.

The temple is called by the Hindoos, *Patal Poree*, in which word some people affect to discover the ancient Pali-bothra. This place is, at all events, of very great antiquity, and one of the holy bathing places.

September 10.—Our travellers entered that remarkable reach, where the river runs N. W. nearly doubling back its former course; after the sharp turn to the right, the river resumes its northerly course for about four miles. The rocks extend to some distance, and render the navigation dangerous. A very high flood, his lordship thinks, would carry away the village, which would be a prodigious advantage to navigation, as he had not perceived a spot more dangerous.

September 11.—Our author and his party were opposite to Binde Baasnee, where daily offerings were made of fruits and sweetmeats to Cali, the black wife of Seva, instead of the bloody sacrifice of animals, and even of the human species, which undoubtedly existed in former times, and is enforced in the Vedas.

Soon afterwards they passed Merzapore, the greatest cotton mart on the Ganges; a town of considerable extent, consisting of handsome European houses. The approach to Chunar* is marked by a chain of hills parallel to the right bank of the river, which is covered by plantations and bungalows. The fort is situated on a rock, fortified in the Indian manner with walls and towers, one behind the other, and was once a place of considerable strength; but as the British frontier has been extended further north, Monghyr and Allahabad have successively superseded it as a military dépôt.

Here a sepoy made our travellers enter their names in a book, a ceremony, without which no boat is permitted to pass.

September 12.—Lord Valentia, after passing some lines and bungalows called *Little Calcutta*, and being in sight of Ramnaghur and Benares, arrived at Rajegaut, and accompanied by Mr. Neave, dined at sir Frederick Hamilton's, the paymaster; where he learnt, with pleasure, general Lake's success before Allyghur, the rapidity of whose movements had baffled all general Perron's plans, and prevented the whole of the Mahratta predatory troops from coming up and making their rapid incursions into the vizier's territory, where there were no troops to oppose them†.

* Chunar a Ghur, military station.

† The mischiefs resulting from large bodies of Mahratta horse, is illustrated in the instance of major de Fleury, who made an incursion with 6000, plundered Etaway, captured a detachment under Mr. Cuninghame, at Shekoabad, and compelled the retreat of colonel Vandeleur to Furruckabad.

September 16.—On the preceding days nothing remarkable occurred. They saw a green alligator. At Buxar our travellers were once more compelled to make a report of their names and business. A boat containing a petty rajah and his family was upset; an accident not unfrequent on the Ganges, and two dandys only were saved. They met many boats tracking up; four of them were drawn by 56 people, and they got on with much labour.

The native merchant boats are covered with a pent-house of thatch, most of them of several pieces bound together, but none of them with sufficient strength to resist so powerful a stream. The cotton boats and European merchant boats are better. Those of the villagers employed in fishing, are formed out of a single tree, like the canoes of the savages of America; they are about twenty feet long and three wide.

September 17.—Our travellers passed the Gogra, a large stream, but exciting no disturbance on the Ganges. They had a westerly wind for the last ten days, a circumstance unprecedented at the present season: the navigation is more circuitous than the river, occasioned by the spits of sand: they passed the Soane at some distance, beyond which, the river expanded into a magnificent arch, on one side of which was the noble habitation erected for the general commanding the station and the cantonments.

Beyond Dinapore is an excellent house, in the European style, belonging to the nawab vizier, where, before his elevation to the musnud, he frequently resided, and entertained the officers of the station in a very hospitable manner. From the rapidity of the current, our travellers made Banképoore by seven o'clock. The banks, his lordship observes, were picturesque, from the contrast between the palm-trees covering them in considerable profusion, with the European appearance of the mango and other forest trees in the upper provinces.

September 18.—The European houses extend from Banképoore to Patna; the buildings are of brick, old, and without any rich ornaments. His lordship observed but one solitary pagoda, and one or two indifferent mosques.

The Ganges here forms a reach, whose limits to the east were indiscernible. A boat came off from the custom-house with an officer, and a book, in which, for the third time, our travellers were compelled to inscribe their names.

September 19.—They passed Bar, a small village, and soon after came in sight of the Bahar hills.

September 20.—It blew a very heavy gale, and they were

driven on a sand-bank ; upon the gale ceasing, they got on to an island.

On the 21st, they reached Monghyr.

September 22.—His lordship visited the hot well of Seta-coon, situate in a plain, with rocks rising above it. The spring is considerable, and the air-bubbles rise in great quantities. Not having any thermometer, his lordship could not precisely ascertain the degree of heat, but it was too hot to let the hand remain in it. There are three cold springs on each side, at the distance of about twenty paces, in which his lordship's bearers, and other Hindoo servants bathed, and repeated prayers after the Brahmins : they then proceeded to the hot well, where they took up a little water in their hands, the Brahmin praying for some time. They threw it in again, and had a small quantity sprinkled on them, which they rubbed in most religiously, making at the same time their salaams.

His lordship's curiosity was soon gratified, and he hastened from the importunate begging of the faquirs to the boats. Here our travellers were drifted by the current against a lofty bank, a quantity of which they feared might fall into the boat, large masses falling close by ; from this, however, they were protected by the slope in the bank ; by six they arrived at the celebrated *faquir's rock* at Janguira.

September 23.—Our travellers arrived at the mouth of the nullah, which leads to Bhaugulpore. On the 24th, after a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, in which they held to the shore by ropes, they came to three islands in the river, covered with wood and large masses of rock, which formed an effectual barrier against the water ; the ground upon the right bank, beautifully undulated, and in many places covered with trees, amongst which were two English houses, in a situation, his lordship says, the most delightful he had ever seen in India ; beyond these was a range of small detached conical hills, covered to their very summits with jungle, and in the distance the blue hills of Bahar. The name of this place is Colgong, near which the Bhaugulpore nullah again joins the river, which about four coss lower makes a singular turn round a hill, covered with wood, and changes from a northerly to a due westerly course, some rocks protrude into the stream, on the furthest of which the Hindoo deities are carved in compartments.

September 25.—By great exertions, our travellers at length rounded the rocky headland of Pointee, and came to in a small bay. His lordship, accompanied by Mr. Salt, walked

upon an high hill, where a Mahomedan saint was buried and worshipped, who, according to tradition, about four hundred years ago took prisoner a petty rajah, and threw him into the Ganges in a large kedgerce pot.

His house and mosque are in ruins, but his tomb is in high preservation on the top of the hill, and commands a fine view of the river, with the hills of Terriagully, as far as Siceligully, where the river turns to the south. This is one of the invalid villages*.

September 26.—Our travellers were obliged to make the lee shore, and track. The river is here, his lordship observes, most dangerous, the sand-banks being scarcely under water: for the length of a mile they were in continual danger, suffered great fatigue and inconvenience; nor was there any village near from whence they could obtain provisions.

A large herd of cattle was feeding with their keepers near the place where our travellers came, and in consequence of their refusing to milk the cows for them until morning, his lordship's party exerted their authority, and imprisoned their chief in a boat, until he procured what milk they required, for which, however, a very handsome price was paid.

September 27.—The evils of this day, his lordship observes, far surpassed those of yesterday. They were driven on a desert shore, covered with a lofty grass jungle, through which the tigers had in two places made a road to the water. At five, however, they got round the rocky point of Terriagully, by hawling, and came safe in a small bay near one of the tannahs. Here his lordship gave a supper to all his attendants, amounting to upwards of one hundred, for eight rupees.

September 28.—The rapidity of the current soon carried our travellers round the point of Siceligully, where the river opens into an extent of three miles in width, and about ten fathoms in length. Here they were encountered by a more violent gale at east than they had yet experienced; the rain, however, soon after poured down in torrents, which, his lordships says, rendered this fresh water sea as smooth as glass, consequently they proceeded more pleasantly than for the last four days, when they first came in sight of these hills, which, his lordship says, are almost as difficult to pass at this season, as the Cape of Good Hope. Taking advantage

* Called by the natives, *Tannah*.

of a fine moon, they proceeded to Najumabal, performing a journey of fifteen coss.

September 29.—This day our travellers took their leave of the main stream of the Ganges, and entered a small branch called the Bogaretty, which forms with the Jellinghy an island, upon which stand Cosimbuzar and Moorshedabad.

Here, says his lordship, the river became gradually narrower and more rapid, a richer cultivation ornamenting its banks, whilst the numerous villages proved that they had changed a desert for a civilized country.

September 30.—They arrived at Jungepore, where his lordship found an hircarrah from Mr. Pattle, the judge at Moorshedabad, inviting his lordship to his house. As they approached Moorshedabad, the cocoa-nut trees again made their appearance in considerable abundance, and several handsome pagodas were embosomed in the groves.

This town extends for nearly five coss along each bank; but the buildings are generally bad, nor was the palace of the nawab worth notice.

The river was covered with boats, many of which used for pleasure resembled coffins, being painted black with bands and gilt ornaments. The numerous merchant vessels on each side, which nearly lined the shore, demonstrates, says his lordship, the flourishing trade of this Indian capital of Bengal. A boat came off from the custom-house, in which our travellers again inscribed their names: they then entered a nullah, which was formerly the bed of the river, but a peninsula has been cut through at a considerable expence, which has saved six miles of dangerous navigation. This, his lordship says, has the appearance of a lake formed by Browne (Capability Browne, we presume), with grass to the water's edge, smooth as if freshly mowed, covered with groves of mangoes, and leaving open lawns of the richest verdure.

October 1.—His lordship took up his abode at Mr. Pattle's, after having been twenty-four days on the Ganges, during which time they had made 400 coss. The river, however, was extremely low, and the rapidity of the current was consequently diminished.

October 2.—His lordship, who, on the preceding day, had sent and received the compliments of the nawab, and the munny begum, proceeded to breakfast with his highness.

They passed through a mass of buildings to a tolerably handsome flight of steps leading to a large apartment, divided by pillars, with a verandah overhanging the river. His

lordship was met by the nawaub, by whom he was embraced, and led to a seat on his right hand.

His lordship describes him as rather a handsome looking young man: he was plainly dressed in white muslin, with a rich string of emeralds round his neck, from the centre of which hung a very fine pearl, with four others at the end, of considerable magnitude.

His lordship understood him to be very reserved; he spoke but little, enquiring his lordship's age, where he had been, and when he meant to return home; but he paused a considerable time between each question. The old begum's confidential and head servant, Roy Moneck Chund, was presented to his lordship, who describes him as a very able man, who manages the old lady, whilst she in her turn also manages the nawaub.

Upon retiring, attar and paun was *presented**; the former his lordship declined, as a mark of inferiority he would not allow. Upon Mr. Pattle's explanation, however, he gave it his lordship to help himself. As poverty here would make presents inconvenient, it is not the custom to tender them.

From thence our travellers walked through heaps of rubbish and ruined gateways to the munny begum's†, where they were received by two fine boys, children of a man whom she adopted some time ago, when at mortal enmity with the nawaub.

By the Mahomedan law, his lordship observes, these children have all the rights of children legitimately descended.

The begum lives in a small garden of about an acre and an half, which out of respect to the memory of Meer Jaffier, she has not quitted since his death, (now upwards of 40 years). She conversed from behind a scarlet silk purdah, stretched across a very handsome room supported by pillars.

Her voice is loud and coarse, but occasionally tremulous; she confesses herself 68 years of age. Mr. Pattle, who had seen her, informed his lordship that she was very short and fat, with vulgar, large coarse features, and altogether one of the ugliest women he ever beheld: yet, his lordship observes, she had a good understanding, though her temper was exceedingly-violent.

* It is the custom in India, where the parties are of equal rank, that they should help themselves.

† This was the celebrated nautch girl of Mr. Burke.

She is known to be very rich, but it is not known who will inherit her property. The very mention of a will throws her into a violent passion. The boys above-mentioned are her legal heirs, but the nawaub is on the spot, and his lordship thinks, if not prevented by the British, he will probably seize the whole.

During their stay two minahs* were incessantly talking, at which the old lady appeared highly delighted, often praising their talents, and laughing at what they said: the intervals she filled up with her hookah.

From hence his lordship walked through another collection of ruins, to visit the grandmother of the present nawaub, where they were received by one of his brothers. Here their reception was the same as before: and after waiting about ten minutes, his lordship's last visit was paid to the nawaub's mother, who lived in a wretched habitation.

Here two of his illegitimate sons did the honours. His highness thinks it beneath him to marry any woman of this country, and the princes of the upper provinces are too well acquainted with his poverty to covet the connexion †.

October 3.—The nawaub had fixed upon this morning to return his lordship's visit. His lordship says his snwarry was very handsome and well arranged; his elephants and camels covered with scarlet, and bearing flags, with a long train of trumpeters, led-horses, dragoons, and a company of sepoy's preceded him. These were marshalled in different divisions, and went at a very slow pace.

Immediately before the nawaub was a state palanquin of the houdah shape, covered with crimson velvet and embroidery: in another of the same shape came the nawaub himself, but this was entirely cloth of gold, with pannels and doors of glass; the whole, his lordship said, had a more princely appearance than he had ever seen displayed even by the nawaub vizier.

His highness was dressed in white, the same emerald string round his neck, and he wore in his turban a serpaish‡, the centre stone of which was the largest emerald his lordship had ever seen, being an inch in height, and a full inch and an half in length; around it were flat diamonds of an handsome size, and upon it were engraved Persian characters.

The pearl string which fastened it was also very valuable;

* Minahs, mock birds of India.

† About a century ago Ali-verdi Khan, the founder of this family, was in the service of Mohammed Azim Shah, at Delhi.

‡ An ornament of jewels for the head.

he also wore a single diamond ring, which his lordship supposes to have been worth at least ten thousand pounds.

His lordship was sorry to learn that these jewels had only been taken out of pawn for the occasion; the people who had them in pledge were present to watch, and receive them again at his departure. His lordship met him at the bottom of the steps as he quitted his palanquin, and led him to the breakfast table.

At eleven he took his leave, after receiving paim and attar. No presents were given, he having tendered none to his lordship.

His lordship considers the conduct of the East India Company towards the descendants of Meer Jaffier to have been by no means generous. When in 1765, they first, by the grant of Shah Allum, became dewans of Bengal, the nawaub's allowance was fixed at fifty-three lacks of rupees. In 1770 they made his successor submit to a reduction of twenty-three lacks; and on the following year they ordered that 16 *lacks only* should be paid. His lordship however questions the authority of these reductions, and is inclined to suspect that the present nawaub has a legal right to recover the immense arrears that have with- in the last two and twenty years become due to his family.

The 16 lacks now distributed to the descendants of Meer Jaffier; his begums and faithful servants, leave only to the nawaub an allowance of 77,000 rupees per month, to defray the charges of his zenana, darbar, and guards, and 12,000 per month for his presents and private amusements: this latter sum would indeed, his lordship thinks, be sufficient, were he not saddled with debts, the interest of which eats up the whole, and leaves him in the greatest distress. His affairs, however, his lordship says, have been ordered to be investigated by the late governor-general, who was determined to liberate him from his embarrassments.

As soon as the nawaub's carriage was out of sight, his lordship proceeded in Mr. Pattle's to Burhampore, where they embarked, and at seven o'clock were at the distance of two coss from Plassey.

October 5.—Our traveller passed the mouth of the Jellinghy river, which is as large as the Cosimbuzar. A large Musulmaun college was for four hours in sight, and bearing at all points of the compass. A cut here of a single mile in length would save, his lordship says, several miles of navigation.

October 6.—His lordship reached Hoogly: he notified his approach to lord Wellesley at Barrackpore, and invited

himself to dine with his lordship. They dined in the sona-mooke, which was illuminated, as were several smaller boats that rowed round, with a band of music in one of them, and the men singing to the sound of the oars. This his lordship describes as a fairy scene.

As his lordship intended to take his departure the first opportunity for Columbo, he took leave of the governor-general, with the highest gratitude for the numerous kindnesses he had received during his residence in Bengal.

Oct. 7.—Our travellers proceeded to Chapelgaut, from whence they disembarked to proceed up the country. Mr. Graham's carriage conveyed his lordship to his house at Chouringee.

Calcutta, from its magnitude, and the magnificent European edifices which adorn it, his lordship thinks, is well worthy of being the seat of our Indian empire.

The citadel of Fort William, commenced immediately after the battle of Plassey by lord Clive, although a very fine work, his lordship thinks considerably too large for defence. The new government house, erected by lord Wellesley, is a noble structure, not unworthy of its destination; its architecture, nevertheless, he conceives not altogether faultless, and although the sums expended upon it have been thought extravagant by those, his lordship says, who transfer European ideas and European economy into Asia, yet these persons (to use his lordship's own words) ought to reflect, that India is a country of splendour, and extravagance of outward appearance: that the head of the mighty empire ought to conform himself to the prejudices of the country he rules over; and the British in particular, ought to emulate the splendid works of the princes of the house of Timour*, lest it should be supposed, continues his lordship, that we merit the reproach which our great rivals the French have ever cast upon us, of being alone influenced by a sordid mercantile spirit. In short, says his lordship, I wish India to be ruled from a *palace*, not from a *counting-house*; with the ideas of a *prince*, not with those of a *retail-dealer in muslins and indigo*!

On a line with the government-house is a range of excellent houses, chunamed and ornamented with verandabs. Chouringee, which is an entire village of palaces, runs at

* Timour Lench, improperly called Tamerlane. Vide sir Wm. Jones, and major Davy's Institutes of Timour.

right-angles to it at a considerable length, and the *tout ensemble*, his lordship says, is the finest view he ever beheld in any city.

The Black Town, the streets of which are narrow and dirty, the houses of two stories, sometimes brick, but generally mud and thatched, perfectly resembling the cabin of the poorest class in Ireland*, is completely a contrast to the splendid architecture of the former.

The population of Calcutta, his lordship estimates at 700,000. But what particularly attracted his notice, was the throng that filled these *streets* in an evening. The Strand in London exhibits nothing equal to it, being equally crowded in the centre as on the sides.

The Mabratta ditch, which was commenced in 1792, and intended to surround the whole of our territories, at that time not exceeding a circumference of seven miles, scarcely forms the boundary of this capital of our Eastern possessions†. The first fort which was erected here, and afterwards fell into the hands of Seraja-ud-Dowlah, is now used as a custom-house; and that spot, says his lordship, "which could then hold our trade, our military stores, and a great part of the inhabitants, is now too small for the convenience of our revenue officers."

The black-hole his lordship could not see, it being now a part of a godown, or warehouse, and filled with goods. A monument is erected facing the gate, to the memory of the persons who perished there, and records, his lordship says, the infamy of those who, by removing their ships from the vicinity of the fort, left so many brave men to the mercy of a madman.

The air of Calcutta is considerably affected by the closeness of the jungle which surrounds it. The natives have formed a complete belt, commencing near the town, planted with fruit trees, extending in every direction full four miles, and completely impervious to the air. Lord Wellesley has contributed much to the salubrity of the atmosphere, by cutting one or two wide roads through the middle. More improvements, lord Valentia thinks, ought to be made; the marshes should be drained, which would improve the roads, now very bad. That the place is less unhealthy, has

* See sir John Carr's *Stranger in Ireland*.

† This ditch was commenced to protect the inhabitants from the incursions of the Mahrattas, then ravaging the whole of Bengal, and besieging Ali-verdi Khan in his capital of Moorshedabad.

been attributed to clearing more of the jungles and filling up the tanks; but his lordship conceives this comparatively superior state of salubrity, is more to be attributed to an improved knowledge of the diseases of the country, and of the consequent precautions against them; the superior construction of the houses, and greater temperance in the use of spirituous liquors.

Consumptions are frequent amongst the ladies: this his lordship attributes to their exposing themselves in the verandahs, to the damp atmosphere, when heated with incessant dancing.

A quay has lately been formed in front of the custom-house, which promises to be a great improvement. His lordship answers the objections to this, on account of the expence and the insecurity in case of a north-wester, the latter of which would, his lordship says, be obviated if the plan of embankment, then in agitation, were carried the whole length of the town.

An extension of the custom-house will, his lordship says, soon become necessary, as from the vast extent of traffic, the delay is at present considerable.

The iron rails round the government-house being now finished, the space to be cleared, his lordship thinks, will have a noble effect, and the writers' buildings, newly repaired, form a good object from the end of the street that leads from the northern front.

The society of Calcutta, his lordship observes, is numerous and gay. The fêtes given by the governor-general are well conducted, frequent and splendid. The chief justice, the members of council, and sir Henry Russel, each open their houses once a week for the reception of those who have been once presented to them. Large dinner parties, consisting generally of thirty or forty, are also almost daily formed, and the convivial hospitality which prevails upon these occasions would, his lordship says, render them extremely pleasant, were they more limited; but a small and quiet party appears unknown in Calcutta.

The only place of amusement is a subscription assembly*: this seems unfashionable; there is, however, no other, and his lordship observes, as the fashionable world of Calcutta is so unfortunately divided into parties, no regular plan of public amusement could probably be established.

* Opened by Le Gallais, traiteur, in 1795.

Of the customs of the residents at this settlement, his lordship observes as follows, viz.

They usually rise early, to enjoy the cool air of the morning before sunrise. At twelve they take a hot meal, which they call *tiffin*. The dinner is between seven and eight. The viands are excellent, and served in great profusion, which, his lordship observes, is very accommodating to the birds and beasts of prey; for the lower order of Portuguese cannot consume the whole, and the prejudices of the native servants prevent them from touching any thing that is not cooked by their own cast.

To this is to be attributed the amazing flocks of crows and kites, which live together undisturbed, in amicable society, and almost cover the houses and gardens: in their profession of scavengers, his lordship observes, these birds are assisted in the day by the adjutant-bird, and at night by foxes, jackals, and hyænas from the adjacent jungles.

The wines chiefly drank are Madeira and claret; the former, which is excellent, during the meal; the latter, which, his lordship says, being medicated for the voyage*, is strong and of little flavour.

Most gentlemen have carriages adapted to the climate, and horses, the breed of which of late years is much improved, but the most usual mode of travelling is in palanquins. Driving out between sunset and dinner, is the universal custom. The mussalcheest† go out to meet their masters when it grows dark, and will run before them, his lordship says, at the rate of eight miles an hour.

The architecture of all the houses is Grecian, which, his lordship conceives, would be better substituted by Gothic, or Hindoo, as the pillars generally used in the verandahs require too great an elevation, to keep out the sun during those periods of the morning and evening when the heat is most excessive; and in the rainy season the wet beats in, and renders them totally useless.

The gentlemen used formerly, upon all occasions to dress in white jackets, but these are now laid aside for English clothes.

Although lord Wellesley upon his first arrival in this country, set his face against gambling of every species, yet at the end of November 1783, there were three days' races at

* This wine is, we believe, principally furnished by the house of Whitefoord and Co.

† Boys carrying lights.

a small distance from Calcutta*, at which large sums were lost by the inexperienced.

There are also, his lordship observes, a few steady gamblers, who make a considerable profit among the young servants of the Company. As these are marked characters, his lordship expresses his surprise that they should be suffered to remain.

His lordship considers the increase of half-cast children to be the most rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal. These are forming the first step to colonization, by creating a link between the English and the natives, and it may be apprehended that this tribe may hereafter become too powerful to be controuled. In every country where this intermediate cast has been permitted to rise, it has ultimately, his lordship observes, tended to the ruin of the country; and cites Spanish America and St. Domingo as examples to prove this fact.

Although not permitted to hold offices under the Company, children of the half-cast nevertheless officiate as clerks in every mercantile house, and many of them are annually sent to England to receive the benefit of an European education. With numbers on their side, close relationship with the natives, and less pusillanimity and indolence than would be natural, what, asks his lordship, may not be dreaded from them? and he proposes, as the only mode of stopping this evil, that every father of half-cast children should be compelled to send them to Europe, and prohibiting their return in any capacity whatever.

The expence which would thus attend upon children, would, his lordship says, certainly operate as a check upon zenanas; now but too common among the Europeans; and this regulation would no less benefit the country in a moral than a political view.

In recording the brighter part of the character of his Eastern countrymen, his lordship says he can truly affirm, that they are hospitable in the highest degree; that their generosity is unbounded: the hearts of the British in this country, his lordship observes, seem to expand with opulence, and every thing is done upon a princely scale; they consequently do not save half the money which would be the certain result of a narrower economy.

The beginning of a fortune, however, his lordship says,

* Chouringee.

once made, it rapidly accumulates, and in seven years, or less, a capital is doubled, so that 10,000 rupees given to a child at its birth, is, when it arrives at its majority, a comfortable independence.

The supreme court, his lordship observes, is held in deserved repute, and the business is conducted with due decorum. The chief interpreter has, however, been permitted to act as a police magistrate, in consequence of which, his lordship says, his deputy sometimes appears in cases which call aloud for his master.

With respect to religion, his lordship expresses his astonishment, that in the splendid city of Calcutta, the head of a mighty christian empire, there should be only *one church* of the establishment of the mother country, and that neither conspicuous for magnitude or ornament. It is also remarkable, his lordship observes, that in all British India, there is not one episcopal see, although that advantage has been granted to Canada. Yet from the remoteness of the country, and the peculiar temptations to which the freedom of manners exposes the clergy in India, there is no place, in his lordship's opinion, where episcopal superintendence can be more requisite.

His lordship here alludes to the recommendation by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, of an episcopal establishment upon a very large scale, with which his lordship perfectly coincides, and gives his ideas at large upon the situation, authority, and duties of a bishop in India, the substance of which is as follows:

The person destined for this sacred office, his lordship thinks, should devote himself to it *for life*—renouncing all ideas of returning to England, and indulging indolence on a pension. He should be free from the rage of proselyting—that he may prevent a recurrence of that violation of the prejudices of the Hindoos, practised by some of the missionaries. He should be invested with the full power of suspending or ordering home any of his delinquent clergy; and if any right of appeal against his sentence were thought advisable, it should be either to an archbishop, or to the king in council.

His lordship recommends the extension of the principle of perpetual residence to the clergy of India, but with an adequate stipend to live in a mode correspondent with their dignity, and to provide for their families.

A pension allowed to their widows, would, in his lord-

ship's opinion, be an additional inducement, and render a large salary less necessary.

From the character of the Hindoos, so accustomed to pomp and ceremony, episcopal worship should, his lordship observes, be maintained in the highest degree of splendour which our church allows.

With respect to the practice of proselyting, his lordship opposes the arguments founded on the success of the missionaries in Bengal, China, Japan, &c. by pointing out the difference between these countries and India. He also mentions the conversions made by Mahomedan sovereigns; the conversion of the christians at the island of St. Thome, the Jesuits, and other catholic missionaries, and infers the danger of attempting to convert the Hindoos from a religion to which they are so bigotedly attached, and which, his lordship says, is inseparably interwoven with their whole civil polity, while the danger of such attempts, if apparently favoured by the British government, is manifest and urgent.

His lordship strongly combats the opinion of Dr. Buchanan and other advocates for conversion, that if the Hindoos were christians, they would be better subjects; and observes, that he has no doubt, should this point be attained, the Hindoo, irrevocably bound as he is by the law of casts, would presently cease to be a subject altogether; and concludes some very judicious observations, by recommending that the cause of christianity should be left to its silent operation.

His lordship next adverts to the splendid institution established by lord Wellesley, for the education of the junior European servants of the Company; and regrets that so magnificent and useful a plan should have been abandoned, from motives more consistent, to use his lordship's own words, "with the little spirit of a retail dealer, than that liberal policy which ought to actuate the government of a powerful empire." His lordship descants at large on the importance of the education requisite, and observes, that the Company is bound by a sacred duty to provide for the welfare of its subjects, by an unremitting attention to the education of those servants, who will be appointed to employments that can only be safely entrusted to men of abilities, extensive information, and unsullied integrity.

His lordship here observes, that the adoption of a system likely to ensure to the inhabitants of so large a portion of India, an equitable dispensation of the laws, became absolutely necessary, and to effect so desirable a purpose, became

a principal object with the marquis Wellesley, whose penetrating and expanded genius appreciated justly, his lordship says, the importance of such a measure, and its tendency to promote the advantage and ultimate happiness of the individuals themselves, for the regulation of whose conduct and education he was solicitous to provide.

He saw, says his lordship, that our Indian possessions had gradually arisen from an insignificant trading settlement to a mighty empire, extending over vast tracts of country, abounding with inhabitants, and producing an annual revenue of *sixteen millions*, a circumstance, his lordship observes, which clearly pointed out the justice of appropriating a portion of so enormous a sum to the benefit of the dominions whence it was derived.

The marquis Wellesley, in establishing the college at Fort William, appears to have had two grand objects in view, viz. to watch over and improve the characters of the junior civil servants, and to afford them that peculiar education which could alone qualify them for discharging the complicated duties of their station.

In both these instances a necessary degree of controul became necessary, by subjecting them to the confinement of a public institution, and placing them under the authority of a provost, and such officers as it might be judged expedient to appoint.

The inadequacy of a more limited scheme, his lordship says, becomes manifest, from the small portion of lord Wellesley's plan that is still suffered to exist, which, though useful in facilitating the acquirement of the native languages, is certainly defective in preserving the young men from the many temptations and dangers by which they are assailed upon their first arrival in India, with the inexperience of school boys, and in full possession of a splendid income, in the expenditure of which they were absolutely uncontronled.

His lordship here enumerates the dissipation of these young men, who keep their horses, curricles, and frequently race-horses, which, with the extravagant parties and entertainments, involves them at an early period. These enormous expences frequently absorb the princely allowance which these writers enjoy from the moment of their arrival in India.

To support this profuse manner of living, they are frequently compelled to borrow large sums of money, at exorbitant interest, of the dewan, who perhaps deeply versed in all the mazes of oriental subtlety, plunges his master into

inextricable difficulties, and ultimately gets the sole management of his estate into his own hands.

The most effectual mode of preventing this evil, his lordship observes, was to place the young man in a situation where his conduct and expences would be subject to the inspection and controul of respectable persons, selected with due judgment, for that important office.

His lordship then adverts to the greater comparative facility with which a knowledge of oriental literature, and the customs and laws of the natives might be acquired in India, and points out, in a political point of view, how much this would have assisted the grand object of the judicious policy of England to prevent colonizations in all her Eastern settlements.

His lordship observes, that the funds which the marquis proposed to appropriate for this establishment were fully competent to any future demand; yet it appears by the official documents of the Court of Directors, that the dread of incurring expence, formed the principal and only reason for abolishing an institution, which, it was admitted, would, under other circumstances, have been thought deserving of the most serious consideration.

The college lately founded at Hertford, upon a similar plan, proves, his lordship says, the plan of lord Wellesley to have been correct; and however considerable the great talents and knowledge of the gentlemen employed to superintend it, it must still remain inefficient, from the difficulty of finding masters qualified to teach the different languages of the East, which a few months residence in India would sooner put within reach than several years in this country.

His lordship concludes these judicious remarks with observing, that upon viewing the comparative merits of the two plans of lord Wellesley and the East India Company, it is impossible for an unprejudiced person to avoid a suspicion, that no small proportion of jealousy of his lordship's administration, was combined with the dread of incurring expence, on the part of the Directors.

December 6.—Lord Valentia was compelled to take his passage in the *Olive*, captain Matthews, going with rice to Columbo. His lordship, with Mr. Salt and his English and Portuguese servants, embarked on board the *Charles* transport. They passed the remains of Fort Mornington, erected at the junction of the Rooppavam with the Hoogly. The eddy caused here, by the bend in this latter river, has formed the most dangerous sand in the passage to Calcutta,

called the James and Mary. The navigation from Sorgus to Calcutta, his lordship says, is perhaps the worst in the world; it is so changeable, that every dry season a regular survey is obliged to be made, and even this is not sufficient to prevent accidents, although the pilots are well paid and skilful.

December 7.—Our travellers arrived at Hedgerce, where they found the Olive waiting. Captain Matthews came on board, they set sail immediately, and at night anchored at Sorgus.

December 15.—After seven days brisk sailing they made the Chimney Hill in Ceylon, distant about nine leagues: a most fragrant smell was wafted to that distance, by the breeze that bore our voyagers rapidly along under the lee of the island.

The shore had a bold appearance; by twelve they were close in, having passed the smaller bassas, over which the sea was breaking with considerable violence.

December 16.—Stood off and on with light breezes, and about six came to anchor in six and an half fathoms; the rock, called the Great Elephant bears N. N. W. about four miles distance. The shore is here a gradual slope; there was a heavy swell from the south, which made the ship roll most violently: they nevertheless held till the morning, when they got under weigh, and stood slowly along the shore, which is flat towards the sea, with occasionally a prodigious rock rising out of the jungle.

They passed the great bassas on the *southern bay*; it was so calm that the rocks were visible above the water, and very little was breaking on them. Latitude $6^{\circ} 16'$ north.

December 17.—About ten in the morning they discovered the flag flying at the little fort of Hambangtotte, whence a boat came off from the commanding officer, asking the usual questions. The fort is prettily situated on a rock, and appears to have a bay close to it. Hitherto his lordship had not seen a single cocoa-nut, nor any thing that looked like Asia. Some fishermen came off in their boats, which were of so singular a construction, that his lordship found it impossible to describe them.

December 18.—There is some appearance of cultivation from Hambangtotte, and a beautiful green belt skirts the sea. The breeze carried them till evening towards Dundrahead, but still no villages were visible. They came to an anchor towards morning, and upon the fogs clearing away about seven, they discovered Point de Galle, distant four miles, backed by a chain of round topped hills, covered with

wood to their summits, and beyond these a still loftier range, with Adam's Peak rising to a sharp point. These formed a magnificent back ground, and appeared blue from the distance.

The boat came off for the usual information. The shore from the great bassas is bold with deep water till you reach Point de Galle, which is protected by a reef of tremendous rocks. Groves of cocoa-nut trees cover the beach to the water's edge. His lordship received an invitation from lieutenant-colonel Maddison to the government-house, whither he proceeded in a boat with Mr. Salt.

The landing-place is just below the gate of the fort, and perfectly protected from the swell. The batteries are very numerous, and completely command the approach to the water; these are in the old fashioned style, elevated on walls. Colonel Maddison escorted his lordship to his house through a steep and narrow street. The houses are Dutch-built, the rooms very large, and bricked; the walls thick, and the ceilings boarded.

The windows have the upper parts glazed, the lower are occasionally shut in by lattices.

The European society here is small, consisting of only three ladies, except the Dutch women, who still keep very much to themselves, which his lordship conceives to be principally owing to their poverty. Mr. North and those under him do all they can to conciliate them. The fort, which stands on a neck of land, and is nearly surrounded by the sea, is far too extensive. The land-locked part of the bason is small, but it secures a landing free from surf. The air is cooled by the sea-breeze, and colonel Maddison represents the place as tolerably healthy; but his lordship observes, that there must be a complete clearing of the belt between the mountains and the sea, before we can either reside in or even conquer it; otherwise, it will ever continue a grave for Europeans.

The Dutch, our traveller remarks, were well pleased with the insalubrity of the climate, and valued it as an additional protection, not valuing the lives of thousands. To this circumstance his lordship believes that Batavia owes its security to this moment.

December 19.—It rained heavily about four o'clock, the lightning towards night was extremely vivid, with tremendous crashes of thunder, which is here more alarming, as the magazine is built in a very insecure place, without any protection from lightning. There is no regular rainy season in this

place, but from its situation, at the extremity of the peninsula, it obtains a share of the rain of each coast, which falls at every part of the year in occasional storms. More rain however, falls in November and February than at any other time.

The bread-fruit tree here grows to the size of the chesnut, and is, his lordship says, altogether one of the most beautiful trees he had ever seen in Asia: its produce is sufficient to supply the whole country, and even when admiral Rainier was here with several men of war, he could distribute daily a fruit to each man.

Here were excellent yams, salading, and cucumbers; the fruits were bad mangoes, guavas, custard apples, cocoanuts, varieties of oranges, some of which were black on the outside, and others the true mandarin, shaddocks, and several small fruits, the names of which his lordship did not know.

The mutton was indifferent, not being fed by the Europeans; the beef and poultry are, however, excellent. At Galle there is a very neat manufacture of tortoiseshell.

December 20.—In this country there being no regular bearers at the different stages, a sufficient number for the whole of the journey are taken from the place of departure. His lordship brought with him his own palanquin and Mr. Salt's, and procured for his servant the loan of a doolie*.

They had fifty boys (bearers here so called) for the whole party. Their pay was one of their dollars and an half, or three shillings, to Rentotte, a distance of forty miles.

Colonel Maddison gave his lordship an escort of seven sepoys, and politely escorted his lordship as far as the first river. The road was very good for a gig (here called a bandy; all the way to the Gendra river it never quitted the sea shore. The surface of the ground, which was occasionally ascending and descending, was covered by the convolvulus capræ, with its large beautiful purple flowers. The jungle was loaded with creepers, amongst which the gloriosa superba, was at once the most common and the most splendid.

His lordship observed, occasionally, the cinnamon, and many other plants of which he had formerly seen specimens in Europe, but there were much more numerous, to which he was entirely a stranger. The whole vegetation is here in-

* A doolie is formed of bamboo, covered with painted cloth, very light, and from its swinging, is easier than a palanquin.

finitely more luxuriant than at Bengal, and, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope, forms the richest field for a botanist which his lordship had ever seen.

The bearers proceeded at the slow rate of two miles per hour. They arrived at the river before sun-set, where a boat was ready to take over the palanquins. This boat consisted of a platform thrown over three of their canoes fastened together. His lordship was, by Mr. North's directions, honoured with an awning of white cloth, and a chair covered with the same, a mark of distinction, his lordship says, reserved only for his excellency and the king of Candy.

The posts sustaining the awning, and the railing of the boat, were ornamented fancifully with the young leaves of the cocoa-nut split into pieces, the effect of which was pretty. The river was clear, and the bank to the water's edge covered with jungle. Our travellers proceeded in their palanquins to Hamblangodee; the view was broken occasionally by the most picturesque rocks, the vegetation was luxuriant as ever, and the sea constantly on the left.

As soon as it was dark they made torches of the dead branches, or rather leaves of the cocoa-nut, which burnt with brilliancy and rapidity, and when reflected by the closely interwoven roof of lofty cocoa-nut trees, had a very beautiful effect.

The head Cingalese of the district, in his dress of ceremony, came to meet his lordship. This dress was of blue silk or stuff, formed like an European coat, closed in front with silver buttons and frogs; over all was a silver sash, to which was suspended a silver hilted sword.

The hair is drawn close up, with a tortoiseshell comb to the back of the head, which has no covering, and a piece of coloured linen forms a substitute for breeches.

The head Cingalese paid his respects: a piece of white cloth was spread from the palanquin to the house, where the chairs were also covered with white, and a portico erected for the governor, was also newly ornamented with cocoa leaves.

After a storm of thunder and rain, his lordship pursued his way, which wound amongst rocks. The *barringtonia* here appeared in full bloom.

Our travellers passed a river covered with fishing boats, over a flat wooden bridge, and about twelve arrived at Rentotte, situated on the Aloo Gunga, where they found a breakfast of bread, butter, eggs, and fruit, prepared in the

portico of an house, built by the Dutch for the reception of travellers.

The moodeliar and the postmaster were in waiting to receive his lordship: the latter spoke a little English. Having passed this river in the same manner as the last, in turning more up into the country to avoid an headland, they found the hills more frequent and steep: towards night they entered an avenue of most magnificent jack trees, extending the whole way to Caltura.

As soon as it became dark, the torches were lighted and the boys quickened their pace, making a most singular noise. One man gave his lordship every title he could conceive: he was the lord Saib, burrah Saib, rajah Saib, acha lord Saib*, and many others which his lordship had never before heard.

After every proclamation of a title, the whole party gave a cry of approbation. Our travellers passed a temple of Buddah, erected for a festival given by a native to his cast. This was made of wood painted, square and very large, rising like a pyramid to a point. At the door stood the old priest, with his head uncovered, making his salaams. A procession of the natives was moving towards the door, with baskets of fruit, and the Dutch and other inhabitants were at their gates. The road was completely illuminated with torches, and the cry of the bearers, the crowd, and the splendour of the lights, his lordship says, rendered this a most enchanting fairy scene.

At the end of the town his lordship was received by captain Macdowal, who commanded there, with whom they dined: about eight our travellers again set off, attended by captain Macdowal, to the bank of the Caloo Gunga, which runs beneath the fort.

This is one of the four rivers that take their rise from Adam's peak. Caltura, his lordship understands to be one of the most beautiful places in the whole island; it being night, however, his lordship could only observe that the fort was on a hill; that the river was broader than any other they had passed, and that the trees on its banks were of a noble size.

December 22.—Our travellers arrived at a place where a road turns off to the cinnamon garden, which is no otherwise interesting than as being a jungle of cinnamon. They arrived at the governor's country lodge at St. Sebastian's,

* Good Lord, great Lord, great good Lord.

situate on a fresh-water lake, which nearly insulates the fort, of which there is a pleasing view.

The house is wretched, having formerly been a powder magazine. His lordship took up his residence in a place at a small distance.

Lord Valentia being obliged from indisposition to confine himself to the house, his excellency contrived every possible amusement. On Christmas day the whole of the natives of rank came to pay their respects: these he detained until his lordship appeared, when he presented each to him. They all made an attempt to prostrate themselves, and embrace his lordship's knees, but he raised them, and gave each an embrace.

The maha moodeliar, the highest native, was dressed in blue silk with gold chains and medals; most of them were in the same coloured dress, but a few only had honorary badges. The Moors were in their white robes with jewels in their ears. Several of the young Cingalese spoke English.

A Cingalese play was performed for our traveller's entertainment, of which he gives the following whimsical account.

First, was a dance of children striking together small pieces of wood, and making antic gestures; these were accompanied by a man playing upon a tom-tom, to the strokes of which the children kept time.

Next came a mask with horns, and other hideous accompaniments, which the maha moodeliar informed his lordship was the devil. Afterwards came two figures still more hideous, which were intended for the father and mother of his infernal majesty. These danced slowly, and sung to the same music, throwing out rosin, which they set fire to with their torches.

This, however, did not complete the family party; another figure came forward upon stilts, with a Dutch coat and a Venetian mask; but what this character had to do there, his lordship could not conjecture.

The rain here put a stop to the performances of the Cingalese, but the Malabars attempted one of theirs in the verandah. Our travellers, however, had only time to see a figure of a woman carrying her husband upon her back; the head of the woman, and the legs, thighs, and rump of the husband being artificial. This figure danced about till the water also came in, and put an end to the exhibition.

Two days afterwards this was again attempted, when the governor had unfortunately invited several ladies, whose fastidious delicacy affected to be so shocked at the apparently naked dress of the savages, that the dance was not permitted to be finished.

They were next amused with a masque of a hunting party of princes and princesses; a bear and stags made a part of this *dramatis personæ*, which his lordship says were not badly imitated. The rain however poured down in torrents, and drove away most of the spectators. Those few who staid, were again introduced to the double figure, but they were now in bed. This exhibition his lordship says was introduced as ludicrous, but by no means as indecent.

The governor gave a ball to the Dutch ladies, but they had taken such prodigious offence at a character given of them in a work published by an English officer, that they would not visit the governor.

His lordship observes, that every observation in this obnoxious publication has been copied from admiral Stavorinus's account of the women of Batavia, as nearly verbatim as the change of place would admit; that the publication of Stavorinus has great merit; and several officers who have visited the spice islands, assured his lordship that in every thing which relates to them, his work may be depended upon.

The dancing room was a large colonade, built merely of wood; thatched, with the sides open, and the roof supported by pillars, covered with the green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, so placed one above the other as completely to cover them.

The ceiling was covered with white cloth, under which was a fret-work of moss sustained by strings, which had a neat, beautiful effect, and was not unaptly termed by the natives the *jeweller's sorrow*, from the impossibility of art, his lordship says, to imitate so delicate a texture.

Although lamps were suspended the whole way, whilst others were placed amongst the trees, yet his lordship says it was not well lighted.

The following is lord Valentia's statement of the political state of Ceylon, than which nothing, he observes, can be more singular. The native prince in the capital of Candy, the centre of the island, has been cut off completely from all connection with other countries, by foreigners who have enclosed him in a ring in their settlements, which occupy the whole of the sea-coast, so that he has been reduced to

ask permission to bring over from the Malabar coast a wife of his own cast: which he is bound to do by the laws of his religion. The Europeans, on the other hand, confined to a narrow slip, have been denied access into the interior, and any other communication between these settlements on the different sides of the island, than that which is afforded by the sea, or the circuitous track round the shore.

Such a mode of division, his lordship observes, must necessarily occasion perpetual quarrels, consequently we find that the Portuguese, and their successors, the Dutch, were engaged in bloody and frequent hostilities with the natives, by whom they were considered as usurpers.

The Dutch, however, at length succeeded in obtaining a monopoly of the commerce of the island; but in 1765, in a war with the king of Candy, they were compelled by a treaty to leave that monarch upon his throne, although reduced to a state of vassalage.

Previously to this termination, in 1768, the government of Madras had sent Mr. Pybus on an embassy to the Candian king, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive; but the English and Dutch being then at peace, the only result, his lordship says, was a degree of discredit to the English government, for raising expectations which it had no means of fulfilling.

In the year 1782 a British force having obtained possession of the town and harbour of Trincomalée, the government of Madras deputed Mr. Hugh Boyd* on a second embassy to the court of Candy: this was upon the whole favourable. The recapture of the place, however, by the French, put an end to all farther proceedings.

When in the year 1796 the English had made themselves masters of the whole sea coast of Ceylon, after several embassies had passed between the parties, a treaty was drawn up and signed by the government of Madras, but which the king of Candy had refused to ratify. In 1798, upon the death of the king, Pelame Telawve, the chief adigaar, or prime minister, the representative of one of the noblest Cingalese families, had placed on the throne a son of the late king by a Cingalese mother, and since the king of Candy can only marry a Malabar, his own cast, consequently a bastard.

This young man had therefore no legal right to the crown, and the adigaar did not hesitate to avow, that he had merely placed him there with the intention of deposing him, and

* The supposed author of Junius.

restoring the Cingalese line whenever he found it convenient.

At the same time the adigaar was invested with the whole power of the government, being moreover *dessave** of the provinces of Jatenouven and Oodoono, which are the most populous in the island, and which with three others have the right of electing the king.

Immediately after this measure took place, the queen and all the kindred of the late king were thrown into prison, and the second adigaar, who would not concur in these nefarious transactions, was beheaded.

Mooto Sawmy, brother to the queen, with others of the royal race, who had found means to escape from confinement, took refuge in the English territory, and were placed under the superintendence of the British government, their persons being rendered secure, but no power was given them to disturb the Candian government.

Such was the state of affairs when the honourable Frederick North took the government of Ceylon in 1798; and his lordship proves, in detailing the negotiations, that instead of taking advantage of the disorders of that court for the aggrandisement of the British territory, it was his humane solicitude for preserving the life of the king, which brought upon him the enmity of the prime minister, and was the immediate cause of the war.

After some conferences between the adigaar, the maha moodeliar, and Mr. North, in all of which the adigaar attempted to vilify the king, and expressed his wish that the English would take possession of the Candian country, and place him (the adigaar) at the head of it, the adigaar requested Mr. Boyd might be sent to him.

This conference was accordingly held, when the adigaar informed Mr. Boyd, that the country had been inhabited by devils until the time of Seradin, who expelled them; that a regular succession of Cingalese monarchs followed for ages, but which for a long time had been interrupted by kings of the Malabar race, who had obtained possession of the throne of Candy: that the adigaar's brother, who was adigaar about nineteen years ago, had through his influence placed a king of that race upon the throne; and that he himself about two years since, in the midst of civil discord, had elevated the present monarch, although he had no legal pretensions, and was in fact illegitimate. The adigaar then observed, that

* Military governor.

the English had considerable possessions in Ceylon, and might if they chose, obtain possession of the whole Candian territory.

Mr. Boyd then repeated, that the governor would willingly take the king of Candia under his protection, if he could be induced to place himself and his country under it, and would admit an English garrison into his capital; but he would not permit a single soldier to enter the Candian territory, or give the adigaar any assistance whatever, unless the safety of the king's person and the continuance of his dignity, were stipulated as preliminaries to any agreement, and the king's express consent were obtained to the outline of any permanent arrangement for the future connection between the two governments.

The adigaar objected, that such an arrangement could not well take place under the reigning king, who did not possess the confidence of the nation.

To this Mr. Boyd urged the immutable resolution of the governor, not to assist in any undertaking which had in view any attack upon a prince who was not an aggressor, and had not injured the British nation.

The adigaar then said the king of Candy was not a friend to the English, and asked what would be the result, in case the Cingalese should make an irruption into the British territories? to which Mr. Boyd replied, that in such case, the English knew how to defend themselves.

In this conference, his lordship observes, the purpose of the adigaar was manifestly to feel his way, by throwing out suppositions, and putting questions; the last enquiry, however, is very remarkable, as it will tend to explain subsequent events.

Here several interviews took place between the adigaar, Mr. North, and Mr. Boyd, at one of which the adigaar boldly avowed his purpose of usurping the throne; and Mr. North said he should consider *him*, the adigaar, as responsible for the safety of the king's person, as well as for any disturbances that might take place.

At length a treaty was agreed upon to be drawn up for the king's signature: this was accordingly drawn up; and, with very little alteration, approved by the adigaar, who, at a conference on the 5th of March, refused, nevertheless, to sign a fair copy of such approved treaty, and pressed to know the consequences, should the king refuse his signature, although he said there was no doubt that the king would sign any treaty that he, the adigaar, pleased.

In March 1800, general Macdowal, attended only with a guard of sepoys and Malays, proceeded, as had been previously arranged, upon an embassy to Columbo. The adigaar kept his promise of presenting the general to the king; but when the articles of the treaty came to be discussed, those proposed by the ambassador were not acceded to by the Candian Court, which on its part offered others so very inadmissible, that the general demanded his audience of leave.

During two subsequent years, governor North made various overtures to the Candian Court, for agreeing upon terms of amity and alliance, which were either disdainfully rejected, or answered by counter proposals which were completely inadmissible.

On February the 3d, 1802, an embassy arrived at Columbo from the king, with the second adigaar, though only in his quality of dessave; making the usual complaints of the king, and demanding the cession of three small islands, which had been granted by the Dutch treaty, with the right of employing ten vessels in a free commerce. This being made the essential preliminary to a new treaty, the discussion was immediately broken off.

The first adigaar perceiving all his machinations ineffectual, determined upon his long meditated project of commencing hostilities, by aggression on the part of the Candians. Collections of armed men soon made their appearance upon the frontiers of the British territories; and in the month of April 1802, some inhabitants of Putalom, subjects of Great Britain, being in the Candian country upon a trading voyage, were forcibly despoiled of a quantity of areka or betel-nut, which they had purchased at a fair market.

The English government demanded satisfaction for this outrage, which, upon various frivolous pretences was denied, and in the mean time the hostile preparations of the Candian court became daily more conspicuous.

Such circumstances were deemed sufficient in compelling the Cingalese to yield that reparation to force, which they had denied to justice; and accordingly, in 1803 two divisions of the British army marched from the opposite ports of Columbo and Trincomalée, under general Macdowal and colonel Barbut, which formed a junction before the capital of Candy. The king and the chief adigaar fled with precipitation, after setting fire to the palace and the temples, whilst the British troops, without opposition, possessed themselves of the deserted capital.

Every attempt of general Macdowal to see the king was eluded, who, having forfeited all claim of protection from the British government, they placed upon the throne Mooto Sawmy, brother of the late queen, who, as has been before stated, had fled for protection to the English territory.

It has since appeared, his lordship says, that this prince was by no means a proper person for the occasion, having been convicted and punished by the late king for fraud. He remained a mere shadow of authority till the lamentable massacre of the British troops, by command of the adigaar; an event, the causes and circumstances of which, his lordship says, are still enveloped in doubt and mystery. That major Davy should be induced to capitulate to so weak a foe as the king of Candy, when supplies were on the road to join him; that he should surrender his arms contrary to the terms of capitulation, still more, that he should have delivered up Mooto Sawmy to his implacable enemy, who immediately put him to death, has impressed an indelible stain on the British character, and is, his lordship says, most unaccountable. We have, however, now purchased experience; and his lordship trusts that European troops will never again be permanently exposed to the fatal climate of the interior of Ceylon, which renders all superiority of valour and discipline unavailable.

This disastrous war has, however, had the effect of breaking the king's power in our territory, who had before a nominal undefined authority over the whole island, and the Dutch had submitted to be termed his door-keepers; this gave him consequence amongst his subjects, and two rebellions were excited by his influence; one in 1798 by the late king, and another in 1800 by the present. At this time, the king has not only lost all his influence over our districts, but his consequence is much diminished amongst his own subjects.

These and other considerations lead his lordship to conceive, that our possessions in Ceylon may yet be placed upon a more secure footing, and that we might even obtain a permanent superiority. His lordship thinks that the whole island might be subjected in a single campaign; that the well disciplined sepoys of the Company should be employed on the service; and a few well chosen fortified posts would secure the conquest.

The seat of government should, his lordship thinks, be transferred to Columbo. The natives might be gratified by being governed by one of their ancient lines of princes, who

might keep his court undet the superintendence of the British government. Such a change, his lordship says, would be really beneficial to the Cingalese, by putting an end to civil contests and competitions for the throne, and introducing the blessings of civilized government ; not to add the advantages arising from communications across the island, between ports and settlements on the opposite sides, and an improvement in the healthiness of the country, by clearing the forests and jungles.

Upon the question, whether Ceylon ought to be an independent government? Lord Valentia says, if the whole of India were to be new modelled, he should say not ; but after what has passed already, nobody can wish to see the Company's servants again introduced ; but were the crown to assume India, he thinks it more than probable a seat of government would be in Ceylon. Its central situation, its harbours, its produce, and the treasures which his lordship suspects are hid in the bowels of its lofty mountains, would render Ceylon one of our most valuable possessions.

Should this be the case, lord Valentia gives his reasons for removing the seat of government to Point de Galle ; and observes, that the three great points, Columbo, Galle, and Trincomalée, should be fortified, so as to resist any sudden attack. Jaffnapatam is of great importance, but nearer the continent is less liable to be attacked, and in such case, relief may be more easily obtained.

The Cingalese are divided into many casts, and subdivisions of casts : the first of these is that of the vellalas, or cultivators of the land ; from the two superior classes of which are chosen, the moodeliars and principal officers of government ; from the inferior, the lower officers, and lascaryns, or militia men.

The cast of fishermen is numerous and powerful ; but this occupation is also carried on by the Mahomedans. The other casts are distinguished by their several trades, which they follow exclusively ; thus, the barbers only shave, and the washermen only wash clothes. Upon a late quarrel between these two casts, the washermen remained unshaven, and the barbers in their foul clothes, till Mr. North made a peace between them.

The chalias, or cinnamon-peelers, are a very turbulent cast ; these are not originally from this island, but from their importance, obtained great privileges from the Dutch ; instead of these Mr. North gave them additional pay ; their lands were free from taxes, and their causes were decided by

their own chief, who was called *Captain Cinnamon*. This title was afterwards taken by Mr. North, who also is *ex officio* head of the vellalas, as the chief secretary is of the fishermen; the other casts have all native heads.

The higher casts, continues his lordship, are extremely jealous of their privileges, and severely punish those who usurp them: thus a man who ventured to have his house covered with tiles, not being entitled, had the house pulled down to the ground; and a poor tailor, whose love of finery led him to be married in a scarlet jacket, was nearly killed at the church door.

This privilege of casts extends to the dress of the females, many of whom are prohibited from covering their breasts, or wearing a petticoat below their knees. Vanity is here the predominant passion, consequently perpetual disputes arise from their attempting to dress above their condition.

The Malabars, who inhabit the northern parts of our settlement, are also divided into casts, but not similar to the Cingalese. Besides these, who are chiefly Christians in name, there are two numerous casts of Mahomedans: first, the Lebbies, or African merchants. These are active and industrious. Mr. North himself is their judge, having displaced a mufti from that office, who, like his brethren, took bribes. Secondly, the Malays, who may be subdivided into princes, soldiers, and robbers; although the latter appellation, his lordship says, may, with propriety, be extended to all of them. Of the princes, some are deposed sovereigns of Java, or the adjacent islands, or the peninsula of Malacca, whom the jealousy of the Dutch had banished hither, till it might be deemed expedient to reinstate them, and send hither their successors. Here are also the wives and children of such as have died during their banishment.

The soldiers are in British pay, and the Malays are excellent in that capacity; they form a counterpoise to the natives, with whom they are in no degree connected, and at the same time are not sufficiently numerous to excite alarm. During the Candian war their conduct was highly to their credit.

The Cingalese are a finer race of men than the Bengalese, and more elegant than the Rohillas or Rajahpouts; these have good calves to their legs, as they never sit in a crouching posture. The lower orders have their bodies naked to the hips; a large cloth folded round them, reaches below the knees, usually of a handsome pattern, or white with a border; a similar piece is occasionally thrown over the shoulders; a handkerchief covers the head.

The females cover the loins like the men : those casts to whom it is permitted, wear a white chemise that closes before, and extends to the hips ; others draw a piece of cloth tight just above the breasts, which they suffer to hang down ; their skin is nearly black ; and their hair, of which they are very proud, is long, black, and by no means coarse.

The vices of the Cingalese, his lordship says, appear to be the creation of their late masters the Dutch, under whom they had no choice but to be poor and idle, or to work for nothing. It is not, his lordship says, surprising that they should prefer the former : now, however, that their property is secured to them, they are becoming more industrious. Concubinage with a white is looked upon as no disgrace in a native female ; she is respected for the property she brings, and goes by his name amongst her own people ; she walks before her father or mother to church, and if a catholic, easily obtains absolution from a half-cast Portuguese priest, who, his lordship says, knows nothing of the religion beyond its ceremonies.

Loose manners are thus rendered prevalent through the influence of the Europeans.

A considerable part of the island having long been under the controul of the Portuguese and the Dutch, many of the inhabitants, externally at least, have conformed to the religion of their masters.

The Portuguese, with the zeal (intolerant, his lordship calls it) of the catholics, destroyed the temples of Boodh throughout their dominions, and substituting a mode of worship, which, from its splendour and parade, is well calculated to captivate the imagination, made proselytes of a great proportion of the people. The Dutch, however, proceeded upon the business with more deliberation, and held out as a bait, the profession of the protestant faith as a qualification for all public offices. They also established schools throughout the country, in which the youth were educated in Christian principles.

Their clergy, his lordship says, although only ten in number, nevertheless, were active, and these were assisted in their labours by the missionaries from Tranquebar. Thus Christianity spread widely, especially among the vellalas or noble class, and the protestant natives have been estimated at upwards of 24,000 men. The catholics are supposed to be still more numerous. Many of these, however, our author says, are only Christians nominally, who still retain a great reverence for paganism, and the doctrines of Boodh ;

and when removed from the inspection of government, they consult the priests with confidence, both as conjurors and physicians.

Upon the schools established by the Dutch, his lordship makes the following observation:—During their possession of this settlement, these schools were blended with the establishment, and became numerous and flourishing. Upon the conquest of Ceylon by the English, these schools were suffered to fall into decay. Mr. North re-established them, and at the same time abolished a tax upon native marriages, which had been supposed to promote concubinage. This gentleman raised the number of parochial schools to 170, exclusive of an academy at Columbo. The schoolmasters were bound to act also as notaries, so that the whole expence of this establishment, amounting to 4600*l.* was not to be set down to the account of education alone, but, even if it had, for the benefits derived, by improving the morals of the rising generation, enlightening them in the true religion, and attaching them to the British government, would have been cheaply purchased by such an expenditure. Calculations at home, his lordship says, were, however, very different. Mr. North received orders to limit the expenditure for schools to 1500*l.* per annum, from whence those in the country districts were necessarily given up. This economy, however, has not answered the intended purpose, as persons with salaries must be appointed for registering the estates, who might have served as schoolmasters.

It is surprising, his lordship observes, that whilst the pious zeal of some persons should have induced them to send missionaries for the conversion of the Hindoos, where nothing but mischief was likely to follow, they should entirely have overlooked Ceylon, where their exertions might have been successful. Mr. North found, in a tour round the coast, that paganism was in many parts regaining its lost ground, through the absence of clergymen; the number established by the Dutch, ought, his lordship thinks, to be augmented, as the reduction of the clergy has also been attended with another evil, that of concubinage among the protestants. In many instances no clergyman is to be found within an hundred miles, and the poor people are unable to proceed so far to get married. In another instance, however, his lordship says, the British have very properly deviated from the Dutch, by abolishing the law by them established*, in not permitting

* This was abolished by general Shears.

them to have a separate burying ground, and compelling them to pay exorbitant fees for permitting them to be buried with the protestants. The tax on their marriages also amounted to a prohibition. This order of people have therefore been considerable gainers by our conquest.

The administration of justice also under the Dutch, his lordship says, was equally ignorant and corrupt: their courts were composed of men without knowledge, without education, without character, and without controul. The practice was even worse than the theory. His lordship mentions one instance of the carelessness of the Dutch criminal jurisprudence, where a person condemned to the works for a very slight offence for one year, was, by mistake of the clerk, who was dead, changed to ten.

The Dutch records, his lordship observes, produce no information that can be relied upon. They have affected ignorance, and falsified the accounts to cover their peculations, and deceive their masters at home. They confounded free with domestic slaves, whereas the very nature of the services they were bound to perform clearly distinguished them; by the capitulation the slaves were left to their own masters; but Mr. North liberated many who were wrongfully enslaved, and none can now be exported or imported. A half-cast, by a black slave, is free; but actions lie for loss of the woman's service, several of which have been actually brought.

The Dutch also, with a view to prevent emigration, in case of death would not suffer the partition of estates. Mr. North, however, conceiving that giving a man a clear and undisputed title to his estate was the best mode of attaching him to his country, not only permitted the division, but appointed officers in each district for the registry of lands.

The Dutch also discouraged agriculture, thereby depopulating their territories, and distressing the natives; their sole object being cinnamon, and wishing to keep the island in entire dependence. Mr. North, on the contrary, made grants of lands to any applicant, on condition that, after five years occupancy, he should pay to the government one-tenth of the produce of dry grain, on high ground, and one-fourth on that which was low; by diminishing also the number of lascaryns, he obliged many to become cultivators for a subsistence.

The pensions also which had been granted by the Dutch to the landroosts, or persons who held high offices under the Dutch, were in the sweeping system of economy suspended. Afterwards, however, in the same degree, but in an ungra-

cious manner, this was superseded, by enabling the governor to grant pensions in his majesty's name; without these they must have absolutely perished for want of food. Their sense of change, now induces many of them to drink to excess, so that they will soon be extinct. Some of these, his lordship observes, were deeply implicated in the rebellion which succeeded the massacre.

With respect to the great staple article of the island, his lordship says, he has little more to add than what has been observed by other writers. The Dutch had several islands for its culture, of which that at Mabrandahn near Columbo is fifteen miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a ditch: with this the Dutch had permitted a considerable portion of private property to be mingled.

Mr. North has however formed other gardens near Negumbo, which will in time produce the whole investment, when the garden near Columbo may be appropriated to the culture of dry grain, as well as such other land as can be liberated, an object very desirable, the annual importation of rice alone for the consumption of the island being estimated at 50,000 bags. Opening the garden at Mabrandahn would, his lordship says, be a great relief in this respect, but still greater benefit would be derived from the success of a plan of Mr. North's to drain the Moobah Rajah Ville salt-marsh, between Columbo and Negumbo, and to keep out the salt water. Were this executed, a large tract of ten miles in length, and two in breadth, would become good rice ground, and would probably yield sufficient for the consumption of Columbo.

His lordship here observes, that it is a mistake to suppose the thinnest cinnamon to be the best; that from plants which grow luxuriantly in a favourable soil, with sufficient ventilation, is extremely thick, solid, and smooth, and its aromatic quality is much superior to that which is thinner.

His Lordship here observes, that it is manifestly a matter of great importance to clear a considerable portion of the island. But this should be done with caution. The hills ought not to be left bare, lest scarcity should ensue from want of rain. The valleys, and more especially the banks of the river, should be freed from the close brushwood. It is under the branches of these shrubs, says his lordship, which again throw out roots in every direction, that the fatal jungle fever is generated. The confined exhalation from the black vegetable mud, loaded with putrid effluvia of every description, completely impervious to the air, must acquire an highly

deleterious quality, affecting both the air and the water. The banks of the rivers were no sooner cleared in the isle of France, his lordship observes, than the rivers became wholesome. The cocoa-nut, which, when close planted appears to prevent the growth of underwood, might be employed to effect this purpose on the banks of rivers, and tall trees would preserve the ground crops from the sun and wind without stopping the circulation of the air. Fire cannot be employed to destroy the cover in Ceylon, the trees being never sufficiently dry.

His lordship pays very high compliments to the merit of Mr. North's administration, whose mild and conciliatory policy, he says, was essentially beneficial in reconciling the minds of the natives to the British government (to use his lordship's own words), after the monstrous conduct of those who governed the island when it was under the controul of the presidency of Madras.

The civil servants, his lordship says, who came down to this land of promise, were attended by a swarm of native debashes, who claiming the rank and titles of aumils, seemed to consider the land as given up to them to be devoured. It is hardly credible, says his lordship, to what a length they carried their extortions. The Dutch law was abrogated, and the Madras system introduced, which was more violent in its operation, more repugnant to the feelings of the Cingalese, more destructive of their usages, and more subversive of their property. One of these aumils, upon receiving the visits of the natives upon a station, presented to each a nutmeg, and on their departure sent to demand a sum of money from each, proportioned to his situation; at Baticaloe some of them imprisoned the vidaam, or native head man, for three years, because he would not pay them the sum demanded. The sole object was to accumulate money. Woods were impoverished, by cutting down all the beautiful species of timber, and a general and most oppressive tax was laid upon cocoa-trees. At length, says his lordship, even the patient Cingalese could bear no more, and the whole country burst forth into rebellion. One aumil paid for his crimes with his life, and so conscious was the government of his misdeeds, that no enquiry was ever instituted. Mr. Andrews, who held the supreme civil authority of commercial resident, and receiver general, cannot be acquitted, his lordship observes, of at least conniving at these enormities; and the affair of the pearl fishery during his government, in which double the boats were employed that the Company received

payment for, might authorize a still more unfavourable construction of his conduct.

Under the new and beneficent administration, however, of Mr. North, his lordship says, Ceylon soon wore a very different aspect; he drove at once from the coast the tribe of aumils and debashes, he restored the Dutch laws and regulations, modified by gradual improvements; and much to the credit of the East India Company, his lordship observes, they supported Mr. North in his measures, and confirmed all his acts. Instead of an exhausted treasury, the revenue rose nearly to the civil expenditure; the tanks, the neglect of which had caused a dreadful murrain among the cattle, were repaired, and the company of tank-builders acknowledged, as under the Dutch. The dykes, wharfs, warehouses, and canals, which had been nearly ruined by the neglect of the Company's officers, were put in repair. The system of paying the moodeliars and others by accommodesars or grants of free land, was abolished, and regular pay substituted, a measure which, whilst it caused an apparent increase of expenditure, has in reality been a saving by a more than proportionate increase in the value of land. It has gratified also the lower orders of people who held land by the tenure of service, by liberating them from the controul of the moodeliars; the latter were also conciliated, by obliging the European officers to treat them with respect in their several districts, and by an uniform attention to their prejudices and vanity.

The society of Columbo, his lordship observes, is sufficiently extensive for every purpose of comfort and amusement. The judges are paid higher than is even necessary, and the other efficient departments are filled by gentlemen, whose allowances are sufficient for every purpose of comfort.

At the head of the judicial department is sir Edmund Carrington, formerly a pupil of the late sir William Jones, in Asiatic Researches.

To Mr. Jonville, a Frenchman of very extensive information in botany, who is superintendant of the cinnamon garden, may be attributed the flourishing state of that article. He has also collected the most important information relative to the pearl fishery. Mr. Tolfrey, who occupies several posts, is a master of the Cingalese language, of which he is at present preparing a grammar.

If to these gentlemen be added the military, with their amiable and respectable commander, general Macdowal, the society of Ceylon, his lordship observes, must be con-

sidered as equal in respectability to that of any of the Company's presidencies.

The difficulty of procuring European articles for the table, is, his lordship says, very great in Ceylon ; the only luxury is fish, which is fine and abundant, but dear ; no splendour is attempted, but every thing is neat, and the reception is most hospitable. The hours are early ; his lordship was generally in bed by nine o'clock, and the refreshing sea breeze, says his lordship, procured a repose which is unknown in the sultry plains of Bengal.

General Macdowal has attempted to cultivate European vegetables, but without much success. He has procured many fruit trees from Bengal, which will be a valuable acquisition ; amongst these, are the loquat and lichi. With care and exertion, his lordship is of opinion that this island would produce every thing that could be wished : at present it produces nothing but what is indigenous.

The houses are in general large and cool, with verandahs the whole length of the front ; these are but one story high, and have no pretensions to elegance. All the houses in Colombo are built with their backs to the sea, and the Dutch kept off the sea air, which they ignorantly conceived *unwholesome*, as much as possible by walls.

The sea coasts of the southern part of the island are extremely healthy, the jungle fever having always been caught in the interior ; an exposure to the night dews is peculiarly deleterious : the summer is most unhealthy.

The principal medicine used is calomel, which conquers indeed the fever, but leaves the patient without sufficient strength to recover ; the stomach they say will not bear bark, but some have administered it successfully, with the addition of large doses of laudanum.

The leprosy is here by no means unfrequent. An hospital has been established for it, where the receipt given in the Asiatic Researches, has, says his lordship, been fairly tried, but without effect ; though the quantity of arsenic he believes has sometimes proved fatal : it was tried in every manner, and with every medicine which might be supposed to aid its operations.

The berri-berri, a species of dropsy that frequently destroys in a few days, is a disease, as far as his lordship could learn, peculiar to this island. At Galle and Colombo his lordship observed the elephantiasis. Mr. Christie is at the head of the medical staff ; the number of surgeons on the staff, his lordship thinks by no means equal to the wants of the island,

even were it more healthy. The garrisons are so small, and at such a distance, that a regiment requires at least four or five surgeons instead of two ; many garrisons are at thirty or forty miles distance from any medical aid ; there has been also great neglect at home, in sending out medical stores.

His lordship expresses his astonishment at the scantiness of the intelligence of Thunberg with respect to Ceylon, and censures him with having made several errors, particularly with respect to the bread-fruit tree, of which he enumerates a long list of dishes, when in fact, says his lordship, all these refer to the jack, a very different fruit, and upon which the natives generally subsist ; these are far superior to any his lordship tasted in India, and less disgusting to the smell. The bread-fruit tree is very little used by the natives, who have an opinion that it produces the leprosy.

The whole natural history of Ceylon, his lordship says, is very little known, yet to the botanist, or collector of natural history, no finer field is open. His lordship concludes his observations upon this island with observing, that " if the present unfortunate war should terminate in establishing the British empire over the whole island, travelling will become safe to places to which no European has been hitherto permitted to approach." The national liberality will, his lordship hopes, in such case open the door to every scientific traveller, and even induce the government to appoint some able man to investigate the whole island.

Lord Valentia's indisposition being considerably removed by the 10th of January, and arrangements having been made for his departure, his lordship and Mr. Salt, attended by his servant in a doolie, quitted Saint Sebastian's, guarded by the governor's lascaryns. The weather was pleasant and cool ; the road, which was tolerably wide, was completely shaded by cocoa-nuts, with frequent cottages, forming an entire village to the Betel-river, which is here of a considerable size.

Our travellers crossed the river in the usual mode. As they approached Giaile the country became more open. Several cinnamon gardens were formerly planted here, which were abandoned, and ordered to be sold in 1802. Our travellers passed Giaile, and reached Negumbo at four o'clock, a distance of only ten miles, and they commenced their journey at seven.

At Negumbo his lordship, with his excellency the governor, who had accompanied him, took up their abode at captain Blackwall's, an old fashioned large Dutch house,

like the rest his lordship had met with, situated close to a beautiful lake.

Facing this is the fort, which is merely a protection against the Cingalese, it having no defence but a mound of earth sloping equally on each side, on the top of which are some old cannon. This has every appearance, his lordship observes, of having been formerly close to the sea, from which it is at present some hundred yards distant. It is an universal opinion upon the island, which this circumstance seems very strongly to confirm, that the sea is rapidly losing ground on the western, and gaining on the eastern shore.

After dinner his lordship, upon preparing to enter his palanquin, found that his bearers and the head cooley had all run away, the former having been cheated by the latter; the next morning, however, several of them returned, and others were hired, and after dinner his lordship departed with a guard of sepoy, four lascarys, and his Cingalese servant. The sand was extremely heavy, and our travellers of course proceeded but slowly. As soon as it was dark they found the road illuminated by fires of cocoa-nut trees on each side, with torches of the same stuck in the sand, and others carried by women and children, who run from village to village opposite to the palanquins. The beauty of the scene was occasionally heightened, his lordship observes, by the dry grass catching fire from the torches, and the flame running along the ground. This road extended four miles to the Kaymale river, on the other side of which they were landed on a barren spit of sand, between the river and the sea, which, with the darkness, formed a more unpleasant contrast to the gay scenes they had left behind. After resting at Maville, they arrived at Chilow.

The fort here is the most trifling thing under that name his lordship ever beheld; it consists of a ditch in some parts three feet deep, with a rampart of earth sloping equally both ways, and about ten feet high, on the top of which is a row of hedge-stakes driven in close to each other, and in the front of this is a row of trees with their branches projecting outwards: without this latter addition, however, it stood a siege against 3000 Cingalese, commanded by the second adigaar, whilst Mr. Campbell, who then commanded, though a civil servant, had with him only sixty sepoy and Malays.

With this small force the Cingalese, who had carried their approaches very regularly, and at length brought their batteries so close that they conversed with the garrison, and

could see every thing within, yet never attempted to storm the place. Mr. Campbell having no shot, was obliged to use pice*, of which he had 6000 rix dollars in the place, and to manage his fire sparingly, as he was uncertain when he might be relieved; not a man, however, on Mr. Campbell's side was killed. His havildar told him there was no use in loading with ball, "put in powder enough (said he) and the noise will be sufficient to keep them off." Repeated, but effectual offers of reward were made for delivering up the garrison. At length captain Blackwall with 40 men came to his assistance by water from Negumbo, and the Candian army retreated with the utmost expedition.

The effect of the general defeat of the Candians in every point, has been, his lordship says, the desertion of numerous families of the natives, who have sought protection in the British provinces. These have proved themselves most firmly attached, and have communicated much valuable information.

His lordship visited the village and catholic church, which is neat and large: the padre, a half-cast Portuguese, had three districts under him, and his congregation amounted to 500: the high altar is ornamented with madonas and other images.

Mr. Campbell presented his lordship with a large Cingalese MS. written as usual on the leaves of the talapot, with an outside of wood handsomely painted in arabesque: he found this in a pagoda, and called it a bible: he informed his lordship that there were some very curious temples of Buddah at a small distance, which his lordship visited. The pagodas were surrounded by some very noble specimens of the piens *Bengalensis* and *caryota urens*; they were, however, much disappointed in finding the buildings were Malabar, dedicated to Mahadeo, with numerous brazen statues of Seeva, Vishnu, and the triad of figures. The Brahmins, who were miserably poor, were very thankful for a few dollars which his lordship gave them.

Our travellers passed several branches of the river, or salt lagoon, and at length landed on a barren spit of sand, on one side of which was the sea, and at the other a salt-water river. It forms a part of the singular island of Naveharre; this, his lordship says, has every appearance of having been formerly covered by the sea, which his lordship thinks ex-

* A small copper coin.

tended over the salt-water lagune, or eastern bank, where even now vegetation is only commencing.

Near this is the little town of Chilow, opposite to which Mr. North discovered a small pearl bank that yielded a little upon trial. Some very beautiful madrepores are found here. A little before night they arrived at Andapané, which is a solitary house built for the tappal* boys to remain at.

January 17.—The road was a perfect flat, intersected by salt marshes and rivulets; the tracks of elephants were frequent, as they had passed from the jungle to some fresh-water lakes. His lordship arrived at the fort of Putlam, where he was met by captain Purdon, who commands there; the fort is tolerably strong, but out of repair; but economy, his lordship observes, would not permit it to be put in condition, were it of more importance than it really is: it consists of 60 Malays and an European, and is however adequate to preserve the salt-pans.

The country still continues marshy and flat, consequently extremely unhealthy; the jungle fever is frequent; the late commandant, captain O'Connel, died of it, and the want of medical assistance, no surgeon being nearer than Kalpetty, on the extremity of the opposite island. Captain Purdon cured himself and several of his men of the fever by large doses of laudanum and bark, which he declares he has never known to fail. Major Beaver was also cured by a native medical man. The inhabitants here are Malabars.

January 18.—Lord Valentia having determined to coast it to Aripo, discharged all his bearers, and hired four boats and 36 men, at seven dollars eight anas per day.

The course of our travellers was north up the lagune, which is filled with islands mostly covered with wood, and no where so deep, but the man at the head could sound it with about six or seven feet of his bamboo.

From the appearance of the sand bank forming the outer boundary of the lagune, his lordship believes that this was formerly a part of the ocean: the lagune, he thinks, will probably be soon filled up, and the sea itself, by these gradual encroachments, may soon be removed to a still greater distance. Tradition speaks of very extensive tracts which have been carried away from the eastern part of the island, either by the monsoon or some violent concussion.

January 20.—Lord Valentia awoke just as they were quit-

* Boys that carry post letters between station and station.

ting the lagoon to enter the sea: the northern part of the island of Kurnardivo, which nearly joins the greater island, being a little astern, and the headland of Kubdrab Malle being before. This last is the point of direction for the diving boats as they return to Condotahi. The breeze carried our travellers round the high headland. Here were many huts of fishermen, who come annually from Columbo to fish; what they take they salt, and return with it at the end of the season. Alligators of all sizes were in great abundance. The fishing boats are built like those on the southern coast, but larger, and formed out of a single tree hollowed, with sides sewed on a foot high, and an out-rigger, to which ropes were attached; the sails were large, and the whole had a very pretty effect.

January 21.—Our traveller passed Condotahi, and was close to Aripo, opposite to which are the celebrated pearl banks, to superintend the fisheries of which Mr. North has erected a house at the expence of 4000*l.* sterling. This is a pretty piece of Doric architecture, the outside of which is covered with a brilliant white chunam, formed of burnt oyster shells, which his lordship says, answers better than any thing else.

January 22.—Lord Valentia entered the channel which separates the island of Manaar from Ceylon; they were two hours in reaching the fort, which was the strongest his lordship had seen since leaving Columbo. Mr. Deane, the judge, received his lordship upon landing, and conducted him to his house, where he had not only the usual misfortune of tom-toms and other dissonant music, but also the compliment of white cloth.

The island of Manaar, his lordship says, produces no grain, but has a great many cocoa-nut trees and palmyras, and fruit and vegetables are brought from Jaffnapatam. It is considered as extremely unhealthy.

January 23.—His lordship proceeded to the beach, with the same honours and cavalcade, viz. white cloth, tom-toms, bag-pipes, &c. They continued to go up the Manaar straits, with the N. E. monsoon against them. The channel continued winding; if it could be made straighter, his lordship says it would be a most valuable acquisition to the coasting trade; at present none but small vessels can pass.

January 24.—After running aground on the preceding day, our travellers arrived at Talmanaar, where they took up their residence for the day, under a fine hibiscus populeus, and procured excellent fowls, with eggs and milk: they pur-

chased also a cocoa-tree, which they cut down for the cabbage at top. A little child was the owner of the spot, and was sent to his lordship to receive the price. A more singular contrast, his lordship says, cannot exist, than between this extremity of the island of Ceylon and the southern, where they landed; it was a barren, dreary spot, and the habitation of only a few fishermen. Our travellers went on board the tappal, which sails from hence to Ramiseram.

January 25.—As they approached, the hills of Ramiseram and the lofty towers of the pagoda had a very fine effect. The chief of the pagoda, or Pandaram, surrounded by his Brahmins, nautch-girls, elephants, state palanquins, banners, tom-toms, &c. were waiting upon the beach to receive his lordship upon his landing, as were all the native officers of the Company, who pressed round to present their nazurs of limes and make their salaams. His lordship received the fruit as he moved on, and found one officer who spoke English; his name was Apoo Pilly, and he was supreme over the whole island, as aumildar of Panban, the capital.

A choultry had been cleaned and prepared for his lordship directly opposite to the landing place. A space was enclosed with white cloth in the front of it, an awning of the same was spread over, and the pillars supporting it had plantain trees stuck up against them, with flowers and fruit, which had a very handsome effect. A scarlet canopy was suspended in the centre, and under it a musnud raised about a foot from the ground.

Upon this his lordship seated himself, with the Pandaram upon his right hand, whom his lordship describes as a very fat and fine looking young lad of about fourteen years of age; his head was shaved all over; on the top he wore a large chaplet of red coral and brown beads, with gold and scarlet silk tassels hanging down behind; he had also a necklace of the same. His dress was of scarlet cloth, scarcely covering his breast and shoulders. He did not embrace in the Asiatic style, but presented his hand to his lordship in the English fashion. When seated, he first presented a nazur of fifteen pagodas, which his lordship touched and declined; afterwards were laid at his lordship's feet a tray of shawls and gold gauze, together with a profusion of fine fruit. His lordship retired after the usual presents of the nazur of pagodas, tray of shawls, fruit, &c.

Mr. Salt and his lordship paid a visit to the pagoda. They passed through a village which had been decorated for the

occasion, with great plantain trees stuck at each door, and strings of leaves suspended across the street.

The houses were uniform, one story high, with verandahs in front, the space underneath being raised about two feet from the ground, and painted in red and white stripes. The entrance to the pagoda was through a lofty gateway, which his lordship supposes to have been 100 feet high, covered to the summit with carved work. It was pyramidically oblong, and terminated in a species of sarcophagus. The door, which was about forty feet high, was composed of single stones placed perpendicularly, with others transversely. This massive workmanship reminded his lordship of the ruins of Egyptian architecture.

Our travellers next entered a cloister, that led through a triple row of pillars to a square cloistered all round. The inside was in part concealed by walls, and within were the sacred temples. The pillars were three deep, and had carved figures of the deities in front. The square seemed to be about 600 feet in size. This, his lordship says, was well executed, and was the finest piece of architecture he had seen in the East.

The young Pandaram, attended by his Brahmins, objected to his lordship passing so far as to be parallel to the holy of holies. A lofty wall surrounds the whole of the building.

Passing along the outside, our travellers went to the south, where was the entrance to the temples. In the centre was a small one dedicated to Mahadeo; on the right was a very large one, unfinished, dedicated to Rama Swamee; and on the left a smaller, complete, where his wife Seta resided. The front was ornamented with red painting, and innumerable figures of different deities: before Mahadeo's was a tomb. The whole, his lordship says, had a very magnificent appearance.

In Seta's temple are two anti-rooms; our travellers were permitted to approach the entrance of the second, and from thence to view the holy of holies; but the mysterious gloom, his lordship says, by no means sufficiently dissipated by the lamps to enable him to distinguish accurately, as the temple retired a considerable distance back. His lordship says he could, however, perceive a brazen pillar ending in a vane of three cross bars, and surmounted by a bird. The goddess was beyond apparently richly dressed.

No one is permitted to enter the innermost temples, not even the Pandaram himself; this privilege is permitted to none but the attendant Brahmins, who reside in the town, and have their share of the offerings.

Rama's temple, his lordship observes, is within like that of his wife, except that a large brazen lengam is in front of him, where the pillar stood in the other. The deities were raised only a foot from the ground, which was the reason that they were not perceptible.

A variety of statues, painted red and black, and others plain, were placed in the entrance temples. The architecture, his lordship says, was altogether handsome. The carriages, on which the gods were occasionally borne, were made of wood ornamented with carving: these are placed without the door, and are drawn along by men.

His lordship next paid a visit to the Pandaram at his own habitation, where he was presented with fruit, and wreaths of the *jasminum sambac*, which were put round his lordship's neck and arms: many compliments passed on both sides, and his lordship was not a little amused with their requesting protection for their deity.

The following are the particulars relative to the constitution of the place, which his lordship obtained from the aumildar.

The island belongs to the Rannie of Ramnad, under whom the priests hold a part, for which they pay only 1200 pagodas per annum, having a profit of at least five thousand. They also pay no duties, and have several other privileges both here and in Ceylon. The concourse of pilgrims is very great and profitable, each paying according to his rank. The rajah of Tanjore was expected, but was deterred from the expence, as his presents and other expences would amount to 60,000 pagodas.

No water is used by the Deity but what is brought by the faquirs all the way from the Ganges: this is poured over him every morning, and then sold to the devout, which brings in a considerable addition to the revenue. The greater part of the income of the faquirs is appropriated to the Pandaram and his relations, who for about seventy years have possessed the supreme power. The name of the boy who now reigns is Ramnada: he succeeded his uncle, and as he is not permitted to marry, he will in his turn be succeeded by his nearest male relation. As they are very rich, although they plead poverty, his lordship thinks they should be obliged to finish the temple, which he says is really a national ornament. The pillars, his lordship conceives, are nearly two thousand.

Mr. Salt had an opportunity of seeing the gods carried in state to be bathed in the sea, at the extreme point of the island, which is considered as most holy. This, his lord-

ship says, was much farther off formerly, but the sea makes continual encroachments.

The great Rama embarked from this spot to drive Rawan and his evil spirits from Ceylon: from hence arises the holiness of the place. The images were covered with jewels, and the heads, which were of gold, were alone visible. The elephant on which they rode was richly adorned: few of the chief Brahmins attended, nor was the crowd very great. Upon their stopping to shew them to Mr. Salt, the aumildar, although of the Hindoo religion, observed to him, "a pretty way this to get money out of people's pockets."

In the evening his lordship set off in his palanquin, attended by the aumildar of Panban and the naig of the deloyets* on horseback, and reached Panban. The road was paved the whole way, a distance of nine miles. Nearly at every hundred yards was a choultry†, and its attendant Brahmins, who were all regularly drawn out to make their salaams and to present their fruits and flowers. Here his lordship was entertained by the aumildar with a nautch.

The ferry where his lordship embarked, he says, is about a mile in width. This and the one at Manaar are the only passages of communication between the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, without going round Ceylon; neither is passable unless by small vessels. Two passages directly face each other: great caution becomes therefore requisite on steering between them. Our travellers were guided by lights on shore to the landing place, where the Rannie's people were ready to receive them with a profusion of fruits, &c. The night was warmer than his lordship had been accustomed to. The sands were very heavy, the country dreary, and the salt-marshes frequent.

His lordship arrived at the house of colonel Martinz, who commands the fort, which was commenced by the Rannie's ancestors, but never completed. The palace is adjoining, a gloomy edifice, his lordship says, with lofty walls, but no windows on the outside. There is a large tank within the fort, on the banks of which are an old pagoda, the tomb of the late husband of the Rannie, and a protestant church. Here also are barracks and a black town. The walls, which

* The naig is an inferior native officer, and the deloyets are privates, who act only for civil purposes. A naig and ten deloyets were sent to his lordship by Mr. Latham, the judge, from Ramnad.

† A building for the reception of travellers, generally built of stone.

are of massive stone, are handsome, with loop holes at the top, but no cannon mounted.

January 27.—His lordship, attended by his party, went to visit the Rannie: the buildings of the palace were of stone; the walls were covered with carvings of deities and statues of them, in small niches at every corner. After several windings our travellers passed through a wide court to a building of massive stone, with pillars of the same, and steps of the same to ascend it. In it was a misund, with a carpet, and a little on one side were chairs of white cloth.

The Rannie met his lordship at the bottom of the steps, and presented her right hand; she then introduced him to her adopted son, a little boy of about seven years of age. She was very plainly dressed, her husband not having been dead a year, and till the expiration of that year she can wear no jewels. From her waist downwards she wore a drapery of white muslin, with a gold border, which was wrapped so loosely round her, that it partly shewed her skin: the ends of this projected forwards, with one of which she frequently covered her mouth and the lower part of her face. Her head was uncovered, her hair long and rather grey; she wore very large and heavy gold ear-rings that stretched her ears to an hideous length, and touched her shoulders. She was in person rather tall, extremely thin, with black teeth and a wide mouth, and her age was about forty.

She was by no means handsome, nevertheless she was a princess, and brought this country to her husband in marriage. Her brother formerly held this country; but force was always necessary to make him pay his kists or tribute, to evade which he was in the habits of hiding his money in pots in the earth: tired of his evasions, he was attacked by the Madras government and deposed, and has since remained a prisoner at Madras. Not having any issue, terms were made with his sister, who pays to the Company 90,000 pagodas per annum, being two-thirds of the clear revenue; the remaining 45,000, which by different means she makes up to 50,000, is more than adequate to maintain her in splendour. She is rich, and has many jewels: the little boy was covered with them, the brilliants in his bracelets are said to be part of the plunder of Seringapatam. He had also a chain of emeralds and rubies, and a string of large pearls.

The old lady's designation in Rannie, Sudoopuddy, Munglasoovary, Nalchiar. The first is a title; the second denotes her power over Ramiseram, of which she is paramount; the third is her name; the fourth marks her as eldest daughter.

She presented his lordship with a pair of shawls, put a wreath of flowers round his neck, and sprinkled rose water on his hands and handkerchief. She then went to the door, where she shook hands with his lordship and they parted.

January 28.—His lordship found upon the road another pagoda, similar in its form to that at Ramiseram. This building at its entrance was handsome and pyramidal. The first temple was built of large stones, and supported by pillars, covered with carved deities; it contained a brazen pillar which passed through the roof, and was surmounted by a peacock; before it was a lingam of black stone.

The second temple, his lordship says, they would not suffer them to enter, but by the dim light of the lamps he could distinguish that a chain of temples ran a great distance backwards, gradually lowering and narrowing, till they terminated in a small temple, with a cupola, under which was the deity. There were a few steps to each division, but no communication with the open air. The priest made an offering of rice, bent down, and frequently rang a little bell.

January 29.—His lordship reached Chadoobabah, from whence upon departing they quitted the sea shore, which now makes a rapid turn to the east, till it terminates in Point Callamere. The whole country, his lordship says, was in high cultivation, the paddy fields were in consequence scarcely passable. At small distances were pagodas and choultries; in the front of the former were several gigantic figures, formed of bricks, and covered over with chunam, of richly ornamented horses. These were mixed with lofty banyans and fruit trees, which enlivened the tameness of a flat country scenery. Our travellers passed through Puttacottah, and arrived at captain Blackburn's house in Tanjore, a distance from Ramnad of 120 miles, in forty-eight hours.

His lordship received a present of fruit from the rajah, with compliments, congratulations, &c. and the following morning was appointed for paying him a visit, and it was settled that they should visit as equals.

Serfugee, the present rajah, is the adopted son of Tuljagee, who died in 1786. Tuljagee not having complied with the regulations which the Hindoo law requires to render an adoption valid*, the East India Company set aside the claims

* By the Hindoo law, the following are the three requisites to render an adoption valid: first, the person to be adopted must be an infant; secondly, he

of Serfugee, and placed on the musnud, Amerring, the brother of the rajah.

The revenue of Tanjore was part of the security which the English received from the nawaub of the Carnatic to pay their subsidy, and the rajah was bound by treaty not to mortgage it to any one. He nevertheless did mortgage it, and the original mortgage deed was obtained by the resident, and sent to lord Hobart at Madras, who wished to remove the rajah; but in this he was most strenuously opposed by sir Jolin Shore, who would not even permit the decision to be delayed until a reference could be made to England.

The mismanagement of Amerring, who still continued to govern the country, became at last so conspicuous, that it was deemed necessary to propose to him a treaty, by which he was to give up to the British the civil and military government of Tanjore. With this he refused to comply. In the mean time the young rajah had been carefully educated, first at Madras, and afterwards under that respectable Danish missionary, Mr. Schwarby. It was naturally wished by the India government, that he had been acknowledged rajah in preference to his uncle, and conceiving that some doubts might still exist upon the subject of the adoption, the whole business was referred to the Pundels, who decided that the title of the child to the musnud was not vitiated. Amerring was in consequence immediately deposed, with an allowance of 25,000 pagodas and a country palace, where he resided under protection of his nephew, with whom he continued upon friendly terms till his death in 1802.

Serfugee, in 1799, executed the treaty which had been proposed to his uncle, giving up the management of the country to the British, reserving to himself several palaces, the Tranquebar tribute of 2000 pagodas, a clear allowance of one lack of pagodas, and one-fifth of the overplus revenue, after all expences, military and civil, amounting to two lacks more, shall be paid. Thus, his lordship says, he is in fact more affluent than any of his predecessors.

This arrangement has been, his lordship observes, equally advantageous to the rajah and the Company, as the produce of the land has been greater, and the revenue had rapidly increased.

No part of India, his lordship observes, has gained more

must be taken from the family of the nearest relation; and thirdly, the consent of the immediate heir must be obtained.

by coming under the British government than Tanjore, for in former times no country suffered so much from hostility.

The rajah, his lordship says, speaks the English language with fluency and propriety, and as a man of sense, has been thoroughly attached to our government, from the respectful and conciliatory conduct preserved towards him.

There is no part of India, our traveller remarks, where the Hindoo religion preserves so much power and splendour as on the coast of Coromandel. In almost every village is a pagoda, where a great number of Brahmins are maintained. The great roads leading to these holy places are lined with choultries, for the accommodation of the pilgrims. The Brahmins are here the principal landholders; they also hold extensive free land. The deposition of the late rajah, and the elevation of the present, his lordship observes, have shewn that the Brahmins may be brought to sanction any wish of the British government; through them therefore the natives may with safety be ruled, and their very prejudices rendered assistant in securing our government.

Lord Valentia breakfasted with major Martinz at the small fort, which is a mile round, strong, and in good repair. Within this fort is the celebrated pagoda, the chief building of which, his lordship says, is the finest specimen of architecture in India. The rajah wished his lordship not to request to enter it. He went to the door to view the bull of black granite. This is said to be one of the finest specimens of the ancient arts in India.

His lordship was received by the rajah with the usual salutes. The palace is an old building, with several lofty towers, surrounded by a high wall. The moment his lordship came in sight, the rajah arose from the musnud, and met him at the door of the durbar, shook hands, and paid his compliments in very good English.

He was dressed in the Mahratta fashion, with few jewels, but a bunch of handsome pearls hung over his turban. The room was not large, but very cool, and every thing was handsome and in good repair. His manners are excellent, and his countenance expresses good nature. He has two wives, but hitherto without heirs; should he continue so, his lordship thinks the children of his deposed uncle will probably succeed him. He has given, his lordship says, the strongest proofs of his attachment to the British, particularly upon the breaking out of the Polygar war.

The rajah offered to shew his lordship some part of the palace, and conducted him to a very large room up stairs,

where he generally lived; this was carpeted, and had English chairs. Opposite to each other were four book-cases, filled chiefly with English books, amongst which his lordship was not a little pleased at finding his grandfather lord Lyttelton's history of Henry II. One side of the room opened to a verandah; the opposite side was covered with portraits of the Tanjore princes of the Mahratta dynasty; down in succession from its founder Sevagee.

The pictures were in handsome gilt frames, painted on canvass by a native artist. Several musical instruments, in some degree resembling a guittar, were hung against the wall, richly ornamented with diamonds and pearls. The rajah made one of his people play several tunes, amongst which was, "God save the King," and "Marlbrook." In one corner stood an English pedal harp, the rajah's favourite instrument. Although it is beneath the rajah's dignity to be supposed to understand music, he nevertheless composes tunes, and is training an English band. The upper part of the walls was covered with carved deities: the staircases are as bad as in Bengal.

His lordship was next conducted to the drawing-room, covered with prints and pictures of every possible description. This was furnished with English chairs and tables, and on the latter were all the implements of drawing, which is a favourite amusement.

After placing round his lordship's neck and wrists green and yellow flowers profusely wet with rose water, and putting a string of pearls round his neck, our traveller visited his public durbar for administering justice; adjoining to which was his workshop, where his lordship saw a whimsical carriage, with six wheels, the body of which was octagonal, with windows all round: the wood-work was richly carved and gilt, and in the front was an organ which played as the wheels went round; before this is a clock, with a machine to mark the distance he travels.

The next apartment was the durbar of the native Gentoo princes, far exceeding in size and magnificence that erected by their Mahratta conquerors: the pillars were of black stone, massive and lofty: the roof was of vast masses of the same: the musnud, which was raised in the centre, was 16 feet by 18; and two foot thick, of one single piece of black granite, like the bull in the pagoda. But the first prince of this dynasty having died a few days after he was seated upon it, it was abandoned by his successors as unfortunate.

February 1.—The rajah returned his lordship's visit. He

was on horseback, dressed as yesterday, and attended by his cavalry and other troops, at the head of which was his general, who was distinguished by wearing a steel glove, which reached up to his elbow, similar to the ancient armour. His suwarry was more numerous than splendid, his chief mark of dignity being a white umbrella, which in this country gives a particular title of honour. Tondiman wished for one, but the government only sent him two silver sticks. His horses were very fine, and his servants very neat: he had several red flags, and his courtiers had perpendicular shades that kept off the sun; others had coloured umbrellas: his band also and tom-toms were with him. He sat near an hour with his lordship, and on his departure received exactly the same presents he had given the day before.

His lordship expresses his surprise that a man educated among Christians; with an excellent understanding, should be a slave to the Hindoo superstition; yet the Brahmins have not apparently a stricter follower than the rajah, who is at the same time indulgent to the Danish missionaries, and extends his protection to the catholics.

His lordship here speaks of the very favourable character which had been given to the gentlemen of the Danish mission, who live at perfect peace with the heathens around them: their schools are here allowed by the rajah, and one of them has been continued at his highness's own expence. "Is it possible, (says his lordship) that more than this can be done to give Christianity a fair chance in India? Yet how few (says he) have been converted."

His lordship received a vakeel from Tondiman, offering to come to Tanjore and pay his compliments in person: this, however, his lordship politely declined.

Tondiman is an hereditary title; his subjects are Polygars, and since the late war, which terminated in the destruction of the Murdoos of Shevagunga, he is become the chief of those tribes, amongst whom the singular law prevails, of the female inheriting the sovereignty in preference to the male.

The young Rannie may marry whom she pleases, and during her life her husband is rajah, but on her death her daughter immediately succeeds. The Polygars, who in 1755 were considered as a wild uncivilized race, are now brave and active, and treated with justice and liberality, which, his lordship is sorry to observe, has not always been the case: they are as peaceable neighbours as any others.

His lordship details the proceedings which led to the Polygar war, as a melancholy proof of this, in the attempt to

arrest the elder of the Pandalamcourchy rajahs*: after granting a safe conduct, contrary to all faith, an attempt was made to arrest him, when irritated by this treachery, one of his attendants stabbed the officer to the heart, and then escaped with his master. The government of Madras, upon investigating the matter, wisely published a declaration of amnesty to all concerned; but the Pandalamcourchy chiefs still continued such an enmity to the British, that they would not come in with their tribute, and hostilities were soon commenced.

The brothers were too weak to resist; the eldest was taken and executed; the younger, being deaf and dumb, was confined in a British fort, from whence, however, he escaped, and fled to his own, which he defended against major Macaulay with 800 men, repulsing him in an attempt to storm; upon being reinforced, however, by major Agnew, the fort was reduced, and the young rajah, covered with wounds, was left amongst the dead; he was, however, conveyed away in the night by his friends, and carefully concealed, after which he fled to the Murdoos, acting chiefs of Shevagunga.

The chiefs of Shevagunga could bring into the field 2000 men with armed muskets, matchlocks, and spears; they applied to Tondiman, under a threat of destroying his country, to join them; this he nevertheless refused, and joined colonel Innes with 3000 men, giving up at the same time Terocmiam, his only strong fort, as a military depôt; he also rendered a very important service in reducing the Murdoos to become quiet subjects.

The united rajahs, however, defended themselves for five months, in their fort of Caharcoil, until at last the British, by superiority of numbers and discipline, carried it by storm. The Murdoos, who had escaped into a jungle, were hunted out and hanged, the one at the age of fifty-five, the other at sixty. The Pandalamcourchy rajah fled to Pilney, where he was also taken and executed. His lordship thinks, in consideration of the insults his family received from the resident, the Madras government should have consulted their own honour in sparing his life.

The conduct of Tondiman, his lordship says, has been so friendly, that they determined to requite him, and a perseverance in the system of conciliation, which his lordship

* These were young men ruling over a tribe of Polygars of no great consequence.

says, has been so wisely adopted by captain Blackburn, will, he doubts not, attach the Polygars to the British.

February 2.—His lordship arrived in Comboconum, the ancient capital of Tanjore: this is at present principally inhabited by Brahmins; the habitations were neat, new houses were building, and the old ones not going to decay, which his lordship cites as proofs of a thriving district. Some of the pagodas and tanks were very fine; but he notices it as a singular circumstance, that almost invariably the outer gateway of the former is of dimensions superior to the temple itself.

At nine our travellers reached Cutallum, a small village distant fourteen miles: the country was extremely rich and highly cultivated: at four they arrived at Wydenathgoody, a very large and flourishing open town, and from the handsome suwarry of the Brahmins, his lordship should suppose a rich pagoda.

His lordship arrived at Mr. Campbell's bungalow near Chelumbrum, by whom he was conducted to visit the celebrated pagodas of Chelumbrum, which were illuminated, the Brahmins having received notice of his lordship's visit. The masses of deep gloom, partially relieved by the torches, had here a very solemn effect; the gateway at which our travellers entered had been recently repaired by a devout widow, at the enormous expence of 40,000 pagodas. The side pieces of the gateway were each of stone, and forty feet high, and ornamented with carving; the whole of the architecture, his lordship says, had here a more ancient appearance than that of Tanjore or Ramiseram. A portico of one hundred fluted pillars, in some parts three, in others, five feet deep, was building opposite to the entrance: the roof was not yet laid on.

Our travellers proceeded in a winding direction, to the entrance of the next holy temple: a building more ancient, and the style more pure, than others which surround it: even the artist, his lordship says, had displayed a more just attempt at proper action than was to be found in any of the rest. The building was so well lighted up, that, removing the torches, his lordship could see the inside better than by day: the deity was decorated with a profusion of gold and jewels. Our travellers were only permitted to approach the door of the anti-room; in this was a brazen pillar reaching above the roof: without was an immense lingam of black stone, elevated on a lofty square pedestal of many steps, over which was a canopy supported by pillars, having no pedes-

tals. There was another small temple of the same architecture, and the carved figures had equal merit.

Here his lordship observed, for the first time, a smaller circular pillar of black stone protruded in front of the larger, similar to some of the Gothic cathedrals in England, which had a beautiful effect: in this temple were many inscriptions in an unknown character.

This, his lordship says, is a most holy pagoda, and is supposed to be rich. Tippoo during the war got possession of it, and very much annoyed our troops. The walls are very thick and lofty.

February 3.—His lordship arrived at Cuddalore. The factory house is a chaste piece of architecture, built by his lordship's relative, Diamond Pitt, when this was the chief station of the British on the Coromandel coast; this has a noble portico, and the terrace roof so pleased M. Lally, that he carried it away to Pondicherry.

February 4.—His lordship arrived at colonel St. John's, at Pondicherry.

February 5.—Colonel Keith gave a dinner at his country house, opposite the island, which the French meant to fortify. There was a dance in the evening, at which most of the French were present: the manners of the men, his lordship says, were very bad, but the females as usual excel in dancing.

February 6.—Mr. Salt set off on an unfrequented road to the left, among the hills; he first went to view and draw the seven pagodas. His lordship remained with his host, and his charming wife.

Pondicherry, his lordship says, the capital of the French when they held the larger part of the Carnatic, and once the most splendid city in the East, has never recovered its destruction in 1761. The French government confiding in the great force sent out under monsieur Lally, wantonly ordered that all the British forts which might fall into his hands, should be dismantled; and this was executed at Fort St. David's. The fate of war had rendered Pondicherry liable to retaliation; the fortifications were completely destroyed: this was extended by the Council of Madras to the buildings, public as well as private. The Jesuits' college, and some other public buildings, his lordship observes, still continue memorials of this resentment. The private houses, however, have been completely repaired; and Pondicherry, with the exception of Calcutta, his lordship says, is still the handsomest town that he has seen in India.

In the middle of the square, the pillars, and other ornaments of black stone, richly ornamented with carving, which had been removed from a sacred building by M. Duplin, when he assumed the rank of Soubah, and lived in all the pomp of an eastern prince, and probably intended for a durbar, now remain strewn on the ground; no unfit emblem, his lordship says, of the fallen power of France in this country.

From the conduct of Bonaparte, in sending out to a little territory of five miles of sea coast, with a population consisting of only 25,000 inhabitants, and a revenue of no more than 40,000 pagodas, so splendid an establishment as that under general de Caen, consisting of seven generals, a proportionable number of inferior officers, and 1400 regular troops, including a body-guard of eighty horse, with one hundred thousand pounds in specie), his lordship conceives that such an establishment was intended for a wider field than that of Pondicherry. The power of Perron, his lordship says, was then at its height; and had these been able to join their countrymen, and mature their project of increasing the number of sepoys, disciplined after the European manner, the result of a future war might have accomplished their wishes.

Fortunately, however, says his lordship, the capacious mind of marquis Wellesley saw the danger, which his promptitude instantly removed.

The French, his lordship says, from the moment of their first establishment, had violated the prejudices of the natives. Duplin had destroyed their temples, Lally had compelled them to work in the trenches, contrary to their cast, and the government had uniformly prohibited the residence of a single family that was not Christian, within its boundaries.

To this intolerant spirit, his lordship in a great degree attributes the decline of the French power, and the elevation of the British. The war, however, put an end to all the plans and hopes of Bonaparte. Admiral Linois, who had earlier intelligence than admiral Rainier, slipped his cables in the night, and with all the general officers, fled to the Isle of France, leaving behind 40 officers, and the whole of the civil servants, who had landed on his arrival; in consequence of which, the command devolved upon brigadier-general Binot, who signed the capitulation with colonel Money Penny and colonel Cullen, and they became prisoners of war.

His lordship says, it is difficult to account for the proceedings of the British officers at this capitulation; and details

some particulars of the impudence of Binot. The civil servants who remained were chiefly royalists, who had returned to France in consequence of the peace, but whom Bonaparte did not wish to continue there. The liberality of the Madras government has granted them annually 30,000 pagodas, a sum equal to their pay. Yet, notwithstanding this liberality, they detected some of them in carrying on a treacherous correspondence with general de Caen.

From the intercepted letters, it appeared that they rested their chief hopes upon Travancore, the only part of the sea coast which does not belong to the British, where they expected to land a body of forces without opposition, declaring themselves confident that the Polygars would immediately join them. In both these cases, his lordship thinks they would have been disappointed, for the Polygars are now perfectly reconciled to our government, and the rajah attached to us by the closest friendship.

The chief spy was seized, and sent to Madras.

The regular inhabitants of Pondicherry, from want of trade, his lordship says, have been reduced to the greatest distress, and nothing but the humanity of the British has prevented many of them from starving. Pondicherry, his lordship says, has no natural advantages as a commercial town, and has only been kept up by being the capital of the French in India.

Poverty has here prevented the proper education from having been given to the rising generation. The young men, his lordship observes, are more ignorant than could have been expected; and the accomplishment of the females is limited to dancing, and playing a few tunes; yet his lordship says, there is a vivacity of manner which is pleasing, and leads a person to overlook the insipidity of the pretty things which are uttered.

One merit, his lordship says, the French have here, as in Europe, which is that wonderful patience with which they bear adversity. "No one in the ball-room (his lordship observes), would suppose that the large proportion of the gay laughing objects that seemed all happiness, had frequently not a meal to return to."

The Carnatic will not for ages, his lordship says, recover the destructive ravages of Tippoo, and his allies, the French. The country was more full of jungle, with less population, and fewer pagodas.

His lordship arrived this day at Ladrass: the town is now in decay: here was formerly a fort. This, his lordship

says, was seized by Lally at the siege of Madras, in violation of the Dutch neutrality, and formed into a depôt for stores: it is now in ruins.

February 8.—His lordship visited the celebrated ruins of Mahazalepuram, which are generally called the seven pagodas; but why they should be so called, his lordship could not conjecture; the excavations and carvings, he says, are well worth the attention of travellers.

About eight in the evening, after fording a lake a mile wide, up to the waists of the bearers, his lordship arrived at the house of Mr. Petrie, at Madras.

February 11.—His lordship, with the governor, and general Wemyss, attended by the governor's body-guard, proceeded upon a visit to the nawaub. Upon entering the gardens of the Chepauk palace they found the guards drawn out, who presented arms, and fired a salute of nineteen guns for the governor: his lordship was embraced by the nawaub, who put to him several questions dictated by etiquette, as to his health, that of the royal family, &c. The dresses were not here presented in trays, but sent home to the habitations of the visitants. Our guests departed with the usual ceremonies of wreaths of flowers, paun, and attar. They were conducted to the steps by the nawaub, where, his lordship says, he repeated his compliments, and also said, "he was extremely proud to have entertained two lords at once."

The room used as a durbar is extremely handsome, large, and divided by pillars. The musnud and furniture are also handsome, and the prince of Wales's picture by Hoppner, adorned one side of the room: when finished, his lordship thinks it will be the finest durbar he has yet seen in India. His highness, his lordship says, is very fat and dark, without the least appearance of a prince in his manners: his son has an expression of fierceness in his countenance. The dresses of both were plain; the father had only his belt, to which no sword was attached, ornamented with diamonds, and his dagger elegantly set with brilliants and small rubies.

February 13.—Lord Valentia met a party at lord William Bentinck's, consisting of the principal officers and gentlemen of the settlement, invited expressly to meet him. The party was numerous, and the dinner splendid. They dined in the banquetting room built by lord Clive, and looked (his lordship says) like pigmies, as their heads did not reach to the top of the pediment.

February 14.—His lordship accompanied Mr. Chamier, the second member in council, to a ball at the Pantheon.

This was once a private house, but upon the ruin of the person who built it, it was purchased by a party of gentlemen for a place of amusement, for which, his lordship says, it is very well calculated, consisting of one very large room most beautifully chunamed.

To this has been added a theatre, where plays are occasionally performed. This, his lordship says, is a pretty building, and the scenery well painted; the back of the stage opens, and is connected by an anti-room to the ball-room. The room was full, but his lordship did not perceive that the Madras ladies excelled those of Calcutta.

The only novelty of the evening was the pan-pipes, of which the original one-armed Italian was the chief, who formerly paraded the streets in the fashionable part of the metropolis.

The nawaub having expressed his wish to pay his lordship a visit at the Government-house, he repaired thither to meet him. The conversation, his lordship says, was tedious and uninteresting. He understood that the nawaub was extremely fond of paying visits to the governor, and of mixing as much as possible with Europeans.

Whether the assumption of the country were or were not justifiable, his lordship says it appears perfectly clear, that it has not in the slightest degree mortified his highness, who appears perfectly satisfied with reigning in his palace at Chepauk, and receiving a much larger revenue than ever entered the coffers of his predecessors.

The society of Madras, his lordship says, although more limited than that of Calcutta, is equally respectable: the style of living is much the same, except that the table does not groan under an equal weight of viands. The wine is excellent, and the fish is better.

Madras, his lordship says, in its appearance differs widely from Calcutta, having no European town, with the exception of a few houses in the fort, which are chiefly used as warehouses. The gentlemen of the settlement live in what they very appropriately term their *garden houses*, which are all surrounded with gardens so closely planted, that the neighbouring house is scarcely visible.

Choultry Plain, once the scene of Tippoo's devastation, when he descended the Gauts at the head of a body of horse, and carried dismay to the walls of Fort St. George, is now covered, his lordship says, by these peaceful habitations, which have changed a barren sand into a beautiful scene of vegetation.

His lordship suspects, however, that the confinement of the air, in some degree tends to increase the unhealthiness of the settlement.

The Government-house is situated in the plain on the edge of the esplanade, and has a pleasing view of Fort St. George and the sea: the house itself is large and handsome; the floors, walls, and pillars, are of the most beautiful chunam. The room built by lord Clive, at a small distance in front, is large and handsome, but it has a bad effect, and being detached, when used on public occasions, is inconvenient: the roads, his lordship says, are a great ornament, being wide, and shaded on each side by a noble avenue of trees.

The fort is strong and handsome, more useful, his lordship says, than Fort William, which from the difficult navigation of the Hoogly, can never be attacked from the sea, whilst Madras, without it, would be liable to the insults of any small squadron that might elude the vigilance of our cruizers.

It would probably have been difficult, his lordship says, to have found a worse place for a capital than Madras: being on the extreme point of a coast, where the current is most rapid, and where, even in the finest weather, a tremendous surf is continually breaking. Great as these inconveniences are, his lordship thinks that no alteration will take place, on account of the expences of removal. A person sent by the East India Company to examine into the state of the beach, reported, that a pier might be carried out, of sufficient strength to resist the force of the north-east monsoon; but that the expence would be very great.

The Directors, his lordship says, offered to take only a few shares; and but few individuals would hazard large sums upon an uncertainty. The capital of the Carnatic, therefore, still remains without a secure anchorage for her trading vessels.

Feb. 24.—Lord Valentia having left Madras on the preceding day, arrived at Conjeveram, where he received a visit from the aumil. Notwithstanding a very pleasant breeze, the thermometer stood in the room at 89°.

The pagodas here are large, similar in shape to those of Tanjore; the tanks are lined with stone; the streets wide, crossing each other at right angles, with a range of cocoa-nut trees on each side, and the whole town, his lordship says, has the appearance of prosperity. His lordship was much struck at the appearance of the chariots, which were carrying the chief deity of the place on his annual visitation

to another pagoda: these, our author says, were much larger than he has seen.

In passing the great pagoda, dedicated to Iswara, the priests, and numerous dancing girls, were drawn up to pay their compliments. The heat of the sun was extremely oppressive, the thermometer being at 96°.

Villages are here thinly scattered; the jungle more frequent, and the soil a dry gravelly sand; the choultries are frequent, but falling into decay. Their greatest enemy, his lordship says, is the banyan tree (*ficus Bengalensis*), the seed of which being carried to the top by birds, finds nourishment between the large stones in the rainy season, where taking root gradually, it separates them as it increases in thickness, until at length the building becomes a mass of ruins.

Round most of the villages are, his lordship says, the remains of a hedge with a rampart, and stone bastions at the angles and gateway. These were erected as a protection against Tippoo's predatory horse, who laid waste the Carnatic, and carried off the inhabitants. He even injured the noble tank at Canverypauck, said to be one of the largest in the Carnatic; this, however, is now repaired.

Lord Valentia passed through Wallaj pettah, reached Vellore, and walked with major Marriot, who has had the care of Tippoo's family since their arrival, to see a palace or pagoda, now converted into a magazine. This forms one side of a public square, in which are also the palaces of the princes, the commandant's house, and the houses of the chief inhabitants. In the front is a lofty gateway; on each side is a statue of a kind of blue stone, with four arms, which, his lordship says, were found underground by the British in the interior of the building. Passing the gateway on the left, is a very noble apartment, supported by pillars, singularly, but beautifully carved. Nothing, says our author, but the patient labour of an Hindoo could have finished so minute a work. Each pillar is of a single stone; those in front are composed partly of figures on horseback, which, his lordship says, are carved with considerable spirit; the others are on every side, many containing the different adventures of Crishna with the Gopis, and the very remarkable mythological tradition of his treading on the serpent's head, and on others the many fantastic figures to which the Hindoo religion has given birth.

The only tradition his lordship could learn of the founder was, that it was built by a naig of the place about 400 years

ago. The musnud was placed in the back part of the building; about 12 feet square, and rested upon the back of a prodigious tortoise.

Opposite to this apartment, says his lordship, is another similar in size, but plainer, and of a different architecture. Several small pagodas of Tanjore architecture, surrounded by a wall much more ancient than the others, face the great gateway. His lordship observed several figures of Rama and his monkey generals, on the inside of the gateway; a figure was also pointed out, said to be that of the founder. The delicacy of the workmanship, his lordship says, far surpassed any thing he had ever seen.

The fort of Vellore, being one of the strongest places in India, has, on account of its strength, his lordship says, been chosen for the prison of Tippoo's family. In addition to the usual defence, the ditch, his lordship says, is filled with alligators. A serjeant of the Scotch brigade engaged in battle with one of these for a small wager, and was several times drawn under water by these ferocious animals; he, however, at last escaped with several severe wounds. The whole of this fort reminded his lordship of the ancient English baronial castles.

The conquest of Mysore, his lordship says, has rendered Vellore of little importance, and but for the accommodation of Tippoo's family, it would most probably have been suffered to fall into decay.

The hills, his lordship says, render Vellore extremely sultry. The thermometer was at 86° in the shade; yet our author found the British officers in the great square playing at cricket. No wonder, his lordship says, that the liver should be so frequently affected.—His lordship wishing to arrive as soon as possible at Mangalore, did not, as he wished, see Tippoo's sons, but learned every information respecting them from major Marriot.

They occupy, his lordship says, the ancient palace. The public apartments are handsome, and common to all, but within, each has his own: they receive every indulgence consistent with the safe custody of their persons.

There are in all, his lordship says, twelve sons and eight daughters of Tippoo. Fatty Hyder, the eldest, but illegitimate son, has twelve or fourteen children; the allowance to him and his next three brothers is 50,000 rupees per annum. It seems likely, his lordship says, from being popular, and the only one known to the troops, that he would have seized upon the succession.

All of them, his lordship says, conduct themselves with the utmost propriety, with the exception of sultan Moiz-ud-Deen, the eldest legitimate son, who spends, his lordship says, all the money he can procure, in buying dancing girls, runs in debt, and even, lately, murdered a female who had been employed in the harem as a servant.

All the sons, the four eldest excepted, have only 25,000 rupees per annum, which they receive upon being fourteen years old. The females are nearly 800 in number, including several of Hyder's. Those of rank have each a separate room, and a small allowance of pocket-money; but the whole harem, his lordship says, is supplied as in the time of Tippoo.

In order that they might be able to converse with major Marriot without a breach of Mussulman propriety, his lordship says they have adopted him into the family, and the major assures him they are happy and satisfied.

In a small habitation near the palace, his lordship says, resides a brother of Tippoo, who is deranged. Major Marriot had much trouble in removing him from Seringapatam. He intoxicated himself with bang, and sallied forth at the head of his women, declaring that he would not go: he was at length, however, forced into a palanquin by two stout eunuchs, and care was taken, his lordship says, that he should have no more bang.

His lordship doubted at first, whether it would not have been more advisable to have removed the whole of the Hyder family to Calcutta: the fatal events which have since occurred, his lordship says, proved the danger to have been greater than he then supposed, and the prudent consequence was the removal of Tippoo's family to Vellore.

Tippoo's sons, particularly Moiz-ud-Deen, were, his lordship thinks, deeply implicated in the conspiracy, and that the prevention of a religious war throughout the Carnatic, is to be attributed solely to the promptitude of colonel Gillespie.

That all these hazards should have been encountered merely for the alteration in the form of a turban, would, in other times, his lordship says, have appeared strange; and he regrets that our gallant soldiers should be much more frequently regarded as playthings to gratify the vanity and caprice of their colonels, than as men destined to defend them by their exertions.

Should any alteration be deemed necessary in the dress of

a sepoy, it might, his lordship says, be easily carried into effect by means of the Brahmins.

February 26.—His lordship departed for the Gauts. Arrived at Sautghur, where he visited the nawaub of the Carnatic's garden, which is considered as the finest in the East, and the possession of which he reserved in his last treaty with the Company. Like all other eastern gardens, his lordship says, it has no beauty: the trees are planted regularly, and water conducted in small channels to the roots. The *Agave Americana* grows here in great profusion.

The ascent of the Gaut was extremely steep; although this pass may now be ascended by artillery with little difficulty. An easy communication between the Mysore and the Carnatic is, his lordship says, an object of great importance, from the facility thereby afforded to trade.

His lordship notices at Golcondah pettah, a singular mass of rocks heaped one upon the other, in a most fantastic manner, on one of the largest of which is a pagoda, and some habitations.

At the end of the pettah, adjoining the fort of Colar, his lordship passed the tomb of Hyder's father, and the mausoleum where Hyder himself lay, till he was removed by his son to the Lolbaug near Seringapatam.

The domes, his lordship describes as handsome, and surrounded by trees backed by a craggy and lofty hill, altogether forming a beautiful view. This, his lordship says, was the birth-place of Hyder. The family of Hyder was originally Arabian, and probably of high descent, the first of whom reached India in 1660.

February 28.—His lordship arrived at the celebrated town of Bangalore: the pettah through which his lordship passed, though it suffered severely during the irruptions of lord Cornwallis, is even yet large and populous.

Major Lambton was employed, his lordship says, in measuring six degrees to the north of the line within the tropic, and as many to the south as measured by the French and Spanish in South America. The major also confirmed an observation made by his lordship, that within the territories of the Company the natives were more uncivil than in any other part of India: this, his lordship hopes, is owing to the *independence* they feel from the equal protection of British law.

February 29.—After a small ascent, the plain of Mysore broke upon his lordship's view, with Seringapatam in its

centre. The view of the capital disappointed his lordship much; the only conspicuous objects being the minarets of the mosque, neither elegant nor lofty, and a cavalier of several stories, upon which were flying the British colours. Colonel de Meuron, commanding at Seringapatam, conducted his lordship to the palace of Tippoo, which had been prepared for his reception.

The Lolmahal, or private residence of Tippoo, his lordship says, consists of but one square, three sides of which are divided into two stories, with a verandah in front, of unpainted wood: behind were several small rooms used by him as warehouses, but now painted and fitted up for the resident: the fourth side consisted of a single room, the height of the whole building, which was Tippoo's durbar, or hall of audience: it is 70 feet wide and 40 deep. The walls are painted red, with a gilt trellis-work running over it, formed by the tiger's scratch, Tippoo's favourite ornament—sentences from the Koran in golden letters, each a foot high, on a red ground, run round the room as a cornice.

The roof is painted of the same colour as the sides, and is supported by three rows of pillars; each pillar is of a single piece of wood, painted red, and highly varnished. Behind the durbar is a small room where Tippoo slept*; here were only two windows, both grated with iron, and the door is strongly secured. The only entrances into the Lolmahal are through the harem adjoining, and through a narrow passage where some tigers were chained as an additional defence. When in the vicinity of Seringapatam he never slept, his lordship says, at any of his country palaces.

His lordship here draws the character of Tippoo and Hyder, contrasting their principles and conduct. He describes the internal government of the former as most oppressive, and instances the unlimited power given to the aumils, who plundered the Hindoos without control: his conduct in Canara and Malabar, the utter extinction of the nairs of rank, &c.; whilst Hyder his lordship considers as a very different character, who, although indeed he might have been an usurper, yet certainly governed the provinces under him to the benefit of the inhabitants, without permit-

* Tippoo always slept in a hammock, lest any person should fire upon him in bed. In this hammock were found a sword and a pair of loaded pistols. For a more minute account of Seringapatam, see Buchanan's *Travels in the Mysore*, i. 72, 73, &c.

ting his prejudices, as a Mussulman, to influence his conduct to the detriment of the Hindoos.

March 1.—His lordship, in the durbar of Tippoo, received the compliments of Narsingrow, eldest son to Purneah*, and Burcherow his deputy, who invited his lordship to the residence of the rajah at Mysore: two of Tippoo's nephews were also presented to his lordship.

His lordship visited the Lolbaug, a palace situate at the other end of the island upon which Seringapatam stands. This palace was begun by Hyder, and finished in 1780, when he was fighting in the Carnatic. This, his lordship says, is by no means an inelegant building, containing some excellent apartments above, and balconies opening into courts for the sultan to give audience.

Adjoining to the Lolbaug is the mausoleum of Hyder, where he, his wife, and Tippoo, lie under tombs of black marble, elevated about 18 inches from the ground; these, his lordship says, are covered with rich cloths, and have a canopy over them. The whole building, with its dome, is supported by brilliantly polished black marble columns, and its mosque annexed has, his lordship says, a very handsome effect.

Several of the family are buried in the verandah; and without that, upon an elevated platform which surrounds the whole building, are the tombs of several faithful servants.

The allowance of 2000 pagodas per annum for the moulahs to read the Koran, are continued by the liberality of the British government, and three pagodas per day are also distributed in charity at the mausoleum.

His lordship next visited a pleasant country place, built by Tippoo, near the town: this is the residence of the governor-general when here. Here, his lordship says, Tippoo frequently retired early in the morning, and continued the whole day, but invariably returned to sleep at Seringapatam. The upper floor of this building consists of one centre room, with four others at the corners, and verandahs between them, all very curiously painted.

A verandah below covers each side, the walls of which are decorated with some very whimsical paintings: in one is the famous battle with major Baillie. In the opposite verandah Hyder and Tippoo are painted in all their splendor as con-

* Purneah, as dewan, has the management of the country during the minority of the rajah.

querors, and the different princes conquered are painted below; amongst these were some who never submitted, particularly the rajah of Tanjore.

Lord Valentia was mortified to behold here a British officer, whom Tippoo always wished to have the command against him, as he was, he said, sure to take his detachment prisoners. This person is represented, his lordship says, more than once. In one place, with a most threatening air and countenance, he is drawing his sword upon a woman; in another he is amusing himself with dancing girls. In the same verandah are very interesting figures of every cast and description.

March 2.—Lord Valentia departed for Mysore, situated in the same valley, about nine miles from Seringapatam. The new town, which has arisen near the seat of government, consists of one street about a mile long. About a mile from it his lordship was met by Narsingrow, Burcherow, and the officers of the rajah's household, with his whole suwarry of elephants, kettle-drums and trumpets, who conducted him to a small house built for the British resident when he comes to Mysore. The whole town had been newly white-washed, and at each door banana plants were stuck in the ground, the strings extended as before across the road, but instead of the branches of the mango tree, they were ornamented with pieces of white cloth. Here his lordship found the gentlemen of Seringapatam assembled to partake of a breakfast prepared by the rajah, consisting of a profusion of fruit, all kinds of pastry, made dishes, and several pieces of solanum brought in pots, with the fruit dressed and hanging on the plant, which was in perfect health. The roots of other plants were boiled whilst the green stem remained untouched.

His lordship was received with military honours: the palace, his lordship says, is small and neat, but not finished: the musnud was very fantastically carved, and had belonged to the former rajahs. It was found amongst the stores of Tippoo, and used for the inauguration of the young rajah in 1799.

His highness was dressed in a gold tissue, with some handsome pearls round his neck: a cross of gold was laying on one side of him, on the other a small sword. The verandah where the party was seated, was covered with white cloth, the pillars handsomely carved and gilded. In front of the rajah was an eperne filled with flowers of the sambac, and a servant on each side held branches in which incense was burning. His highness, though at first visibly agitated, soon

recovered himself, and behaved with great dignity and propriety. He declared that he owed every thing to the English nation, to whom his gratitude was unbounded. The rajah, his lordship says, is about eleven years of age, of middle size, not handsome, but of an intelligent countenance, and seemed lively. He is fond of riding and the sports of the field. His lordship presented him a sabre, having an handle of agate, ornamented with rubies, after the Asiatic fashion; this he delivered into the rajah's own hand, which he immediately placed beside him, assuring his lordship that it should always lie by him for his sake, and that it was a particularly valuable present to *him*, as he was of Shatrya, or soldier cast. The rajah in return put round his lordship's neck a handsome string of pearls, from which was suspended a jewel of flat diamonds and uncut rubies. He also presented his lordship in trays, two beautiful chowries, two punkabs, two walking-sticks of sandal-wood, with two bottles of the oil, the produce of his country.

Mysore, his lordship says, exists without a zemindar, and the consequence has been, that for five years not a tumult has taken place in it, while the neighbouring provinces have been torn by war and insurrections.

March 3.—Lord Valentia dedicated this day to the viewing of Seringapatam: his first visit was to the curtain-where the breach had been made, attended by several gentlemen who had been present at the storming, and who pointed out every circumstance. The attack, his lordship observes, was most judiciously made, on a part where the Asiatic error of a long curtain had rendered a breach easy. The enfilading fire from the Bombay army, on the opposite side of the river, had rendered the continuing on the ramparts extremely dangerous: whilst the miserable natives who were obliged to be there, were taking their dinner in holes dug in the earth, to protect themselves from the shot, the storming party entered, and put to death great numbers of them.

Tippoo, his lordship says, had been often advised to carry an inner work from the Sultan battery on the high ground, so as to cut off the north-west bastion, and the part of the curtain against which the attack was directed; but he was obstinate, his lordship says, and ignorant.

During the storming of the 4th May, a small party of soldiers in the heat of attack, passed from the outer to the inner rampart over a wall of a most tremendous height which united them. These, his lordship says, and a larger party who made their way in another direction, greatly

assisted in the attack, by flanking the sultan and his attendants, who were bravely defending traverse after traverse on the outer rampart, and slowly retiring before the superior force of the storming party to the gateway in the inner wall.

His lordship thinks it probable that the sultan's intentions were to retire immediately from a place no longer tenable, and by putting himself at the head of his troops without the town, and which amounted to 20,000 men, to protract the war as long as possible. The Bangalore gate being open during the whole of the siege, he could have escaped, his lordship says, without difficulty, and if he could not have carried off his females, his lordship conceives he would have put them to death, and buried them in the ruins of his harem.

The inner ditch and rampart, except in the spot where the wall afforded a passage to the soldiers, have, his lordship says, been wholly destroyed. The gateway in which Tippoo fell, has also been destroyed with the inner work: a road, his lordship says, is formed in its stead, which will ultimately add much to the beauty of the town.

It has not yet been discovered who it was that gave the sultan his fatal wound: the invaluable string of pearls which he wore round his neck, was, his lordship says, the prize of the soldier, but it has never been yet produced or traced. He had been many years collecting this, always taking off an inferior pearl, when he could purchase one more valuable.

Were it of importance, his lordship says, to render Seringapatam a place of strength, the works proposed by the French ought to be carried into effect; but his lordship thinks, that the time is arrived when the British can never have to defend themselves against a regular besieging army. As a military depôt, it should be (as it is), strong enough to resist any sudden attack of the native powers; its numerous and large buildings have given it a preference over Bangalore. Seringapatam, his lordship says, is far from being unhealthy.

His lordship considers this capital as very inferior to any he had seen in India. The palaces of the sultan, his lordship says, have neither the imposing massive dignity of the Hindoo architecture, nor the light airy elegance of the Musulmaun buildings at Lucknow. The public apartments of Tippoo were handsome, those of Hyder extremely plain. The zenanas of both were excessively bad, and the rooms in a very dirty state.

Hyder's palace is now, his lordship says, the residence of the surgeon; his zenana an European hospital; Tippoo's

zenana a barrack for the artillery; his private apartments are occupied by the resident, and the public ones by the European troops. These buildings, his lordship says, from the want of windows, have externally a very heavy appearance, but the view from them has been much improved by the English having opened the space to a temple of Shri Runga, having a choultry in front, and a lofty tower of the Tanjore architecture.

His lordship next visited Tippoo's arsenal, the architecture of which is massive, and much more ancient than the other buildings: the pillars are square, and covered with architecture. Here, his lordship says, are vast quantities of matchlocks, spears, cresses, nair knives, and chain armour belonging to Tippoo, but quite useless to the English. The most singular articles are several pieces of artillery cast by Tippoo, each ornamented with the head of an European devoured by a tiger. There is now here, his lordship says, a considerable magazine of European musquets and field-pieces.

The palace which adjoined, his lordship says, was in ruins, and had been totally removed, to make room for a manufacture of gun carriages, which was established in the year 1802, under the direction of captain Scott. These articles were formerly obtained at Madras by contract. His lordship was astonished, that the natives could have been taught a new manufacture within so short a period.

March 4.—Lord Valentia being upon the point of departure, Narsingrow presented him with a nair's knife, which was handsome, and the handle ornamented with silver. Many of his lordship's friends joined him at an early dinner in the palace, amongst whom was Dr. White, of the medical staff, of whom his lordship made some enquiries respecting the medical practice of the natives, which he found was ignorance in the extreme: they used some of the mineral remedies, particularly calomel, but in such strong doses, that it frequently proved more destructive than the disease it was meant to eradicate. An usual emetic, his lordship says, is composed by suspending a small copper coin in acid till the solution has taken place sufficiently to operate. Sometimes death is occasioned by the strength of this dose.

Starvation, his lordship says, is another prescription for all diseases. Purneah's daughter perished by it; the fever was indeed conquered, but the weakness was so great that the patient sunk under it. The efficacy of a medicine is here,

his lordship says, estimated by the number of its ingredients, which frequently amount to fifty, when it is considered as infallible. In Canara, his lordship was informed that the toddy drawers were physicians.

Dr. White assured his lordship that he had seen the volatile alkali used above a hundred times, and always with success, in the bite of poisonous serpents.

His lordship had promised Narsingrow to examine the bridge over the Cauveri; it was dark before they arrived, but all the workmen, who had been detained for the purpose, were pretending to work by the glare of thousands of flambeaus which were lighted in an instant.

The bridge is a singular work, constructed of pillars about eighteen feet high, by from two to three feet square; of these, his lordship says, are three rows of 67 feet each, sunk ten feet from each other in the solid rock, but united at top, and made steady by large stones laid flat and close together, on which is laid the gravel. The expence of this, his lordship estimates at 20,000 pagodas, the whole of which is supported by Purneah, to shew, he says, the rajah's wish to accommodate the English.

March 6.—As our travellers advanced towards Mangalore the scenery became more wild, and the road more uneven; they were now entering the defiles of the chain of mountains that separate the table land of Mysore from the low country of Canara and Malabar. Our travellers reached Purneah Chuttoor, at the summit of the Besseley Gaut, which is the most southern of the whole.

At three in the morning his lordship began to descend this celebrated Gaut: the road, his lordship says, has been formed with great labour out of a bed of loose rock, over which the torrents had in winter rolled with such force, as to wash away all the softer parts, and to leave single rocks of four or five feet diameter, not above two feet asunder, standing in the centre of the road.

His lordship here found he had entered a forest of the largest trees of the East, several of which he says were 100 feet in the stem before a single branch extended; yet the descent was so steep, that our traveller was frequently on a level with their tops, at so small a distance as to distinguish them by the gleam of the numerous torches by which he was accompanied; but which were nevertheless insufficient, he says, to enlighten the impenetrable foliage, which for miles concealed the face of heaven, or the deep gloom of the abyss into which they appeared to be descending. In the day time this scene,

his lordship says, would not have been half so magnificent or awful.

Towards day his lordship came to a turn in the road, which shewed him the lofty mountain he had been descending, covered with forests nearly to its summit. His lordship passed a small village in the centre of this immense forest, where the inhabitants were thrashing their grain in a manner truly patriarchal: the grain was trodden by oxen on a floor of hard earth; the oxen, according to the Mosaic law, were left unmuzzled.

His lordship arrived at Buntwall, a very large open town with a great number of mud houses: here he was complimented with the usual nazur of fruit by the aumil, who informed his lordship that Buntwall was in a very flourishing state, from being the principal mart of the trade carried on between Mysore and Canara. His lordship saw a great number of horses in the streets, which were going up to mount the cavalry at Madras.

Here his lordship first observed some of the variety of cocoa-nuts called sultanie, from their supposed superior excellence; these are larger, and their outsides of a brilliant orange.

On ascending a steep hill, his lordship beheld the river of Mangalore, a noble expanse of water, and the sea beyond it. Here his lordship first found the brick-stone, a substance which, before it is dug up, is sufficiently soft to be cut into any shape, but when exposed to the air, it becomes as hard as stone. It resembles brick, but is more porous: it is much used for building houses, and even bridges have been formed of it.

Mangalore, his lordship says, was the only sea-port in the territories of Tippoo, by whom it was much valued, although it had only depth of water for small vessels. He nevertheless contrived to get over it vessels of 500 tons, built chiefly for collecting his revenue from the rajahs who lived along the coast, and accumulated large sums by piracy.

No place, his lordship says, has had more reason to rejoice at the change of masters than Mangalore, its trade being tenfold what it was under the Mussulman government. Its exports are said to amount to eleven lacks of rupees per annum, of which rice alone yields nine, bearing a duty of ten per cent.

The imports consist chiefly of cloths from Surat, and its vicinity; horses to mount the Company's cavalry at Madras; a few drugs from Arabia; sugar, and a considerable quan-

tity of salt. The great balance in favour of Mangalore is paid in specie.

His lordship laments it as extremely unfortunate, that the bar having only ten feet water, should prevent Mangalore from being a naval station, for which, from the fertility of the surrounding country, the extensive supply of timber, and the salubrity of the climate, it is so well calculated. Here are the magazines for the sandal wood, of which the India Company has the monopoly from the rajah.

The price of this article varies according to the size of the stick, which is sometimes only three inches in diameter, and seldom exceeds a foot; it is cut by the axe into logs of four feet; were it cut by the saw, the saving, his lordship says, would be considerable; but an Indian is not easily persuaded to change his instrument.

The sandal wood is exported to China, where it is burnt by the Chinese on certain festivals.

No province, his lordship says, can be in a more flourishing state than Canara, from the liberality of those persons who govern it since it fell under the British government in 1799. This prosperity his lordship attributes in a great degree to the total absence of zemindars, the occupier holding the land immediately under government, and paying what may be considered as one-fourth of the value of the produce. No man holds an estate of more than the annual value of 500 pagodas: the revenue is collected by native officers without the aid of the military; the laws are strictly enforced; cultivation is rapidly extending; the government is undisturbed by tumults, and the revenue is annually increasing. How different, his lordship says, from the province of Malabar, which has naturally equal advantages.

In consequence of the evils experienced by a British fleet after a long continuance in the Red Sea, from the want of water, fresh provisions, and fuel, and under a full conviction that a western passage existed, lord Valentia formed the idea of ascertaining whether these necessities were not attainable at Massowah, Dhalac, or the adjacent islands; where, in former times, the Egyptian and Roman merchants fixed their residence, for the purpose of carrying on their trade with Abyssinia and the interior of Africa. The commercial advantages likely to result from the opening of a communication with Abyssinia, appeared also worthy of attention; and his lordship seems to have felt it as a national reflection, that while new islands, and even continents, were discovered by the abilities of our seamen, we should have be-

come so ignorant of the eastern shore of Africa, as to be unable to ascertain many of the harbours and islands described by an ancient navigator in the *Periplus* of the Erythrean sea.

Having communicated his ideas and feelings on this subject to the marquis Wellesley during his stay at Calcutta, our noble and intelligent author at length proposed that one of the Bombay cruisers should be prepared for a voyage to the Red Sea, and generously offered his gratuitous services for the purpose of investigating the eastern shore of Africa, and making the necessary enquiries into the present state of Abyssinia and the neighbouring countries. The marquis approved of the plan, and wisely placed the commanding officer under lord Valentia's orders, to preclude any difficulties which might otherwise have resulted from difference of opinion, with respect to the eligibility of going to particular places. The necessary instructions were immediately transmitted to Bombay, and his lordship hastened his departure for Columbo, conceiving it particularly desirable to reach the Red Sea as early in the year as possible.

On his arrival at Tanjore he learnt, by dispatches from Bombay, that the *Antelope* cruiser would be in readiness to receive him at Mangalore, and would convey him to the Red Sea in the beginning of February. Untoward circumstances, however, rendered him unable to reach Mangalore before the 8th of March; and this precluded the possibility of his arriving at Suzy before the change of the monsoon in the Arabian Gulf. Yet under this disappointment, it was some consolation to know that the very heavy gales in that quarter rarely set in before June, and to reflect that, in unknown seas, the sailing was probably safer when beating up, than when going briskly before the wind.

With captain Keys of the *Antelope*, who had orders to consider himself under lord Valentia's command, our author was much pleased; as his manners were perfectly those of a gentleman, and the concern he expressed at the smallness of his vessel, evinced an inclination to do every thing in his power to make the voyage comfortable.

His lordship having determined to go on board the *Antelope* the next morning, he found her to be a brig, quite as large as he had expected, about 150 tons, mounting 12 eighteen pound carronades, and having on board 41 Europeans, including officers, 16 marines, and 30 lascars and servants. For these they had on board six months rice and salt meat, with 40 days' water. The cabin was of a tolerable size; rather more than one third had been partitioned off

for our author; the remainder served as a dining-room, in which the captain and Mr. Salt were obliged to swing their cots at night.

On returning from the vessel, lord Valentia began his preparations for departure: these were soon completed as well as circumstances would admit; and Mr. Salt having arrived, they went on board at eleven o'clock at night on the 13th of March, and by twelve they weighed anchor for the Red Sea, bidding a farewell to India, after a residence of fifteen months.

From this time till the 18th, they coasted along the shore with the assistance of the land and sea breezes, without being able to get out of sight of land. The weather proved sultry, and the vessel sailed ill, owing to the bad condition of her bottom, which was completely covered with barnacles: however, she had one good quality, she obeyed her helm, and wore with facility. The shore was a bold one, and our author passed several islands of a rocky nature, one of which had been strongly fortified by Tippoo, but for what purpose, is extremely problematical, as it affords no protection to shipping.

Till the 26th the wind continued inclining to the west, and the vessel consequently made little way, though, as she was lightened by consumption of stock, she sailed better. The calms had been frequent, yet the heat had never been unpleasant, and the sea had been as smooth as glass. To our author the delay was the less disagreeable, as it afforded him time to prepare charts of the Red Sea from the logs he had procured.

On the 31st the dolphins were about the ship in shoals. The men killed eight, one of which, served up for dinner, proved as good as an albicore. The following day they were still more numerous, and every mess had one.

During the last five days the wind had been extremely light, but having been favoured by a current to the S.W. the voyagers were enabled to make a degree a day. This current deserted them on the 2d of April, and the breezes became more light as they approached the land.

April 10.—Lord Valentia's servant caught a small fish of the genus *diodon*, but not of the species described by Linnaeus. Mr. Salt drew it, and his lordship stuffed its skin, which it has the power of expanding when it blows out its body, the cavity of which is filled with a very large air bladder, and a liver disproportioned to its size. Its length is about four inches. No injury follows the puncture of one of its prickles, though a juice exudes from the base, of a

bright yellow colour, that permanently stains paper and other substances. It puts out two small tentacula from its mouth as it swims, and lives a considerable time out of water.

April 12.—At day-light, the African coast was in view; and, as the vessel approached rapidly, by twelve o'clock it was only about three miles from cape Guardafui. The cape itself is not very high, but the land behind it is extremely lofty. It consists of rocky beds, one over the other, with gullies apparently formed by the rain. Not a vestige of vegetation was discernible. "We made it," says our author, "in $51^{\circ} 10' E.$ and $11^{\circ} 50' N.$ There was a considerable cross swell as we rounded the land. Our little vessel was going seven knots, which I did not expect from her. We had, during the whole of the last day, a strong set to the south, which took us 30 miles. Mount Felix is united to the main land by a low sand: it is conspicuous, and cannot be mistaken."

April 13.—The captain steered W. and by N. straight for Aden, and passed the high land behind cape St. Peter. The coast, which is very high and steril, remained visible at night, though the base was concealed by a haze which extended across the whole sea. Several meteors, called falling stars, shot occasionally across the sky; but no aurora borealis had appeared during the voyage. A heavy dew fell all night. The sea was smooth, though the vessel went at the rate of six knots an hour.

April 15.—At eight in the morning a part of the African shore was in sight, distant about eleven leagues, which was as high as that on the opposite side. At one, cape Aden bore right a-head W. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. distant eleven leagues. The voyagers proceeded all night, when it was so near, that they resolved to come to an anchor. Accordingly they passed the headland, and anchored at nine o'clock on the other side, close, as they supposed, to the town; but of this they could not be certain, as no one on board had ever been there, and they had no directions respecting making it.

At day-light the next morning no town was visible, and it was therefore supposed to lie beyond another headland nearly W. On proceeding, it was discovered that the ship had anchored in Back Bay, and that Aden itself was on the eastern side of the headland; but as it would have been a serious loss of time to have beaten back, our author determined to go on, though much chagrined at a mistake which would prevent their having excellent water, instead of that which is higher up, and is invariably brackish. Back Bay

is the best watering-place, though it is five miles from the town: the only expence is three dollars demanded by the dola. In East Bay it may be purchased, but at a high price. On the western side is a range of rocks, extending nearly as far south as the hill of Aden itself. The tops of these are singularly broken, and rise in several parts into gothic spires; two of these are called the Ass's Ears. To the west of them is another bay, exactly resembling the former both in size and appearance. Its western boundary is a range of rocks, one of which so perfectly resembles a funnel, as to deserve that name. At ten o'clock the island of Perim was in sight, and soon afterward our voyagers entered the straits which ran between it and the land. The breeze was assisted by the tide, and soon brought them under shelter of the promontory; and by twelve they anchored in smooth water.

April 17.—Before day the small boat was hoisted out, and lord Valentia's servant and Mr. Hall were sent on shore with their guns and dogs, in hopes of killing some game. And after breakfast, his lordship, Mr. Salt, a midshipman, and four sepoy, landed on the beach, in order to take a survey of the country, and to collect shells. On ascending a ridge of broken hills about a mile from the shore, they found the road extremely craggy, but a strong breeze agreeably tempered the heat of the sun, and several curious plants and mineral specimens remunerated their fatigue.

At the bottom of the hill they joined the shooting party, who had seen several antelopes, and killed some partridges; they had also purchased some fine milch goats, and, on reaching the sea shore, they bought a quantity of mullets of some Arab fishermen, to procure, in return, a supply of water, none of which was to be obtained on the land.

As it was still early, and as the breeze continued, the party determined to walk along the shore to point Bab-el-Mandel; but as a small creek, communicating with a salt-water lake, lay between them, they were obliged to pass in the boat. "As we advanced," says our author, "it was less pleasant, from the air being frequently heated by the sand over which it passed, which gave it all the effect of the hot winds of India, in scorching the skin, and producing intense drought. Dr. Macghie and Mr. Salt bathed, from which they suffered considerably, but not so much as two officers of the ship, who, from being more exposed, were soon of a perfectly red colour."

On the beach is the tomb of a Mussulmaun saint, which,

though a heap of ruins, attracts many visitants. The extreme point is low and rocky, and its sides presented several shells, but none of value. About three o'clock the company took to their boat, completely fatigued with their excursion.

April 18.—They set sail before day-break, and at sun-rise perceived a ship enter the straits and follow them. This was rightly conjectured to be the Fox frigate, captain Vashon, which had been sent to Mocha, to convoy to India the trade from that place.

Having anchored at about the distance of four miles from Mocha, captain Keys wrote to Mr. Pringle, acting agent of the East India Company, to inform him of our author's arrival. Mr. Pringle accordingly came off, to invite his lordship to the factory; and told him that he had notified his arrival to the dola, or governor, who, on being questioned respecting his reception of the noble visitant, had replied, that he was not well, and would not move from his seat. Mr. Pringle added, that as the meeting him at the door had been insisted on by general Baird, and had been complied with, he could on no account advise lord Valentia to visit him in any other manner.

During his stay at the British factory in Mocha, our author discovered that a regular communication existed between Mocha and Massowah, and between that place and Suakin; that Massowah was by no means the unsafe place which Mr. Bruce represented it to be in his time; and that pilots could be procured for the whole way. As the upper part of the voyage, however, was to be performed through very narrow straits, and at a time when the N. W. winds were blowing strongly down the gulf, it was judged advisable to hire a country vessel, called a dow, which might go a-head and show the way. Accordingly, lord Valentia hired a dow for 400 dollars, to go to Dhalac, Massowah, Suakin, and up to the latitude of the river Fasat, where he designed to terminate his observations, and make the best of his way to Cosseir. He also hired an Arab boy of the name of Hyder, as an interpreter, till the Antelope returned: he spoke English tolerably well, and bore a very excellent character. These arrangements being made, his lordship designed to have sailed on the 9th of May; but a proposal from captain Vashon induced him to alter his intention: this was, that if he would stay till the morrow, the captain would accompany him to Jibbel Teir and Dhalac.

Next morning, by six o'clock, our author went on board the Antelope; but to his great surprise, he learned through

the medium of Hyder, that his pilot knew nothing of the way from Jibbel Teir to Massowah; that the usual way was stretching across to the Abyssinian coast, and working up it to Dhalac. Captain Keys felt himself incapable of conducting the vessel through an unknown and intricate sea; all idea of Jibbel Teir was consequently abandoned, and the Fox and Antelope parted company, the former sailing to the northward, while the latter stretched across rather to the south of west.

The pilot seemed a sensible old fellow: he gave his directions clearly; and when they heaved the log, he told them it was not necessary, as there was plenty of water. At three o'clock they closed in with the land, and anchored about three miles west of a headland, which the pilot called Ras Bunder Beiloul. A chain of islands and rocks had continued the whole way to the north, the largest of which seems to be the Jibbel Azroe of the charts. The bay now entered was of very great extent, and excellently defended from the south winds; but the width of the channel opposite to Mocha proved to be less than had been conjectured from the view of the Abyssinian land. Lord Valentia sent off his servants to the shore, to look for shells, and the pilot offered to go to a village which he said was beyond the hills. The natives bear a bad character; but the accounts of their ferocity are probably exaggerated. The appearance of the whole coast was black and barren, except where it was broken by white sand.

After dinner Mr. Salt and captain Keys went on shore in the boat, and took with them the lead-line. They found an inner bay, about five miles round, and perfectly defended except to the north; but a strong gust of wind prevented their entering to sound it. A net and the iron head of an harpoon were found lying under a stone, but they saw no native. A few mimosas and herbaceous plants were all the vegetation.

On the 11th the vessel got under weigh at six o'clock, and steered directly across the bay, which, as it was clear, appeared of a magnificent extent, being about twelve miles steep, and about thirty, from one headland to a large island which formed the other extremity. In the bottom the land had a very singular appearance; large masses being perfectly flat, and near, three others of a conical figure. By twelve, our voyagers were across, and discovered an archipelago of islands and rocks around the island abovementioned, which the pilot called Rackmah. He added, that

there was a river, and very civil people, where every article might be procured. In consequence of this assertion, captain Keys approached the land with regular soundings, and at length cast anchor under the lee of the island, in four and a half fathom, with a hard sandy bottom.

Mr. Salt wished to go to the village, which was at some miles distance up a bay, and was accompanied by a midshipman, and Hyder as interpreter. At the same time lord Valentia went in a boat to examine the island, and was attended in another by a naig and three sepoys, a servant, and some lascars. About a mile and a half from the ship they found an excellent landing-place, and ascended a hill which was composed of a blackish brown stone, that looked as if it had undergone the action of fire. Two natives who lived on the island were brought to the party by the report of a shot, and appeared very civil: they understood a little Arabic, and had not the woolly head. On going to their hut, his lordship's attendants procured some turtle; and our author (not having any presents about him) wrapped his handkerchief round a young boy's head, which was shaven all over, except a tuft above the forehead. Our author found that a sandy bar extended from the island to the main, and formed one side of the bay; the other islands already mentioned were beyond it, and, at a distance, they looked as if in a line with it.

After coasting a rocky headland, his lordship proceeded to a third island, which was likewise connected by a sandy bar, and formed altogether an excellent bay for small vessels. Here he procured a few good shells, and discovered the tomb of a native chief, surrounded by a circle of stones: at one end were the bones and shells of several turtles, half burnt; and in the middle were several drinking vessels, one of which was an English china sugar bason. To this place lord Valentia gave the name of Burial Island. A second tomb was discovered nearly similar to the former, and some of the boatmen asserted, that this also belonged to a chief.

Soon after it was dark, our traveller returned to the ship, and at ten o'clock he was rejoined by Mr. Salt, who had undergone much fatigue for very little gratification. The river spoken of by the pilot had vanished, though it was evident that torrents had run to the sea during the rainy season. At present there were only two wells about sixty yards from the sea: the water of the nearest was as bad as the Mocha water; that of the farthest was superior, and in tolerable quantity. Mr. Salt met with no village, but saw

three men, with two flocks of sheep, and a numerous troop of camels, which they had driven down to the water. These natives evinced much civility, and willingly exchanged a fine sheep for some tobacco; but they objected to the party's visiting their habitations, which were at some distance in the interior. They had curly black hair, drawn out into points in every direction, and wore crooked knives, like the Arabs, by their side: they had also spears lying at the wells. They recognised the old pilot, and shook the whole party by the hand, without exhibiting any symptoms of fear.

After passing a low cape called Ras Kussa, our voyagers anchored on the 14th off a low black rocky point, near which the pilot affirmed there was a well of fresh water. A low island bore by compass N.W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. The night was extremely sultry, and the water smooth.

Next morning they weighed anchor at four o'clock, the wind being right a-head, but it soon came round. At twelve they anchored in seven fathom, that the pilot might have an opportunity of procuring some articles from the adjacent village. Further on there is a bay, formed by the main land, and a chain of islands to the N. and W. These are called Ras Amphila, Bunder Amphila, and the Islands of Amphila. Mr. Salt and captain Keys went on shore on the island, which they found to be about a mile broad by three miles long, perfectly flat and sandy, and thickly covered with a low shrub, and herbaceous plants.

On the 16th the pilot arrived with some sheep, and asserted this to be a place of some trade, which was confirmed by the appearance of several dows. The five Amphila islands are equally flat and sandy, raised only about ten feet above the water, and without a single tree on them. The shore, which stretches out rapidly to the westward, is low, but backed by lofty hills of whimsical forms.

On the 17th our voyagers passed a lofty rugged island, about nine miles in length, which the pilot called Howakel; and about six in the evening they came to anchor between the main and an island, which, from its being considered as an important mark, received the appellation of Pilot's Island. It is small and woody; has two spits of sand extending parallel to the shore for a considerable distance, one at each end; and is distant from the main three miles.

The next day they passed within several islands, keeping close to the shore, which was flat, with gentle acclivities beyond, covered with wood; while the lofty mountains of

Abyssinia, at a greater distance, were nearly obscured by the haze. At eleven the following morning they got through a passage between another island and the main, and bore away along the Abyssinian coast, which seemed tolerably full of inhabitants.

As the pilot could not reach Dhalac this day (the 19th) he wished to anchor off an island which forms a bay to the westward, where he said large vessels might anchor in safety, and where the people were very civil. Accordingly he anchored off a very picturesque island, in seventeen fathom, and at only three quarters of a mile from the shore; and the bay fully answered his description, being eight or nine miles deep, and about seven miles wide. As no description of this island had ever been given, and this was probably the first time it had been visited by Europeans, our noble author called it Valentia. Mr. Salt went on shore, and was civilly accompanied by two of the inhabitants to the summit of the hill. The water found in a tank was very good, and a few sheep were procured, which belonged to the nayib of Massowah.

On the 20th the pilot seemed to be less acquainted than usual with the islands. He made a direct N. E. course, but tacked incessantly; at length, after running about 22 miles, he anchored in another bay, the extremities of the land extending from N. W. by W. to S. by E. It was very deep, and a village was situated on the bank at the bottom of it. This he asserted to be Dhalac, but it agreed so little with the description which our author had met with, that he entertained considerable doubts on the subject. He therefore enquired for Dhalac-el-Kibeer; but the pilot replied, that it was at some distance; that the port was not safe for vessels of the size of the Antelope; and that he must not take his lordship there without permission from the dola.

One of the natives soon came alongside, floating, nearly naked, on a catamaran, formed of four pieces of wood, about ten feet long, and six inches in diameter. On recognising the pilot he went on board, but appeared much alarmed. He was a fine muscular figure, with a large black beard, not woolly. He afterwards proved to be the son of the dola, who commanded the whole island on the part of the nayib of Massowah. He pressed our author to land, and requested permission to accompany him. This was readily acceded to, and after some consultation respecting the presents necessary to be taken on shore, his lordship and

Mr. Salt habited themselves in an Asiatic dress, and took Hyder with them as interpreter. It was also agreed that the old pilot should be of the party.

Immediately on their landing, the native and pilot went forward to announce the arrival of the strangers; who, in the mean time, reclined in the shade of a rock, and collected some oysters which were found in a cavern formed by the beating of the sea. Soon afterwards some other natives arrived, to conduct our author and his companions to the village. In the way they were met by a tall native almost naked, to whom the pilot said the presents were to be given; but on meeting another man of a more venerable appearance, habited in the dress of the Arabs, and with a beard of snowy whiteness, lord Valentia naturally conceived this to be the dola. The pilot, however, would not admit it.

The visitors were now conducted into a house built of madrapore, squared, and raised about four yards from the ground. A species of grass formed the thatch, and there was one door, but no window nor flooring: the only furniture consisted of five beds, made of wood, with cords drawn across, and covered with matting made of doom leaves*. Lord Valentia seated himself on one of these, and Mr. Salt took possession of another, while the rest were occupied by natives and by his lordship's lascars.

Our author was still inclined to think that the man in the Arab dress ought to receive the present; but as his proposal to that effect was over-ruled, the native received a piece of blue Surat cloth and ten dollars, while the other had only a piece of cloth. Coffee was now ordered, and on lord Valentia intimating a wish to purchase sheep and water, they readily promised to supply him, and spoke in the highest terms of their master, the nayib of Massowah, who they said was a good man, and one who would furnish his lordship with two pilots if he requested one. They added, that the island in which they were then assembled was called Nokhara, and the constant residence of the dola, who had sub-dolas in different stations; that Dhalac-el-Kibeer was formerly the principal residence, but that at present the port was not in a situation to admit such a vessel as the Antelope.

His lordship having expressed a desire of visiting the tanks where the water was kept, the young dola accompa-

* The doom is a species of palm tree.

nied him. They passed through the narrow passages which separated the houses, without meeting a woman, or being importuned by a single mendicant. A small plain oblong building on the road side proved to be a mosque, near which two doom trees grew among some scattered tomb-stones.

After ascending nearly a mile along a small footpath tracked in the rock, our author was surprised to find, that the well was formed by a natural chasm, which was covered for several feet with good soil, and sometimes produced excellent herbage. The water, at the depth of about seven feet, presented a clear surface of about ten feet in length by three in width, but irregular in its shape, owing to the protruding sides of the rock. As it supplies the whole island, and is never known to fall even in the most arid seasons, it seems extremely probable that it extends under a great part of the plain.

On returning to the Antelope, our author informed captain Keys that he intended to proceed, the next morning, to the opposite island, in order to view the fort of Dobelew, where Mr. Bruce had anchored; at the same time observing, that in consequence of the errors already discovered in that traveller's statement, he conceived it to be of the greatest importance to ascertain the real situation and form of the islands: and therefore wished one of the boats to attend him till his return, which would probably be in a couple of days. This reasonable request was peremptorily refused, and his lordship was under the necessity of intimating, that he must represent the affair to government before the dispute was terminated. At length it was agreed that Mr. Salt should set off the next morning, with the second lieutenant, in the pilot's boat, and ascertain as much as possible of the island of Dhalac-el-Kibeer.

Early in the morning our author was awakened by a dispute between Mr. Salt and the pilot, who, although he had agreed to the arrangement of the preceding evening, now refused to go without a remuneration of ten dollars: by the interference of the captain, however, he was induced to proceed.

In the course of the day, captain Keys went on shore to the dola's, and found a considerable number of skins filled with water, lying on the beach, and sheltered from the sun by a covering of mats. These being sent on board, nearly completed the supply, and the charge proved much more reasonable than that of Mocha, as the dola demanded only one dollar for twenty-seven skins.

At night information arrived that Mr. Salt had reached the place of his destination, but that he could not be permitted to move till an order to that effect was obtained from the chief dola at Nokhara. This was accordingly procured and forwarded, together with a piece of Surat cloth to the dola of Dhalac-el-Kibeer.

On the 22d Mr. Salt returned with a view of the island, and made a report of his tour, from which lord Valentia was enabled to compile the following interesting particulars.

About two miles from the spot where they landed, and in the immediate vicinity of a plantation of doom trees, they discovered sixteen wells, similar to those at Nokhara, but the water was only two feet below the surface. Here were two shepherds drawing water for a great herd of asses, several camels, some fine goats, and two sheep. A plantation of date trees had been recently formed here, which had not yet borne any fruit. They hired a couple of asses for a dollar, but they proved very unmanageable.

After passing a creek about four miles and a half from the wells, where they met with a great number of pelicans, they awaited the arrival of Hyder and the boatman under the spreading branches of a mimosa. Whilst they were in this place a native brought them some milk and water, and, having got ready two asses, he civilly went on with them, though he objected to their visiting the place he came from.

After a fatiguing journey of five miles over a rocky and uneven road, they approached Dhalac-el-Kibeer about two o'clock, and were met, at a short distance from the town, by the priest and several of the inhabitants.

Mr. Salt and his companions were then conducted to the serai, had couches prepared for them, and procured the welcome refreshments of milk and water, and coffee. Many of the natives crowded to see the first Europeans who ever had, in their time, visited the island; and Mr. Maxfield's uniform in particular, excited much admiration. On their expressing a wish to go out, the priest observed that he could not allow it, without an order from Nokhara; but this difficulty was soon obviated by a message to lord Valentia. Upon requesting to be left to themselves, every body civilly retired, and they received a supply of some very good cakes, with milk and water. Under pretence of bathing, they obtained permission to visit the harbour, and made some observations. They slept on couches in the open air, but were greatly annoyed by the rats, which,

during the night, contrived to carry off a napkin containing all their provisions.

Next morning the messenger having arrived with the necessary permission from the dola of Nokhara, and the priest having received his present of Surat cloth, Mr. Salt and his companions set off immediately after breakfast, to make their observations.

At a short distance from the town, to the southward, is the tomb of Abou-el-Heimen, a mussulmaun prophet and saint, whose memory is held in the highest veneration. At this sepulchre a light is kept constantly burning, the expence of which Mr. Salt understood to be defrayed by a donation of half a dollar from all travellers. He accordingly gave the money, and then proceeded to the ruins of a tank, which appeared about twenty-eight feet long by twelve broad, and nearly eighteen feet deep. It seemed to have been originally arched at the top, and resembled another at some distance; the form of which was a perfect oval, flat at the bottom, very broad, and about twenty feet in depth; the sides were also arched at top, leaving a circular aperture in the middle, about a yard in diameter, towards which gutters were formed in the rock to bring in the water. Four other tanks were discovered near the sea: one was considerably larger, two others smaller than those already described, and of a circular form: there was no water in either of them, but the bottom of each seemed covered with a sediment, and the air which they contained was found, on stooping down, extremely sultry.

The town of Dhalac-el-Kibeer is situate about half a mile from the sea, with a sloping beach of sand between. The harbour is almost enclosed by nine islands, which form a sort of chain, at the distance of two miles. At present there is scarcely water enough for a dow to approach the shore; yet the port retains many marks of its original importance. On the northern side are the ruins of two small mosques built of stone with circular cupolas, but of rude workmanship. The monumental stones in the surrounding cemetery are placed upright in the ground, and many of them are well adorned with flowers and other decorations. One of these, indifferently carved, and broken at one corner, is said to commemorate the sheik or sultann, who built the tanks, and is constantly kept moist, by the natives, with oil. The only trees in the vicinity of the town are two doom trees, and some acacias. The men had not the woolly head of the negroes, and the women were evidently kept out of

the way, as they never made their appearance except at a distance.

Having ascended an eminence to ascertain the bearings of the town, the Antelope, and the island of Chumma, Mr. Salt proceeded about half a mile north to a creek, which seems to be the same that separates Dhalac from Nokhara, and terminates here : and about four o'clock the party set off on their return.

On arriving at the wells, they found that old Hassan was not come up with their baggage, and after waiting some time, the pilot was requested to go in search of him. At length, after a lapse of nearly two hours, he made his appearance, and asserted that the things had been stolen while he had unfortunately fallen asleep on the road. Mr. Salt, however, was fully persuaded that this was a plan of the pilot's to extort money, by re-obtaining the articles lost; particularly as this artful fellow had expressed great anxiety to have them entrusted to Hassan, instead of a younger man, who could have kept up with the party. Mr. Salt therefore threatened the severest revenge if his property was not restored; and the next morning, by day-break, every thing was taken on board the Antelope, by the pilot, who pretended that he had paid two dollars for this recovery : the fact, however, was so clear, that his demand of repayment was positively refused.

Our author having informed captain Keys that he wished to proceed to Massowah, the old dola went on board on the 23d, with his son, who requested and readily obtained a passage. The former also sent a letter by the captain to the nayib, highly commending the conduct of the Europeans during their stay at his island. He then received the money due to him, and was saluted with one gun as his eatamaran left the side of the vessel. The Antelope weighed anchor between ten and eleven, and the pilot kept her so much to windward, that at three o'clock she was opposite to Massowah, though at a distance of three leagues. Not being able to get completely into the bay, she anchored without, and during the night several guns were heard from the shore.

A curious phenomenon was discovered during this day's sailing. A man having exclaimed that there were shoals right a-head, the company were naturally alarmed; but, on a careful examination, the objects of their apprehension proved to be nothing more than floating masses of fishes' spawn, which, however, had so well defined an outline, and were of such extent, as exactly to resemble shoals.

Early the next morning Mr. Maxfield, who had gone on shore in the jolly-boat, reported that the natives had taken our voyagers for Wahabees, upon which the nayib had come over from Arkeko, and the place had been all night under arms; but on hearing that a great man was on board, who would probably pay the nayib a visit, and would salute the fort with three, five, or seven guns, whichever it would be agreeable to return, the nayib expressed his readiness to give every accommodation to the noble stranger, and to return five guns: but he did not wish for more, as they might probably alarm the Bedowees of the adjacent country, and induce them needlessly to hasten to his protection.

An additional invitation from the nayib was soon brought by some banians, who came off in a boat, the end of which was covered with red and green silk. The salute of five guns was immediately fired; and was answered at different intervals, by guns loaded with ball, the whizzing of which was plainly heard, and which, however widely pointed, were by no means pleasant from such indifferent marksmen. Lord Valentia, Mr. Salt, and his lordship's servant, then put on Indian dresses, and immediately went on shore, taking Hyder with them as interpreter.

On his lordship landing close to the town, they attempted a salute with three brass cannon much injured by the corroding tooth of time: but as the first missed fire, and the noble visitant advanced, it is uncertain with how many they had designed to compliment him. From the pier a small open space led to a large building, where a number of well dressed people appeared in one of the balconies. Our author entered by the gateway, and, after passing through several dilapidated rooms, ascended a slope of rubbish to a spacious apartment, at the end of which a numerous assemblage of half clad natives were seated on mats. The nayib and several well dressed men occupied the balcony on the left side, and opposite to them were two English elbow chairs with old fashioned high backs.

Lord Valentia, on entering, made his salaam to the nayib, who pointed to the chairs. His lordship and Mr. Salt immediately seated themselves, Hyder and the servant standing by. The nayib had on a dress of white muslin, with a scarlet shawl for a turban, exactly resembling that which our author wore round his waist. Next him (as it afterwards appeared) was his brother, the sirdar of the troops, in a large janisary turban of scarlet: the other persons in the balcony were his sons, secretary, &c.

The crowd having filled the apartment, and being crouched on their haunches over the whole surface of the floor, lord Valentia delivered a message to Hyder, expressive of thanks for the nayib's answer in the morning. This was interpreted to a banian, who went in a stooping posture, and communicated it in a low voice to his master. The whole conversation passed in the same manner, and was merely complimentary. The nayib told our author, that he had prepared a house for his reception, and begged him, during his stay, to consider the island as his own, as he might make whatever use he pleased of it. Coffee, without milk or sugar, was introduced, according to the Arab fashion, in very small china cups, placed in larger ones of gilt fillagree; and a castan of red silk was thrown over lord Valentia's shoulders. They afterwards enquired who Mr. Salt was, and on hearing that he was his lordship's secretary, a man went out and soon returned with another castan of blue cloth with yellow silk facing.

Our author now made his salaam, and the nayib rose to attend him. In passing through the gateway the troops got up from their couches to make their salaams, which he returned by a wave of his hand. After walking a considerable distance without speaking a word, he departed one way, and ordered some of his people to conduct his lordship by another, to a small house nearly opposite the Antelope. Here in a stone-built room were several couches, some with blankets and some with carpets thrown over them. The banians seemed to consider themselves in attendance, and the increase of visitors became so great, that our author was obliged to tell them he wanted some repose, upon which they all immediately retired.

Some hours afterwards captain Keys arrived in full uniform, attended by his whole suite, and immediately sent to announce his intention of visiting the nayib; but the proposed interview was put off, first till the evening, and afterwards till the next day. Lord Valentia, however, received presents of water, curry, and other necessities; with a request that he would send to the nayib's banian for every thing he should want.

Next day the surgeon and the second lieutenant came on shore to dine with his lordship, and soon after their arrival captain Keys sent for them to attend him to the nayib. A low fellow from Mocha, who acted as interpreter, the banian, and the havildar of the sepoys, composed the whole

of his suwarry. The nayib did not honour him with a public audience, but received him in a small hut by the seaside, and in a perfect undress.

The same evening, about eight o'clock, our author waited upon him with a present, consisting of a pair of handsome shawls, a gold tissue dress, and a piece of kincaub. The nayib was then in an undress, sitting on a bed in one of the yards of his house, which was only illumined by two small lanterns, the one suspended, the other on the ground. He made his salaams in return to those of his lordship, and pointed to a seat placed close to his.

To the enquiries of lord Valentia respecting the practicability of passing up this coast to Suez, and obtaining water and provisions for the vessels on the way, he replied, that he would willingly supply every thing in his power; he added, that the people at Massowah were very good and civil; but he could not equally answer for those on the main, notwithstanding they were under his jurisdiction. On receiving the presents, he asked "What are these for? have you not every thing? what do you ask from me?" His lordship acknowledged the uniform kindness with which he had been treated since his arrival, and had the pleasure to find, that pilots had been sent for, according to his request. The nayib then presented Hyder with five dollars, and after taking coffee, our author retired to his lodging.

The nayib, whose name is Edris, is rather a small man, about forty years of age, and of a grave countenance. At the time of lord Valentia's visit, he had held his authority nine years, and bore a most excellent character; he has two sons grown up, by one of his wives, and two infants by an Abyssinian.

During an indisposition occasioned by restlessness and a slight fever, our author procured an Ascar to keep his door, and prevent the intrusion of coffee-drinking visitants; and as his host proved a very intelligent man, he gathered from him the following particulars:

The government of Dhalac is considered very profitable to the person who enjoys it: as the nayib receives from him only some camels, goats, and asses, together with about sixty dollars. If any particular occurrence should throw a considerable sum into the hands of the dola, the nayib would claim it; but if, as in our author's case, it did not exceed thirty or forty dollars, he would permit him to keep it for his own use. The nayib generally resides at Arkeko: for,

although the place is not so pleasant as Massowah, the greater part of his dominions lie there, and his subjects have an easy access to him.

With respect to trade, they export elephants' teeth from the hills of Gibbel Gidden, and those behind Arkeko : and from Habesh they send gold dust, civet, hides, gee, sheep, and slaves : and in return they send up English broad cloth, arms, ammunition, and various Indian manufactures : a small supply of grain is also brought from Abyssinia. Their own country contains great numbers of goats and oxen ; game also appears to be plentiful, and the sea supplies them with an abundant variety of fish. The water at Arkeko is very plentiful, but not of superior quality. A daily supply is sent thence to Massowah, where there are only thirty tanks of rain water, and these appear to be private property.

Every house is surrounded with a fence of reeds, and the rooms, built of the same materials, are all detached, and lined with mats. The natives are extremely civil, and do not appear jealous of their women ; as many of them came down to bathe, and performed their ablutions in full view of the place where lord Valentia sat. The men and women are naturally well formed, but the figures of the latter are destroyed by parturition.

The banians here, who amount to about eighteen in number, are very comfortable, and are at liberty to marry if they please ; which is not the case at Mocha. They are also less oppressed, and carry on a considerable trade. The nayib receives ten per cent. *ad valorem* on all exports and imports, and one dollar for every person who enters the country for the purpose of commerce. The people of Dhalac have renewed the pearl-fishery to a certain degree ; but from this the nayib receives no emolument, notwithstanding some of the best banks are his own property.

Pilots having been engaged to take our author to Snakin, his lordship wrote officially on the 8th of June to captain Keys, announcing his intention of going thither ; but in the evening a most extraordinary answer arrived, stating that there had been much delay by taking this passage, and notifying to his lordship, that the Antelope must leave the Red Sea by the middle of August, in order to save her passage for the season.

Convinced of the impracticability of getting to Suez within the prescribed period, and unwilling to wander about till that time on a rough sea, lord Valentia informed the cap-

tain on the 10th, that he should prefer complaints against him to the supreme government for breach of orders, and at the same time notified his intention of returning to Mocha within a few days. His lordship then announced to the nayib, that he should not want the pilots, and gave them ten dollars as a remuneration for their time and trouble.

On the night of the 11th a most terrible uproar was made by the screaming and crying of the female natives. It seems they had just received intelligence from Jidda, of the death of a man, master of a neighbouring house, whose brother was in the nayib's service. The street was crowded with people, all crying, while the women continued their shrieks within their habitations. The tom-tom's, however, soon set them a dancing, and this continued, with few intermissions, all the night. The next morning all the women flocked to the water-side, to wash themselves and the widow, who is permitted to marry again at the expiration of four months. Their dress consisted of two pieces of striped cloth, one worn round the waist, and the other over their shoulders. Their faces were uncovered; their hair, whether woolly or not, was uniformly plaited; and their ornaments consisted of small loop ear-rings, beads, and sequins. With respect to the men, those of the higher class wear the Arab dress, or a plain shirt and drawers; the common people have nothing but a wrapper round the middle. Their sandals have been accurately delineated by Niebuhr.

The nayib left Massowah on the 16th, and after his departure our author had neither water nor any other necessities sent him. He therefore immediately prepared for returning to Mocha; and on the 19th went on board, accompanied by the banian and his landlord, who determined to attend him to the ship, and who were very well satisfied with the presents which they received on taking their leave.

On the 24th, by seven in the morning, the town of Mocha was in view; before twelve the Antelope came to an anchor; and about two our author went on shore, and took possession of the upper apartments at the factory.

The next morning his lordship was informed that two English lads belonging to the Antelope, who had been left at Mocha in consequence of indisposition, had deserted to the dola. A messenger was immediately dispatched to ascertain the cause of this conduct, and to endeavour to persuade them to return. They replied, that captain Keys had sent for them on the preceding evening, and said he supposed they were tired of being idle on shore, and would be glad of

returning to the ship. They said they had not been idle, and expressed a wish to remain on shore, because they got a plentiful supply of food. Upon this, the captain ordered them to go on board in the morning, when Mr. Hall should receive instructions to punish them. They therefore resolved to desert, and in the night got over the wall. Some attempts were made to recall them to their duty, but altogether in vain. A second desertion of a similar nature took place on the 5th of July, when two of the youngest apprentices swam away from the *Antelope* in the night.

Early in the morning of the 6th, the *Fox* frigate came in sight, and about noon anchored in the roads. Lord Valentia immediately wrote to the captain, stating that captain Keys's conduct had compelled him to abandon his voyage, and requesting a passage to Bombay. The boat immediately returned with a very polite note, offering every accommodation the *Fox* could afford, and inviting his lordship to dinner.

In the course of conversation, the same day, our author proposed that the *Antelope* should return to India with captain Vashon's dispatches; and the next morning he wrote officially to captain Keys, to resign his nominal command; having previously taken care to secure a passage for Mr. Salt, who had it in charge to deliver his lordship's dispatches to Mr. Duncan, and to forward those which were directed to the governor-general.

On the 15th, captain Vashon having proposed to go to Aden for a fortnight, our author went on board the *Fox*, and set sail about noon. At seven o'clock they passed the straits, and found a most agreeable difference in the climate, by which his lordship, who had been extremely relaxed, felt himself sensibly relieved.

On the 18th, about four o'clock, they came to an anchor in Aden roads, about a mile distant from Fortified Island. The town of Aden, as viewed from the sea, exhibits little more than a heap of ruins, out of which two mosques and two minarets rear their white-washed heads. The rocky peninsula on which it is seated resembles the half of a volcano, the crater of which is covered by the sea, while the town lies immediately on its edge. Numerous small square forts crown the summits of the elevated rocks; and the ruins of several lines and forts almost cover a second ridge towards the bay. Fortified Island, when covered with works, must have been impregnable; and, in the opinion of our author, it might be rendered so again, with very little trouble.

The following morning by day-break, lord Valentia and captain Vashon went on shore, to look out for a spot where they might fix their tents. At length they found a tolerable one on the ruins of some houses near one of the rocks. The exterior of the sultaun's house made a despicable figure: all the others seemed to be constructed of basket-work and matting. The sultaun, who always comes here for some time at this season, behaved with great civility, and procured the captain some excellent bullocks, in which he seems to be the sole dealer: he also sent him a present of a cow, two sheep, and seven goats. Limes, grapes, and pomegranates, are produced at Aden in great abundance; but there are no esculent vegetables. The climate is accounted healthy, but our voyagers were peculiarly unfortunate with respect to weather, the wind being so extremely violent, that their tents were blown down and torn to pieces. On the evening of August 2, his lordship returned safely to Mocha, where his former quarters had been prepared for his reception.

At the request of Mr. Pringle, our author paid a visit to a seid, named Sidi Mahomed Akil, a very opulent man, who had the best house in Mocha. Though occasionally there, he was a native of Morabat, where his wives resided: he had also houses at Muscat, Jidda, and on the coast of Malabar. As his lordship's visit was expected, the house was lighted up, and every thing in the best order. The seid met his noble guest at the door, and conducted him from one flight of narrow steps to another, till at length they came to two pleasant rooms, on the top of the house, the sides of which resembled Venetian blinds: the floor was carpeted, and the furniture consisted of English elbow-chairs covered with cushions.

After being served with sherbet spiced with nutmegs, and coffee scented with cloves, the conversation became more free and agreeable than might have been expected from an Arab. He laughed about the women, and enquired whether his lordship wished to learn all the secrets of the harem; promising, at the same time, to give him a book which would answer that purpose:—a promise which he seems to have forgotten. His library consisted of several hundred volumes, among which was a beautiful Koran, written in Persian and Arabic characters, on vellum: it was richly ornamented, and valued by its owner at 250 dollars. On our author's taking leave, he had rose-water thrown over his handkerchief, and was respectfully attended by the Arab to the door.

On the 14th, the banian of the nayib of Massowah arrived at Mocha on some business of his own, and, as he was now in perfect safety, his lordship easily induced him to speak without restraint. He represented the nayib as an excellent man, but allowed that he was under the influence of his brothers and those about him; who were very dishonest. The poor banian added, that they had obliged him, after lord Valentia's departure, to give up to them a great proportion of his presents.

The Fox being ready for sea before the day fixed by the merchants for her departure, our author went on board with his servants on the 23d, and was received by the captain with the usual salute; but they did not sail till the 25th.

The following day they were overtaken by a severe squall, which was succeeded by light breezes with a variable current to the end of the month. On the 12th of September they arrived at Malabar Point, the scenery of which, though in the dusk of evening, was sufficiently visible to excite admiration. The islands, which divide it into several parts, are feathered with wood to their summits, while the main land behind them exhibits a mountainous chain equally picturesque and romantic, to which the level island of Bombay, covered with cocoa-trees, forms a striking contrast.

On the 14th, before seven in the morning, our author landed under a salute from the fort, and was conveyed in a palanquin to the government-house, where he was met by Mr. Duncan, the governor, and most cordially congratulated on his arrival. This gentleman expressed the utmost regret at the misconduct of captain Keys, who, he said, had been put under arrest; and kindly promised his utmost assistance towards the execution of any future plans which his lordship might propose.

Our noble author embraced the earliest opportunity of communicating the result of his voyage to the marquis Wellesley; and strongly urged the eligibility of a small vessel being appointed to continue the survey from Massowah to Cosseir. At the same time, he stated his design of returning to Europe by the Persian Gulf, and solicited from his excellency letters of recommendation to the pacha of Bagdad, who, in all probability, would afford every assistance in crossing the desert.

As no answer could arrive from Calcutta in less than six weeks, his lordship determined to fill up the interval by a visit to Poonah. He accordingly wrote to colonel Close, the British resident with the paishwa, requesting that he would

apprise his highness of his intention; and an immediate answer informed him, that the paishwa was much gratified with the idea of his visit, which he wished should take place at the approaching festival of the dusserah.

On the 6th of October the preparations ordered by government were all completed: tents had been forwarded to the different stations at which his lordship must necessarily stop; forty bearers were in readiness to carry the palanquins, and the governor's gold sticks were also in attendance. Captain Young, commissary of stores at the first port in the Mahratta country, was ordered to attend the noble traveller to Poonah, and above the gauts arrangements for his conveyance were cheerfully made by colonel Close.

As the river on which Panwell is seated is, in the dry season, merely an inlet of the sea, and navigable to that place at high water, it was necessary to wait for the turn of the tide. This occurred at eight o'clock, when our author set off, under a salute of fifteen guns from the fort; the governor's aides-de-camp, and major Green, having previously attended him to the water-side. The islands are, for the most part, covered with wood; but Butcher's Island is clear, except on the north side, where several buildings have been erected near an old Mahratta fort. Among the elevations which form a back ground to the landscape, Funnel Hill is singularly conspicuous, as its summit resembles a vast pillar, elevated in the centre of a flat, on the top of a rock. Between the islands of Salsette and Elephanta the bay begins to contract in its dimensions; and here our author was overtaken by the sea breeze. A small fort built by the English, but much dilapidated, commands the entrance of the river Pan, which was now full, the trees being literally half covered by the water. The adjacent fields of paddy exhibited a cheerful prospect, and even the mountains were clothed with verdure, except where their smooth surface was broken by rocky pinnacles rising to such a height as to be occasionally concealed by the floating clouds. In a word, no part of India presents so complete a combination of picturesque scenery and high cultivation.

On reaching the landing place near the village of Panwell, our author was shocked at seeing the vultures and Paria dogs contending over the body of a poor wretch who had fallen a victim to the recent famine. Twelve men are employed, at an expence of forty-five rupees per month, to bury the bodies; and they have sometimes performed this melancholy office to thirty in a day. Want of rain seems,

in the first instance, to have occasioned a scarcity, and this was soon increased to a famine, by the devastations of the Mahratta war. The Guzerat, Cokan, and the neighbouring poor of Bombay have been protected by the British power, which, to its everlasting honour, has afforded a daily supply of food to 12,000 persons from the stores of rice procured from Bengal.

On our author's arrival he found captain Young scarcely settled in his new habitation. His business has been to forward stores to the British garrison at Poonab, which would otherwise have been in great want. This has given employment to nearly 5000 poor people, who have had provisions from the stores; and about 150 other persons have been charitably fed at the kitchen every day on rice; yet the deaths during six months are computed at four thousand.

The village of Panwell appears tolerably populous, and is pleasantly situated on the banks of the river, in a plain surrounded by elevated mountains. The tomb of Kurrum Ali Khan is a neat building, with a dome and two small pinnacles, embosomed in a grove of mango trees, and has a tank covered with beautiful red and white nymphæ: to this tomb are attached twenty-five readers of the Koran.

On the 7th of October the widow of the famous Nana Furnese sent some breakfast to lord Valentia, with her salaams. She is said to be a pretty girl of about sixteen, and was married when an infant: she now resides with an uncle. Before breakfast, our author walked through the village to visit a pagoda dedicated to Mahadeo, but it exhibited nothing worthy of notice, except a good tank in front of it. The building was filled with mendicants, some of whom, particularly the children, were almost reduced to skeletons. After an early dinner the party set off, and, winding among the hills, arrived between seven and eight o'clock at their tents near the village of Chonke; a distance of thirteen miles; where the amil of the district presented them with some fruit, fowls, and kids.

The next day they proceeded twelve miles to Campaly, which is situated close to the foot of the pass, and surrounded by hills covered with jungle. Several small streams descend from a mountain which nearly resembles the Table-land of the Cape, and a rivulet runs through the village. Here also are a neat pagoda and a very fine tank. Every idea of pleasure, however, was completely banished from our author's breast, by the heart-rending spectacles of dying wretches, and cadaverous bodies with which he was surrounded.

At half past five in the morning they set off, and breakfasted at the village of Candalla, just at the top of the Gaut. However, they had but little appetite, as the plain which extended below them, exhibited a more dreadful spectacle than Campaly : several houses were uninhabited, every face bore the impress of famine, and the vultures and Paria dogs were seen feeding upon upwards of 100 dead bodies. All the poor that were still alive were assembled, and generously assisted by the charity of lord Valentia and his companions.

Hastening from this scene of horror, they pursued their route through a fine and richly cultivated country ; and, as the air was cool and the bearers were in high spirits, they arrived by half after eleven in the neighbourhood of the famous caves of Carli ; where colonel Close had ordered tents and every other convenience to be prepared for their reception. The killadar, or military governor of the Esapoor fort, attended by a guard of native soldiers, came to pay his respects to lord Valentia ; and a messenger from colonel Close brought in some butter and a profusion of fruit. The travellers had now the good fortune to be out of sight of those dismal objects which had so invariably occurred in the villages. On the south a mango tope formed an agreeable screen, and a pellucid tank occupied their front. A violent storm, however, disturbed their tranquillity, as the rain found a passage through some parts of their tent, and the claps of thunder were so close and tremendous as to excite great alarm.

Next morning, in consequence of the want of cooleys, the party were obliged to breakfast where they were, and to make their own people assist in forwarding the baggage : however, as it was tolerably cool, the men got on without difficulty. The road lay through a valley, covered with pieces of onyx, cornelian, and agate. Fields of paddy frequently occurred, and the hills were completely clothed with verdure. At length, after travelling twelve miles, they halted near Tillegam ; and the next day, after passing through a populous town, and fording a river, they arrived at the tents beyond Chinchoord, whence our author was to be conducted by captain Frissel to Poonah.

On the 12th at day-light lord Valentia entered his palanquin ; but most of the other gentlemen rode. The country appeared to have been dreadfully ravaged during the late war, and the village of Ound, seated on the bank of the Moota, was nearly in ruins. On the opposite shore his lordship was met by colonel Close, and the officers of the British

detachment at Poonah. And a little to the westward of Gunnais Coondah he received the deputation from the durbar of the paishwa. The chiefs were on elephants in covered houdahs; a large body of cavalry was drawn up; and the officers made their salaams as our author passed along the line. A carpet being spread on the plain, the deputation alighted, when each person was presented separately to his lordship, and embraced; after which they seated themselves without chairs or cushions. Anund Row, the paishwa's minister for British affairs, delivered the congratulatory compliments of his highness, on our author's arrival at so propitious a season as the Dusserah; to which colonel Close made a suitable reply in his lordship's name.

This ceremony being ended, his lordship retired to colonel Close's residence, where, after the fatigue of a march, and the inconvenience of a tent, he found himself most agreeably situated. The gardens are seated on the bank of the Moota, where it joins the Moola, and forms the Mootamoola river: it is a charming spot, adorned with cypress and fruit trees; and at the point is a very handsome bungelow, where breakfast and dinner are served. The colonel keeps an excellent table, but beef is excluded, out of respect to the prejudices of the natives. On the opposite bank of the river the inhabitants burn the dead bodies, and afterwards throw the ashes into the stream.

The 13th was the day of the Hindoo festival of the Dusserah, in which the paishwa was to perform a principal part; but as our author had not been presented to him, he could only make his observations at a short distance. As soon as the paishwa quitted his palace, lord Valentia and colonel Close mounted their elephants, and, attended by the horse guard and suwarry, crossed the river to the British lines, where the troops were drawn out in line, with their artillery on the left. Our author and his companions retired behind them, by way of being incognito. The paishwa, seated in a houdah of looking-glass, passed obliquely along the line till he came to a spot where a branch of a tree had been stuck in the ground. Here he alighted from his elephant, and performed certain ceremonies, on the conclusion of which a royal salute was fired. He then remounted, and passed from right to left in front of the line, being received with presented arms: the regimental colours also were lowered, and a second royal salute was fired as he passed the artillery. The only interesting part of the spectacle, was the British troops now for the first time assisting at a Hindoo festival

in the capital of the empire. In former times, Holkar, Scindiah, and other chiefs, used to attend; when their immense bodies of cavalry completely covered the surrounding plains, and whole fields were devastated, the paishwa himself setting the example; but now his attendants contented themselves with gathering a few heads of grain. After celebrating this festival, they used to set out on their predatory excursions into the adjacent countries; as it was deemed peculiarly fortunate to begin a war upon the celebration of the victory which Ram obtained over the giant Rawan.

The following particulars of the origin of this festival were gathered by our author, through the medium of colonel Close, from some of the most intelligent Brahmins. "Seeta having been carried off by the giant Rawan, her husband, Ram, set out to attack the ravisher, and in his way arrived at a place called Kiskinda, which was under the government of a monkey named Walee. Walee had seized the wife of his brother Soogreo, and banished him from the town. The injured exile, attended by four other monkeys, took up their residence on a mountain six coss from Kiskinda. Ram, happening to pass over this mountain, was made acquainted with the case of Soogreo, and persuaded to espouse his cause. Accordingly in a short time he destroyed Walee, restored the wife of Soogreo, and invested him with the government of Kiskinda. Ram then proceeded to attack Rawan on the 10th of the moon Aswin, which is celebrated as the 10th of victory, commonly called the Dusserah. The first night Ram halted under a tree called *gokurnee*, from the resemblance of its blossom, in shape, to a cow's ear; and here he performed his devotions, one object of which was the tree itself. When he had concluded, the monkeys who accompanied him presented him with leaves of the *gokurnee*, as the only offerings then in their power to make. In a short time, however, all the leaves of the tree were expended. They then brought those of another tree called *aptah*; and when these were exhausted they presented the leaves of a third tree, called *shummee*. Ram then ordained, that in case of his expedition proving successful, devotion should ever be paid to those trees on the Veejya Dusmee or Dusserah, that is, to one at a time; to the *gokurnee* if procurable; if not, to the *aptah*; or, last, to the *shummee*. After the monkeys had presented their offerings to Ram, they interchanged the leaves among themselves."

From the same source our author received the following account.—"The devotion paid to the tree on the Dusserah,

may be performed indiscriminately by every Hindoo, unassisted by a Brahmin; nor is it necessary that the person performing the ceremony should divest himself of any part of his apparel. First, he sprinkles a little water on the tree or branch; he then throws on a few grains of rice, to which he adds a little powdered sandal wood mixed in water, and ornaments it with flowers. Some sweetmeats and betel-nut prepared in the usual manner, are then laid before the tree as offerings, and some is given to an indigent Brahmin, who is also entitled to the money laid before the tree. This concludes the ceremony, which is celebrated through all the Hindoo governments, according to the directions contained in the Shanscrit books, which treat on the ceremonies to be observed each month throughout the year. At Poonah, however, an addition is made which is not ordered. The paishwa receives a number of leaves from the bough, which he gives to his attendants, and which they interchange among themselves, in imitation of the monkeys. He afterwards holds a durbar, where nazurs of gold mohurs are presented, and in return he gives each a leaf.

The paishwa having fixed on the 14th to receive our author's visit of ceremony, his lordship and colonel Close, attended by their suites and suwarries, set off about four o'clock; having previously learned that the deputation from the durbar was on the opposite side of the river. The paishwa's minister for British affairs, and the assistant dewan of the state, after paying their respects, took the lead of the procession, in order to shew the way to the palace. They were attended by a considerable body of cavalry; and on the opposite shore an escort of British infantry joined his lordship's suwarry. In the place before the palace, the paishwa's horse and guard of infantry were drawn out, with his elephants and suwarry, but their appearance was by no means splendid. As the procession passed under the Nobit Kanah the kettle-drums beat. Within the walls the servants were all at their respective stations, and numbers of the higher orders occupied the windows. Our author having quitted his palanquin and ascended the stairs, waited a few moments at the door of the durbar, till he saw that the dewan of state was sufficiently near; when, having taken off his slippers, he stepped on the white cloth with which the apartment was covered, colonel Close supporting his left arm. Whilst his lordship was in the act of embracing the dewan, and presenting the officers of his suite, the paishwa entered, and stepped on his guddy or throne, which was of white

muslin, richly embroidered with gold and coloured silk. Our author hastened towards him, supported as before by the colonel, with the dewan on his right. The paishwa continued standing, and slightly embraced his noble guest with the right hand, his lordship doing the same. A similar ceremony took place with the paishwa's brother; and after the gentlemen of his lordship's suite had been presented and embraced, they all sat down, without chairs or cushions, and were not permitted to put out their feet, as showing the sole of the foot is considered extremely disrespectful.

As silence is the etiquette of the court, and whatever is said must be in a low whisper, our author spoke to the colonel, who translated it to the dewan, and he stretching himself out towards the paishwa, on his knees, with his hands closed and raised up, in a low voice reported the enquiry after his highness's health; and the answer was returned by the same conveyance. The paishwa, however, soon expressed a wish, through the dewan, of retiring into a more private place, where the conversation might be less restrained. Accordingly, our author followed him into a small apartment, attended by the colonel, the dewan, the sub dewan, and the minister for British affairs. The paishwa seated himself on a small Turkey carpet in one corner of the room, and placed lord Valentia on his left hand, while the rest formed part of a circle in front of him. He now relaxed considerably from his etiquette, smiled, and began a very interesting conversation, in which he frequently gave a very elegant turn to his expressions. Among many other compliments, he proposed giving his lordship a fête at his country house; and after about an hour, he returned to the durbar, but no conversation passed after he was seated on the gummy. Pawn, rose water, attar, and spices, were then given to all the party, and the paishwa presented our author with a gold box filled with pawn, from his own hand. The giving of presents was deferred till the projected fête: the Europeans therefore made their salaams and departed, the dewans attending them to the door.

The paishwa and his brother wore plain white muslin dresses, without any jewels. The dewan of the empire had some flat diamonds in his turban, a necklace of pearls and emeralds, and ear-rings of gold, suspending the most beautiful pearls.

The palace is a tolerably handsome edifice, and the durbar room is large, and supported by handsome carved pillars. The town is indifferent: some of the houses, how-

ever, are large, and built with square blocks of granite to the height of about fourteen feet from the ground: the upper part is a frame-work of timber, with slight walls, merely to exclude the wind and rain.

Mr. Salt took a beautiful view from the colonel's gardens, including the junction of the rivers, and the pagodas erected on the opposite side, a favourite spot among the Hindoos. Mahadeo is the principal object of worship; but his wife Parbuttee, and her son Gunnais, share in the adoration. The pagoda dedicated to this goddess has a very pretty effect, as it crowns the summit of a sugar-loaf hill, and behind it is the fort of Saoghnur, seated on a level mountain.

The paishwa having fixed on the 19th to return our author's visit, colonel Close had a very large tent pitched in front of the house, and two others were joined to it without their sides, so as to form one spacious apartment: the guddy had been sent forward, and was placed in the centre, as at the durbar in the palace. On his highness coming in sight, the colonel mounted an elephant, and advanced to meet him, while lord Valentia waited his approach at the door of the tent. After the sirdars and maunkarries had made their salaams, and passed into the tent, the paishwa and his brother descended from their elephants, and all the party seated themselves as at the durbar, while the nautch girls entertained them with singing and dancing. After pawn and attar had been given to the attendants, our author requested permission to attire the paishwa and his brother. This being acceded to, he got up, and, crossing the musnud, began with his highness's brother, whose head-dress was decorated with ornaments of diamonds and coloured precious stones, and with several strings of pearls; a pearl necklace, called a mala, with a jewel of coloured stones suspended from the centre, was also put round his neck, and fastened with strings behind: the same ceremonies were then gone through with the paishwa, but in addition he had diamond bracelets. A telescope and bon-bon box, ornamented with the picture of the goddess Gunja, were then presented to his highness; and his brother received a box decorated with a figure of Indra, after which our author gave them pawn and attar, the latter of which he rubbed gently down the paishwa's shoulders, as the highest possible compliment. His highness was so well pleased on the occasion, that, notwithstanding it was a public visit of ceremony, he repeatedly smiled, and addressed himself both to our author and colonel Close; and the evening had nearly shut in before he de-

parted. The ministers remained a short time, when they received presents according to their rank, and the nautch girls repeated some of their most interesting songs, as a relaxation after the fatigue of a state visit. It afterwards appeared, that his highness ought to have assisted on this day at a great religious festival, and that, in consequence of his absence, he was fined several hundred rupees. This furnished the Brahmins with a handsome feast; and at night the pagoda of Parbuttee was completely illuminated.

On the 20th our author set off, with the usual suwarry, to the Hora Baug, the country house of the paishwa. It is pleasantly situated on the side of a large tank, very irregular in its shape. In the centre is a small island, ornamented with a pagoda. The opposite side rises gradually into a sugar-loaf hill, the top of which is crowned by the pagoda of Parbuttee. The house itself is unfinished, and presents nothing worthy of notice. The garden, however, is very fine, and contains a considerable number of cocoa-nut and mango trees. The guddy was placed in a verandah, opening to a bason with fountains, and screened from the sun by a trellis of vines.

The visitors were soon requested to go up stairs; his highness passing through a back door, while they ascended to a platform with a verandah at each end. In one of these a white cloth was spread, on which were plantain leaves equal in number to the European gentlemen present. On each leaf was a Brahmin's dinner, consisting of rice, thin pastry rolled up, bread, and pease pudding. On one side was a row of sweatmeats, resembling the colours on a painter's pallet; and on the other side were seven different sorts of curried vegetables. Rice milk, gee, and other liquids, were also placed for each guest, in small pans of plantain leaf.

The repast being finished, the party followed their host down stairs; where, after seating themselves, the betel was laid at his highness's feet, and served round, beginning at the bottom of the line, and proceeding upwards. The presents were then brought in, consisting of a pair of shawls, a piece of cloth, and a piece of kincaub, worth about 200 rupees. There was no visible difference between those which were given to lord Valentia's servant and those presented to Messrs. Salt, Young, Murray, &c. The gentlemen of the establishment were entirely overlooked. His lordship's presents consisted of the same articles, together with a piece of muslin, and jewels, which were put on by the dewan of the

empire. A horse and elephant were also at the door, in return for those which the paishwa had received at his late visit. His highness then presented our author with a very fine sword, handsomely mounted in green and gold; which, as forming no part of the presents of ceremony, was particularly acceptable; and which his lordship promised to hand down to his son, and to his son's son. A few compliments passed at taking leave, and the dewan attended the company to the end of the carpet. They returned through the town, which appeared considerably larger than had been expected. Several of the houses are three stories high, and the bazar is a fine building; but the pagodas are insignificant.

As an appropriate close to the civilities he had already received, our author was invited by the dewan to join a party the following day at the paishwa's garden. The company set off at the usual hour, and were received by the dewan, who walked by lord Valentia's side to a carpet divided by a pillow, and spread where the paishwa's gummy had been placed on the preceding day. He and his party sat on the right hand of it; our author and his friends on the left. They soon adjourned up stairs, where a dinner was laid out, exactly similar to that already described, and the dewan conversed with his guests during the whole of this repast. On their return to the lower apartment, pawn and attar were sent round; after which presents quite as good as those of the paishwa, were given to all the party. Our author's presents were the same as before, with the exception of an ornament of pearls called the *toorrah*.

Colonel Close had kindly permitted the assistant resident, captain Frissell, to accompany our author to Bombay, and designed to go himself as far as Chinchoor. Accordingly, on the 22d at sun-rise, his lordship quitted Poonah under a salute from the lines. Soon afterwards the village of Ound was pointed out to him, as an instance of the curious manner in which the possessions of different chiefs of the Mahratta empire were separated from each other. This small district, though completely surrounded by the territories of the paishwa, belongs to Scindiah; while Culpee, at the other extremity of the empire, is the property of his highness. This intermixture of estates was formerly considered beneficial, as tending to preclude a separation of interests; but as the union of these princes is now at an end, it has been proposed that all detached possessions should be exchanged, and the territories of each consolidated.

About nine o'clock lord Valentia reached Chinchoor, where he found assembled those friends who had attended him for the purpose of visiting the extraordinary personage described by captain Moore in the Asiatic Researches, and whom great numbers of the Mahratta nation consider as an incarnation of their favourite deity Gunputty. Our author therefore immediately dispatched a messenger to the reigning deity, Chinta-mun-Deo, notifying his intention of visiting him in the evening, and requesting in the mean time an account of his family from some learned Brahmin. A very gracious answer was returned, and besides a Brahmin of superior learning, the deo sent one of his own relations, from whom, through the medium of colonel Close, and the kind assistance of captain Frissell, our author learnt the following particulars.

Mooraba Gosseyn was a native of Beder and a Mahratta Brahmin. In his youth he paid no attention to business, but constantly employed himself in running about the country, gathering flowers, and offering them to the deities. This way of life gave such offence to his father, that he turned him out of doors. In passing Moraishwer, Mooraba was particularly struck with the deity Gunputty, and resolved, in future, to pay him regular devotion. He, however, proceeded to Chinchoor, which had then but two houses and no name; and, being pleased with the situation, he took up his residence there. Every morning he regularly performed his ablutions in the river, and then set off for Moraishwer, distant twenty-five coss, where he paid his devotions to Gunputty, and returned in the evening to Chinchoor. At this time the Pingli family of Mahratta Brahmins were possessed of great power at Moraishwer, and performed the pooja. On the first great festival of Gunnais Chout, Mooraba having prepared his flowers and offerings, entertained the hope of being able to perform the ceremony, which he considered as particularly meritorious. On the appointed day the Pingli Brahmins performed the ceremonies with great splendour, and poor Mooraba found it impossible to approach for the concourse of more wealthy suppliants. However, he retired to the foot of a naipite tree, where he performed his pooja, and left his offerings; after which he returned home as usual. During the night the offerings were transposed, those of the Pingli being placed at the foot of the tree, while Mooraba's were placed before the deity. Alarmed at this circumstance, the Poojanie Brahmins enquired to whom the accepted offerings belonged, and were informed

that a Cokan Brahmin had performed his devotions, the day before, at the foot of the tree, and had since disappeared.

On Mooraba's returning the following day, he was brought before the Pingli, to whom he simply related all that had passed: but on his affirming that he lived below the gauts, they considered him, on account of the immense distance, either to have dealt in sorcery, or to have told them an untruth; and under this idea they caused him to be driven across the river, and threatened him with punishment if he should presume to return.

Almost broken hearted by this unjust severity, Mooraba laid himself down at the foot of a mimosa, deprecating the wrath of the deity, and expressing his willingness to resign his life, as he could not eat till he had performed his devotions, and this he was unable to do. At this instant a Brahmin, who was in reality Gunputty, appeared to him, and enquired the cause of his grief; and after listening to his tale, he offered to accommodate him with utensils and provisions, and to conduct him to the deity. To this proposal Mooraba objected, as he could have no merit in presenting an offering of things which were not of his own procuring. He therefore begged the Brahmin to lend him as much money as would purchase the offerings, and to accept, as a security, his lota, or small vessel in which he used to prepare his food. The Brahmin replied, that without his lota he would be unable to mix up his offering: that therefore he should first procure the articles, and give his lota in pledge at the termination of the ceremony. Accordingly Mooraba and the Brahmin went into the town; and after the devotions were over, they returned to the foot of the mimosa and ate together. Mooraba then went down to the river, to wash his lota, which was now to be given in pledge; but on his return the Brahmin had disappeared, and after ascertaining that the articles had been paid for at the shop, Mooraba returned to Chinceoor.

The same night Gunputty appeared in a dream to the Pingli, and told them he was greatly incensed at their conduct towards the poor Brahmin, who had evinced so much devotion by his daily pilgrimages and zealous offerings; and therefore he was resolved to quit them, and henceforth to be served by him. Next morning Mooraba arrived, as usual, at the foot of the tree, but durst not approach any nearer without his friendly Brahmin. As soon as his arrival was known, the Pingli, attended by the magistrates and other Brahmins, set out to pay their respects to him, and,

after telling their dream; earnestly requested him to take up his abode at Moraishwer. This he declined, and on their enquiring where he lived, he told him they might learn that fact by sending a man with him. A person was accordingly dispatched; but he could only keep up with Mooraba for ten coss, when he lost him, and returned to the Pingli. A second messenger was sent with him the following day, but he returned with no better success than the former.

After some time Gunputty appeared in a dream to Mooraba, still preserving the form of the Brahmin, and told him that he need not in future take the trouble to go every day to Moraishwer to present his offerings; for, the next morning, he, Gunputty, would visit him at his own residence, and take up his abode with him. In the morning, Mooraba performed his ablutions up to his waist in the river; he, as usual, dipped his head and his hands joined together under the water; and when he raised them up again, he was equally pleased and astonished to find in his hands the image of Gunputty, as worshipped at Moraishwer. Accordingly he took it home, prepared a shrine for it, and ever afterwards performed his pooja to it, without making any more pilgrimages to Moraishwer. The report of Gunputty having taken up his residence at Chinchoor, brought thither a considerable number of Brahmins; one of whom, a man of great respectability, offered his daughter to Mooraba. After their marriage the deity appeared in a dream to Mooraba, and told him that his wife was pregnant, but she would have only one son, and that son would be himself. He therefore ordered him to call his name Chintau-mun-Deo, which was one of Gunputty's titles.

The event fulfilled the prediction of the deity, and the inhabitants of the adjacent country paid their adorations to Chintau-mun-Deo. He, in his turn, had a son, who was named Narain Deo; and, from that period, they have borne the appellations of Chintau-mun-Deo, and Narain Deo, alternately. Each deity has been burnt after his death, and a small image of Gunputty is said to have risen miraculously from the ashes. On our author asking his informers, how they could be certain of the divinity of Chintau-mun-Deo's descendants, they replied, that when Gunputty first took up his residence with Mooraba, he promised to stay with him for twenty-one generations. The Brahmins, however, do not seem to have acted with their usual prudence; for the present Deo has no son, and his wife is a child: were she to die, therefore, before she is old enough to bear children, there

would probably be much difficulty in carrying on the imposture.

The present Deo resides on the opposite bank of the river, in a very good house. Our author and his friends went over in a boat, and landed at the spot where the ashes of the former Deos are deposited in small stone pagodas. The temple of the first deity is the largest, but without ornaments: the walls are very thick, and the doors are fastened with bolts on the inside.

When they arrived at the residence of the Deo, they were seated in a verandah, and the door was opened which communicated with the apartment where the Deo sat, on a small elevation; but as the room was dark, he was hardly discernible. Lord Valentia and colonel Close presented each a nazur, which was taken by a Brahmin, and laid at the feet of the Deo, who, after surveying it attentively, motioned to have it removed.

On hearing that a medical gentleman was in company, the Brahmin intimated that the Deo wanted his assistance, and a window was immediately opened, which afforded a full view of him: he was a heavy-looking man, with very weak eyes, for which he now solicited assistance. Mr. Murray having expressed a wish to examine them, was admitted into the sanctum sanctorum, and soon discovered that a film had grown over both eyes, so that little assistance could be afforded without constant attendance: however, he was not permitted to touch them, as the Deo said he had performed his ablutions for the day. After presenting our author with a handful of almonds and a pan of holy rice, he promised that every thing prosperous should attend him; and the party took their leave. The Brahmins returned with them, but before their departure they took occasion to observe, that notwithstanding they worshipped the Deo, he worshipped Gunputty.

At day-light on the 23d, our author took leave of his hospitable friends, and proceeded to Tillegram, where the rajah's cousin and the minister paid their respects, and delivered an invitation from the rajah to visit him. Accordingly at four o'clock the table, knives, forks, and spoons of the Europeans were sent for, and the ministers attended them to the rajah's habitation, which exhibited many vestiges of ancient splendor. The rajah, who was rather a young man with an open pleasant countenance, received them in a small verandah on the ground floor, covered with velvet carpeting. After the usual compliments, they ad-

journed up stairs; where they found some good meat curries and a bottle of brandy; and on returning, our author was presented with a dress, and a serpaish was tied round his hat, while the minister deluged his lordship and the other gentlemen with plain water, instead of rose water. Pawn and attar were served round, as usual, at the end of the visit.

The morning of the 25th was fixed for a visit to the celebrated caves of Carli, situate in a hill nearly opposite to the fort of Low Ghur. The ascent, though steep, was facilitated by steps cut in the rock. The whole surface of the eminence was covered with jungle, which completely concealed the caves till the visitants came to an open space of about a hundred feet, where the slope had been levelled till a perpendicular surface of fifty feet had been formed in the solid rock. Here a line of caves had been excavated, the largest of which consists of an oblong square vestibule, divided from the temple itself, which is camerated and supported by pillars: the length of the whole is forty-two yards; the breadth upwards of fifteen. The pagoda does not contain any figures of deities; but the walls of the vestibule are covered with carvings, in alto relievo, of elephants, of men and women, and of Boodh, to whom the whole was probably dedicated. In some places he is represented sitting cross-legged, with his hands in the posture common among the Cingalese; in others he is standing upright; but in all he is attended by figures in the act of adoration.

A pillar twenty-four feet in height and eight feet in diameter stands without the vestibule, exhibiting a single line of inscription in unknown characters, and having on its capital four lions, nearly resembling the Chinese. Formerly there was another pillar opposite to it, but this was removed about 40 years ago, to make room for the insignificant pagoda of the goddess Bowannic, on which the paishwa has settled a revenue, while the splendid temple of Boodh is entirely neglected, and considered by the superstitious natives as the haunt of evil spirits.

A line of caverns extends from about 450 feet to the north of the principal one: these are all of a square form with flat roofs, and seem to have been designed for the attendants on the pagoda; but they appear to have been left unfinished.

Henry Punt Bow, deputy to Cundeli Row Rastich, ser soobah of the Cokan, having invited lord Valentia to visit him at Low Ghur, his lordship and company set off, early on the 27th, for that place. In crossing the valley their

road was very good, but when they began to ascend, the palanquins were of little use. Our author discovered a line of caves at some distance, and sent his servant to ascertain whether they contained any thing worthy of inspection. The man reported, that there was a small arched temple, somewhat resembling, in form, that of Carli, but that the pillars were plain, without any figure or inscription, and that the smaller caves on each side were uninteresting. Hurry Punt had taken every precaution to facilitate the ascent, by causing the bushes to be cut away on both sides, and the road, in many parts, to be levelled. As the Europeans approached the fort of Esapoor they were hailed from it, and on their announcing the arrival of his lordship, the men on the walls sounded their trumpets and gave a cheer. At the top they were met by the acting killadar, who conducted them to the village at the bottom of the rock on which Low Ghur is built. They ascended in a zig-zag direction, by a very steep path, to the summit, where they found five gates, with parapets and loop-holes for musquetry. Hurry Punt waited to receive them in the open space before the hall of audience, and conducted our author to the durbar, where a guddy was placed with one pillow: his lordship seated himself in state upon it, while his friends sat down on his right hand, and the deputy on his left. After a few compliments they adjourned to breakfast in an adjacent verandah, and afterwards walked out to take a survey of the fort, which is considered as the strongest in the paishwa's possession. At the close of this visit Hurry Punt presented our author with a handsome pair of shawls, a piece of kinealib, and a piece of cloth.

STAGE SPEECHES OF BOTH THE PARTS.

After contemplating some magnificent scenery from the top of the gant, and relieving some unfortunate beings at Colapore, our author returned to Panwell on the 31st, where Purseram Punt, brother of Nana's widow, had previously arrived from Poonah, to assist in receiving him, as he had promised to use his endeavours to introduce him to his sister, if he would visit her on his return to Panwell. The widow's house is small, and most of the people in it are Brahmins. The visitors were introduced into a small court, and seated on a white cloth in a verandah, at the end of which was a floor with a purdah of rushes. After a variety of difficulties his lordship obtained a sight of the lady, whom he describes as a very pretty girl, with a round face, fair complexion, and beautiful eyes, and apparently about 17 years of age. By the customs of the Hindoos she can never marry, but is

considered as the representative of her deceased husband's family, and as such is looked up to by all his numerous dependents. After some conversation our author received a dress. Purseram Punt tied a serpaish on his hat, and it was with difficulty he saved his coat from having the attar rubbed down the sleeves.

On the 1st of November our author embarked in the Balloon, and returned to Bombay, where he was received with a salute of thirteen guns.

Bombay has been said to have received its name from two Portuguese words, signifying "a good bay," but our author is of opinion that it was so called after the goddess Bomba, to whom divine honours are still paid by some of the inhabitants. The houses within the walls were first began by the Portuguese, and even those which have been subsequently erected are of the same construction, with verandahs supported by wooden pillars. The government-house is a handsome edifice, but it is a great inconvenience that the principal apartment on each floor serves as a passage to the others. The view from the fort is peculiarly interesting; the smooth expanse of the bay being occasionally broken by sylvan islands, and the grotesque hills of the table-land forming a striking back ground to the landscape. The sea rolls on three sides of it, and on the fourth is an esplanade, terminated by the Black Town, which peeps through a grove of cocoa trees. The situation ought to be salubrious, but experience proves that it is exactly the reverse; most alarming ravages are sometimes made by the fever, and the liver complaint is more frequent than in any other part of India.

The major part of the inhabitants are Persees, descendants of the ancient Persians, who were driven from their native country in the sixteenth century, by the persecution of Shah Abbas. They form a class of people altogether different from any other in India, and seem to have completely domesticated themselves in the island, where almost every house and every foot of land is their own. By their activity, loyalty, and opulence, they have greatly increased the prosperity of the settlement; and they uniformly avow their obligations for the indulgent conduct of the British government toward them. They seem to have adopted but few of the Asiatic manners; for, though they retain the dress which they adopted on their first arrival, they eat and drink like the English. One of their most opulent members, Ardisceer Dady, gave a grand entertainment to our author. The table

for the Europeans was principally covered with English dishes, but some of those sent from the other tables proved extremely good. The wines were excellent, and liquours were placed opposite each Persec, which they drank freely, and till a late hour, without appearing to feel any unpleasant effects. English looking-glasses, prints, and paintings, seem to form a favourite part of their furniture, and their houses are always lighted up in a good style. On this occasion the gardens were brilliantly illuminated with lamps and torches; a band of musicians was stationed in the verandah; and a good set of nautch girls augmented the amusements, which continued till midnight.

The Persees, to the credit of their humanity, make provision for all their poor; and it reflects peculiar honour upon their private morals, that there is not a single prostitute or kept mistress belonging to their cast in the settlement. The higher orders are splendid and benevolent; the lower, active and intelligent. In their persons they are generally handsome, and fairer than the natives, though not possessing the clear complexion of the Europeans. Their manners are uniformly placid and conciliatory. Fire is the object of their adoration, to which they have erected many temples; but their priests do not interfere in temporal concerns, and their religion is perfectly tolerant. The greater part of them speak the English language with propriety.

The beauty of the esplanade is considerably heightened, every morning and evening, by the worshippers of the sun, who assemble from all parts, in their white flowing robes and coloured turbans, to salute his rising, or to prostrate themselves before his retiring beams. The females are not visible on this occasion, but they still go to the wells for water, like the wives and daughters of the ancient patriarchs.

Our author having been highly gratified by his survey of the pagoda at Carli, resolved to visit some others in the island of Salsette, which he understood to be formed on a similar plan. Accordingly he set off on the 22d of November, attended by Mr. Salt, and part of the governor's family. After breakfasting at a small village, they turned out of their road to examine a spacious excavation which M. Anquetil du Perron has described under the name of Djegueseri. All the apartments were of a square form, and the whole of the roof was flat: a lingam placed in the centre in a smaller edifice, rendered it highly probable that the whole had been dedicated to Mahadeo. The walls exhibited several groups of figures in bas relief, but in a state of decay. The floor

being lower than the circumjacent soil, was extremely damp, and the light admitted at three entrances, merely served to shew the gloom of the interior. The lingam appeared to have been recently ornamented, but there were no attendant Brahmins.

Emerging from this unpleasant cavern, the party proceeded to Mount Pesier, where tents had been pitched for their accommodation. Here are the ruins of a church and monastery which formerly belonged to the Jesuits. Under the church a small square pagoda has been formed out of the rock, and ornamented with a few deities and other figures in bas relief, which receive the adorations of the unenlightened natives.

On the morning of the 23d our author and his companions set out for the caves of Kenneri, situate in a range of hills which run nearly through the middle of the island. The principal cavern resembles that of Carli, in its shape and the appearance of its coved roof, but it is very inferior in size, in correctness of design, and in elegance of execution. Its principal ornaments are two colossal statues of Boodh, nearly twenty feet high, exactly alike, and placed on each side of the vestibules, which is ornamented, in other parts, with various figures of the same deity in the usual attitudes. The entrance faces the west, and has several inscriptions in the unknown character. In one of the adjoining square caves, among many other figures, there is a very remarkable one, which represents Vishnou himself in the act of fanning Boodh with a chouric: a superior deity, however, may be imagined to dwell in the round temples; as they contain no image, unless the circular building called the Dhagope be considered as an immense lingam. In the cave of Ellora, indeed, a statue is annexed to the dhagope, which, from the position of the hands, seems to have been intended for Boodh. The numerous square and flat roofed caves which are formed in all parts of the hill, were probably designed for the residence of the attendant Brahmins.

Some idea of the former population of this rock is afforded, not only by the caverns, but by the tanks, the terraces, and different flights of steps which connect one part with another: yet at present not a human footstep, save that of the curious visitant, is heard, and the once cultivated fields of the forgotten inhabitants are become an almost impervious jungle, the haunt of savage beasts, and the seat of pestilential disease.

On the 25th the party returned to Bombay.

Our author was afterward induced to visit the celebrated cave of elephants, but his lordship conceived it unnecessary to give a description, since the public had received such an accurate one from the pen of Niebuhr. He observes, however, that the character of the trinne deity has not been expressed either by Niebuhr's drawing, or by the etching in the Asiatic Researches. Bramah's countenance strongly indicates the undisturbed tranquillity of the Creator of the world; Vishnou's, on the left, exhibits every mark of benevolence, while the lotus in his hand seems literally expanded under the genial beam of his eye; Seva's, on the contrary, has a ghastly and terrific scowl, strikingly corresponding with venomous serpents which he holds before him.

The great cave of elephants exhibits no inscription in the unknown character, nor does it contain any statue of Boodh. Many of the Hindoo deities have been introduced, but the most curious one is that of a female amazon, which, from having four arms, was probably intended to represent some super-human personage. The cavern opens to the north, and the scenery in front is very interesting. The beauty of the place, however, has been greatly diminished by the erection of a wall, intended to prevent the intrusion of cattle, and also to preclude visitors from carrying off the heads, arms, and legs of the helpless idols.

Lord Valentia having received dispatches from the governor-general, recommending him to resume and continue his survey of the Red Sea; the Panther cruizer was ordered to be got ready, and placed under the command of captain Court; and a small schooner called the Assaye, was intended to accompany the Panther, as a tender, in the more difficult navigation which was expected above Massowah. Mr. Macghie was nominated surgeon, at our author's particular request; and captain Rudland of the Bombay army obtained permission to join the party. As the season was peculiarly favourable, our author took leave of his amiable and attentive friend, Mr. Duncan, on the 3d of December, and next morning set sail with a pleasant breeze. On the 6th he had a severe attack of fever, which continued without remission to the 12th; but on the 14th he had no return of it.

Early in the morning of the 18th they passed Aden, through the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and at seven o'clock cast anchor considerably to the northward of the north fort of Mocha, as the violence of the gale prevented them from making the roads. On the 20th, in attempting, with a fa-

unfavourable tide to reach the roads, they had the misfortune to injure the capstern; and on examination it appeared that the Panther, though recently put together, had been made of old wood affected by the dry rot. Vexatious as this delay proved, there was no possibility of proceeding till the injury was repaired. It was also necessary to provide for the expences of the ship, and for our author's private expenditure, by drawing bills on Bombay. The captain likewise was in want of an interpreter, and lord Valentia wished to hire a servant capable of conversing both in English and Arabic. Each of these circumstances rendered a communication with the shore altogether indispensable: his lordship therefore wrote to Mr. Pringle, stating his wants; and at the same time desired Mr. Salt to wait upon the dola, and request permission for a servant and interpreter to accompany him up the Red Sea; requests which were cheerfully complied with.

After much difficulty, attended with some degree of danger, our author landed, and was preceded by the din of the dola's tom-toms to his house. It was the fast of Ramadan, when the Arabs take no food from the rising to the setting of the sun; but to render this as easy as possible, they dedicate the greater part of the day to repose, and carouse during the whole of the night. The dola was asleep, so that our author was kept waiting some minutes; but to compensate this neglect, he rose up to pay his respects to each of the gentlemen of his lordship's party as they were presented in succession. The usual compliments passed on the occasion. Rose water was presented; the chins of the visitants were perfumed with frankincense, and two salutes of four guns each were fired, as the dola had previously promised.

On the 24th a dola was hired for 300 dollars to go the voyage to above Suakin, and on the 1st of January, 1805, a pilot was procured, who bore an excellent character, and had been in the habit of sailing between Suakin and Mocha for thirty years. Our author complied with his demand of 150 dollars for the trip, to preclude any delay at Massowah; and by this arrangement he rendered himself completely independent of the nayib.

Next morning, having received the last stock of vegetables from the shore, the captain weighed anchor, and steered for the Aroe islands, which appear to have been very incorrectly laid down in Sir Home Popham's chart of the Red Sea.

On the evening of the 4th they approached Dhalac, and

cast anchor nearly in the same spot as at their former visit. The dola came off in his catamaran to welcome their arrival, and cheerfully promised to supply them with water, and other necessities; in consequence of which he received a present of rice and tobacco. It appeared that the island had nearly been burnt up through want of rain, and that great numbers of cattle and goats had died for want of food.

Next morning the captain, Mr. Salt, and another gentleman went on shore, to make the necessary arrangements with the dola for surveying the island. He accordingly consented to accompany him in person for the sum of 40 dollars. A camel and asses were provided for carrying themselves and their baggage; and a week's provisions were to be taken with them; two Europeans attending them as servants, and a midshipman, Mr. Criddle, as assistant observer. On the 14th the party returned, when the following account of their proceedings was communicated to our author.

Early in the morning they quitted Nokhara, and crossed the creek to Dhalac; but, as the asses were not ready, they walked about a mile and three quarters to the wells on the sea shore, which, notwithstanding the aridity of the country, were nearly full of water. Here they saw a small flock of sheep; and a flight of small birds with two vultures, were observed to seek an asylum from the wind and the sun, among the branches of the adjacent date trees.

On their arrival at Dhalac-el-Kibeer they were courteously received by the inhabitants; and the priest who had acted as dola during Mr. Salt's former visit, now presented to them the real dola, an old man of a venerable appearance, who had been confined by illness. After sun-set the party took a short walk, and on their return, invoked the balmy influence of Morpheus on the humble couches prepared for their accommodation.

Next morning they set out with their implements of surveying, and, proceeding to the southward, discovered twelve tanks, the largest of which was supposed capable of containing 600 hogshheads of water. They were all cut out of the solid rock, and chunamed; and though of different sizes, they were all nearly of a similar construction.

In the afternoon captain Court prepared to take a set of bearings from the summit of the mausoleum, while our author examined the interior, in the middle of which was the tomb, covered with two pieces of Indian chintz. They

then walked round to the southern mosque, the architecture of which is tolerably regular: and afterwards looked into five cisterns, one of which differed from all the others, in having its roof supported by pillars, six feet in circumference, and placed at the distance of six feet from each other: the depth of this tank was thirteen feet; its longest diameter twenty-four feet; its shortest twenty-two.

Early on the morning of the 9th the party quitted Dhalac-el-Kibeer, and proceeded over a stony plain on which not a blade of herbage was discernible. This continued for about three miles, when the road began to incline in a different direction, over a low sandy plain bounded on each side by ridges of rocks.

About twelve o'clock the guides pointed out the village of Gerbesched, which was easily distinguished by the doom trees rising above the mimosas. It is described as a mean assemblage of huts, about 20 in number, situate at the distance of about three miles from the sea, and about nine from Dhalac. The inhabitants derive their principal support from the manufacture of mats, and the annual exportation of their cheese to Loheia: but at the time of Mr. Salt's visit the drought had killed great part of their goats, and the few that survived were too ill fed to yield milk. The water which is drawn from the wells is very muddy, and, even during the most favourable seasons, the place produces but few of the necessaries of life. The sheik-el-belled stated that the population consisted of forty or fifty men, about eighty women, and ten children.

Next morning our travellers resumed their route over a level plain, for about two miles and a half, when the high trees about Dobelew were seen, bearing due north, and the island of Dalcoos became perceptible on the right.

On their arrival at Dobelew, which appeared to be as large as Dhalac-el-Kibeer, they were conducted to a wretched hovel, from which some goats had been driven a few minutes before; but on their remonstrating against this rudeness, a family was turned out of the next habitation in order to accommodate them: here they procured a kid and three fowls.

In the evening captain Court took a set of bearings from a goat-shed half a mile distant from the north western mosque, having in sight the islands of Dalcoos, Irwee, and Saiel Sezan, and, to the west, the village of Said-el-Ait. The Europeans were extremely anxious to procure a boat to go

over to Irwee, but could not obtain it. It seems, however, there is only a small village on the island, visited by a few fishermen on their catamarans.

They now proposed going up to Ras Antalou, but the dola assured them, that on the road from this place, they could neither procure asses, camels, nor any other accommodation.

Next morning they set out for a rocky eminence called Jisoom, the highest land in the vicinity of Dobelew; where captain Court fixed his theodolite, and took the bearings of all the surrounding islands. The names of these agree most perfectly with what Mr. Bruce has called them; but Abdel Gaffar's tomb appears to be on the island of Noorah, and not on Dahalottum, as asserted by that traveller.

A heavy shower of rain which fell about two o'clock in the morning of the 12th, compelled the Europeans to remove their cots, on which they had hitherto slept in the open air, into a house; but the covering was so ill adapted for keeping out the water, that they could find no perfect shelter. This place seems peculiarly marked by want of hospitality. The men are by no means obliging, and the women are so shy, that they seclude themselves from observation as much as possible.

On the 13th, our travellers returned to Dhalac-el-Kibeer, and early the next morning Mr. Salt went with Abdallah to the northern mosque, in order to obtain possession of some monumental stones. Those which contained the best inscriptions were too heavy to be easily removed. Mr. Salt therefore selected two of the most perfect that were portable, and wrapping them up carefully, returned to his lodgings. The whole of his proceedings, however, had been observed; and a crowd of people, with the nayib's messenger Seid Yusuff, and the sheik of the mosque at their head, entered the yard, and remonstrated against the removal of stones which were sacred to the dead. Mr. Salt, however, assured them that he should do nothing against the will of the nayib, and, by augmenting the usual present to the two sheiks, and distributing some tobacco among the lower order, he not only removed their scruples, but even induced them to assist in fastening the sacred spoils on the back of a camel. At eleven o'clock the party set out on their return, and at half past one were welcomed on board the Panther.

On the 16th lord Valentia, having previously dispatched a messenger to the nayib, anchored before Massowah, and saluted the fort with three guns, which were returned. Our

author's reception was precisely the same as on his former visit; and on his going to Abou Yusuff's house, he was assured of every requisite supply.

After a slight altercation, occasioned by the nayib's desire of extorting two hundred dollars, the eldest son of the nayib expressed a wish to go on board the ship. He was about eighteen years old, his figure tall and well proportioned, his countenance expressive of good nature, and his manners gentle. Lord Valentia presented him with a rich piece of kincanb, and captain Court gave him a few pounds of gunpowder and some balls, with which he was greatly pleased.

Early on the morning of the 19th the nayib sent to request that our author would go on board his ship; representing that the dola of Arkeko, who, though a younger brother of the nayib, was more powerful from his influence with the soldiers, had come over to make the nayib demand money of the Europeans for anchorage; that he (the nayib) was determined not to do it; and that till his lordship were out of the way, he should be miserable, lest any thing should happen to him. This request was complied with, to oblige the nayib; but as our author prudently resolved to bring the business to an issue, he sent his interpreter to the dola, stating, that if he had any thing to say, he might come on board, or a person should be sent to converse with him on shore. He returned for answer, that he did not want to see any body from his lordship, but that he demanded a thousand dollars for the anchorage of the two vessels, and unless it were immediately sent, he would get it from the banian. To this our author rejoined, that English ships of war never paid anchorage any where, and that unless an excuse for his insolence were sent immediately, his lordship would sail in the morning for Arkeko, and burn the town to the ground. This threat had the desired effect; and on the following morning the banian announced, that he had received a letter from the nayib, declaring that he and the dola had solemnly agreed that no anchorage should ever be demanded from English vessels.

From the account given by the banian, it appears that the dola is not dependent on his brother, but shares the power with him, though the latter is first in rank; that all duties are divided between them; and that the true cause of the recent dispute was a suspicion on the part of the dola, that the nayib had concealed the money which he had received from the Europeans.

On the 21st our author began to prepare for quitting Mas-

sowah, when the nayib's elder son, one of his brothers, Abou Yussuf, and the banian, came on board, as they said, to express the nayib's earnest desire that his lordship should go away in friendship with him : their real motive, however, was to ascertain whether any thing would be given to the nayib. Our author told them, that he parted a sincere friend ; but as he had felt mortified at being obliged to leave the shore, he could not send any present as a proof of satisfaction : however, he sent an ivory box of castor, as a token of friendship, and gave one of a similar description to each person of the party : after which the land breeze, with the assistance of the boats, soon cleared the ship of the harbour, and delivered his lordship from his visitors.

The vessel kept about ten miles distant from the shore, which appeared low, sandy, and destitute of trees, but was backed by elevated mountains covered with clouds. At the distance of five or six miles to the eastward was a chain of low islands, on two of which the pilot asserted that water and goats might be procured.

After anchoring during the night, they resumed their course on the 22d, though the breezes were light and the tide contrary. The coast was low, with the lofty mountains at a distance ; and between them and the sea were occasionally hillocks which might have been called hills, had it not been for their more lofty neighbours. A little to the southward was a port called Mirsa Mombarrick : a small island at the entrance is said to afford water and provisions, but there is no village near the port.

On the 24th, large groves of doom trees were seen on the shore, which had now changed its appearance. The pilot described the country as being part of the king of Sennaar's dominions, inhabited by Bedowee, and abounding with lions, panthers, and elephants : this may therefore be considered as part of the great forest, for the convenience of hunting in which, Ptolemy Philadelphus established the port of Ptolemais Theron.

Next morning the coast began to assume a bolder appearance : beyond the hillocks were a number of detached conical mountains, while the same lofty range that had been constantly visible occupied the back ground. A small Musulman tomb stood on one of the hillocks, and another was visible about seven miles northward, close to the sea. On the tops of some of the other hillocks were protuberances, which were either rocks or dilapidated watch-towers, but at too great a distance to be distinguished. By five o'clock the vessel came to an anchor in a very fine bay, among a

cluster of small islands. The soundings were excellent all the way in, after passing a low point of land called Aveed, and off which runs a reef about three miles, in a north-east direction. Several dows were on the outside, which retired into one of the inner bays on the European vessel coming in sight.

In the morning Abdallah was sent on shore, to present our author's compliments to the dola, and invite him on board; as also to purchase some fowls, eggs, &c. and to obtain some information concerning the place. About twelve o'clock he returned, bringing with him the dola, a Bedowee, the sub-dola, a well-dressed Arab, and the sheik, a respectable old Bedowee, whose curly hair was literally encrusted with fat. On their coming on board, they were entertained with coffee, and received a present of raw coffee and tobacco; after which captain Court obtained from them the names of the adjacent hills, and of some of the islands. There are several of these, each under its respective sheik, but all subject to one dola, who is sent from Suakin. The village where the dola resides is called Badour; it stands on a small island, close to the water, and is a wretched little place, one small mosque being the only stone building; the rest are grass huts. There is no trade except an export of ghee and some tortoise-shell. Cattle, sheep, and poultry, are abundant, but the prices demanded for them are high.

On the 28th and 29th captain Court and Mr. Maxfield were employed in taking a survey of the harbour and surrounding land, while Mr. Salt made a drawing of the hills, which here approach the sea, and, rising above each other as they retire inland, form a mass of a most irregular outline. The islands which form the north-eastern side of the harbour, and the peninsula which defends it on the north-western side, consist principally of madrapore rocks. The headland formed by the peninsula and islands is the Ras Ahehaz of D'Anville. The only entrance for vessels of burthen is at the northern extremity of the harbour, and the passage is rather narrow; but our author is of opinion, that the whole navy of Europe might lie within, sheltered from every wind, and secure from every danger. The town, situated on a larger island within the harbour than any of those which defend it from the sea, is a more wretched place than Dhalac-el-Kibeer. The water, though not very good, is equal to that of Mocha, and fresh provisions may be obtained by those who possess the articles necessary for barter, but money appears to be little known in these parts.

The harbour our author named Port Mornington, after

the governor-general of India; and the islands which form its barrier against the sea to the north-eastward, Wellesley's Islands. The bay in which he anchored he called Panther Bay.

January 29.—The Assaye quitted the harbour early in the morning, and soon after twelve o'clock the Panther was under weigh with a moderate breeze. On clearing the peninsula three small islands appeared, but the main land retired and formed a deep bay. About four o'clock they came up with a headland, which the pilot called Ras 'Asseez, and which at first appeared like an island, from the lowness of the spit of sand which joined it to the continent. As our author had been led to suppose that Ptolemais Theron lay somewhere near the latitude he was now in, he made some enquiries of the pilot, who told him that it was now uninhabited, though it was once possessed by the Persees, and that there was one large tank still remaining. He also observed, that though it was not an island, it was separated from the main land by a ditch, which, at high water, was sometimes nearly full. These circumstances strongly convinced his lordship that this was Ptolemais Theron; and indeed it is the only place on the whole coast that will answer the description given by the ancients, which, in many respects is more minute than usual.

Next morning by ten o'clock Ras Howie was in sight, and here a charming bay opened between it and the main. The Ras is a low spit of sand, partly above water; beyond is a chain of islands. The wind blew from the north of east, and it was impossible to weather it without tacking. The pilots wished to anchor and wait for a favourable wind: and on being asked if they could not go within the chain of sands and islands, they both said that they could not venture to take the ship; as, in one part, there was not above two fathom and a half of water. At twelve o'clock, therefore, they tacked back; but on crossing the Assaye, Mr. Maxfield hailed them, to say that his pilot assured him the passage was perfectly safe, having fine anchorage the whole way, and three fathom and a half in the deepest part. On this assertion captain Court resolved to try the passage, and desired Mr. Maxfield to go a-head and sound, having given him signals for the purpose of communicating every occurrence.

For nearly two hours they sailed in a noble passage, which gradually narrowed and shoaled. On coming into four fathom, a signal was made to Mr. Maxfield, enquiring in

what water he was, but before he could return an answer, the Panther was in three fathom, with islands close to her on each side. No signal was made by the Assaye, but her sails were suddenly lowered in evident confusion, and the Panther, being now in only two and a half fathom, let go her anchor; when she immediately swung round against a rock, with only one and a half fathom, and there struck. The boats sounded around, and Unus leaped overboard out of the dow, and dived, to ascertain the situation of the ship's bottom and the anchor. It appeared that they were in a cul-de-sac, with rocks in every direction; and to add to the distress, it was apparently high water; and the tide was naturally expected to fall. By the unremitting exertions, however, of the captain and the ship's company, with the kind assistance of Unus, the vessel was warped out, and by night she was safely anchored in two and a half fathom.

The next morning Mr. Maxfield was sent to examine a passage which the pilots declared to be the true one; whilst Mr. Salt visited the island near which the Panther had so nearly been lost. Here he discovered a curious nest, three or four feet in diameter, composed of sticks and madrapore, and apparently belonging to a very large species of bird which was seen by lord Valentia's servant on another island: he also procured a species of orobanche with a large yellow bloom, a stapelia, a commelina, and a syngenesious plant that tasted as well as a salad.

February 1.—On Mr. Maxfield's return it was determined to proceed, and though the wind rendered tacking necessary, they got into the true channel before night, and anchored in good ground. In the evening the mountains were visible, which here again approach the shore; and the pilots pointed out the hills above Suakin.

Next morning our voyagers were under weigh about seven o'clock; but the channel was extremely narrow, in some parts not more than a cable's length from shoal to shoal; and about five miles from their anchoring ground they bore up round a point of sand. Unus had prudently gone on, and anchored his dow at the entrance of the narrows, where there is said to be only three fathom: the Panther, however, was prevented from reaching him by the wind, and the pilots resolved to keep on for another passage a-head, Mr. Maxfield preceding them and making the necessary signals. He soon came to an anchor, when it appeared, that though he was in ten fathom, the passage appeared too narrow to be entered with safety. After some consideration, therefore, Mr. Hardy

went off with the dow and cutter to ascertain the passage the whole way to Suakin; while the Panther beat up to the windward extremity of the land-locked harbour in which she was lying, and which, if it had but safe and proper entrances, would be one of the finest in the world, extending about six miles every way, with generally ten fathom, and a good bottom. The passage, however, is so complicated, and the sand islands are so nearly alike, that it would be impracticable for any ship to pass through it without a pilot.

February 5.—Mr. Hardy returned in the evening, and stated that he had not discovered any passage through which the Panther could be taken. He had been at Suakin, and had brought a present of fresh provisions and vegetables from the Turkish dola, who appeared extremely friendly, though the Bedowee dola, who also resides there, seemed much alarmed at the approach of an English ship, and even proposed to seize the boat and crew. In fact, there were some apprehensions of an attack upon the island; but on Unus's swearing on the Koran that the English had no hostile design, and on Mr. Hardy stating their precise situation, all suspicion vanished, and the dola immediately sent two pilots to bring the Panther out of danger, at the same time promising that he would prepare a house for lord Valentia's reception, and would fire every gun he had in honour of his arrival.

The new pilots were very respectable men, and as Mr. Hardy asserted they were thoroughly acquainted with every shoal they passed, our voyagers had sufficient confidence to return by a new route, which, for the most part, was very preferable to that by which they had entered. The pilots expressed their surprise at any person having been able to bring the Panther into such a place, where a large dow could hardly enter with safety. Don Juan de Castro passed through the bay, and by the narrow passage which Mr. Hardy examined in his way to Suakin. "But his Marate and Shaback," says our author, "may be sought for in vain among the windings and mazes of this singular harbour, which presents on the chart such a mass of confusion, that at my particular request, captain Court called it Bother'em Bay."

February 10.—The pilots insisted on casting anchor, though at above a mile distance from Suakin: however, as they pleaded the dola's order, this was complied with, and the captain let go an anchor in sixteen fathom, the deepest

part of the land-locked bason in which they were, being nineteen fathom, perfectly free from rock.

In the evening Abdallah was sent on shore with compliments to the two dolas, and returned the same night with a bullock, as a present. The wind blew very fresh, and the sea beat heavily on the outside of the reef and shoal. In the morning the haze was so great that the mountains were completely covered, and the town was hardly perceptible.

At breakfast time two boats came off, one with the pilots, the other with the son of the Bedowee dola, who brought a present of sheep and vegetables. He was a comely young man, handsomely dressed, and his visit was peculiarly welcome to the Europeans, as it evinced a total change of opinion in their favour, and argued a degree of confidence in their hospitality. He assured them of every assistance from his father, and informed our author, that the letter he had brought from the nayib of Massowah was for himself. After reading it, he sat down to breakfast, and tasted the tea, with which he was much gratified. Abdallah escorted him to the shore; but on his return he stated that the Turkish dola was displeased with this visit, as having preceded his own, which he intimated was to take place in the evening. A subsequent message, however, expressed a desire on the dola's part, that lord Valentia should visit him on shore.

Early on the morning of the 12th the Bedowee dola's son came off to attend his lordship, and brought two bullocks, as a present from his uncle, who is emir of the principal Bedowee tribe in the vicinity. Accordingly, lord Valentia, captain Rudland, and Mr. Salt, having put on Asiatic dresses, and captain Court his uniform, they set out under a salute of seventeen guns; and on their landing one gun was fired, which shook the mortar from a gateway under which they were passing. Two janissaries in red dresses led them to a small apartment hung round with sabres, matchlocks, European guns, and blunderbusses. At the upper end was placed a common couch of the country, covered with a carpet and two cushions; on the right of this were placed four chairs; opposite was a low stone bench covered with carpet, and behind the visitants was the same, both extending the whole length of the room. A tall and venerable Arab of about sixty, was presented as the Bedowee dola; and after the usual compliments the Turkish dola entered, and, making a general salaam, took his seat. Through the medium of Abdallah the Europeans made their compliments, and re-

turned thanks for the pilots and provisions with which he had accommodated them. He said he was happy to assist the English, who were always friends of the sultaan of Rome; and, in return to some questions from lord Valentia, he stated that Egypt was quiet, and that a British force was at Alexandria: two most important objects to our traveller, as securing his safe return through Egypt, and a speedy departure from Alexandria to Europe.

After the party had been seated about an hour, sherbet, made with honey, was handed round, and a khelaut of the sacred colour, green, handsomely lined with ermine, was thrown over lord Valentia's shoulders. Captain Court, who sat next his lordship, had a yellow one, lined also with ermine, but old and discoloured. The dola, who was a dignified man with agreeable manners, wore a dress of scarlet cloth lined with blue silk; the officers in attendance were habited in a similar manner, and this uniformity gave a respectable appearance to the little divan in which they were seated. The dola promised to go on board the Panther the next day; and when his visitors took leave, his servants escorted them to the water side.

The town of Suakin is nearly in ruins; but two minarets give it a handsome appearance at a distance, and the buildings, being white-washed and on an elevation, look considerably better than they really are. It occupies the whole of a small island, as it did in the time of De Castro; but the extensive trade which he speaks of has nearly vanished: for since the Turks have ceased to have a fleet in the Red Sea, and have sunk into political insignificance in Arabia, Suakin has been kept from total ruin only by the caravans, which still come thither every year from the interior of Africa, by Sennaar, in their way to Mecca. The town itself is all that is under the jurisdiction of the Sublime Porte; and their dola has no right to put his foot on the main land, which belongs to a powerful tribe of Bedowee, who call themselves Suakini.

The natives, in general, are well proportioned, and the expression of their countenances is good. Their complexion is a dark copper colour, and their skins are perfectly free from eruptions, though much marked where actual cautery has been applied as a remedy for local diseases. Their hair is somewhat woolly, drawn out into points, and dressed with fat, occasionally powdered with red: a piece of wood, shaped like a porcupine's quill, is stuck through it, nearly horizontally, which they frequently use to separate the hair into

ringlets, and turn it round the finger. Many have the long hair behind separated by a narrow shaved passage, from the front curly division, which is formed into an oval. They wear a piece of white cloth wrapped round their middle, and thrown over the shoulder, and are all unarmed. Their teeth, which are beautifully white and regular, they constantly clean with a piece of rack wood.

On the 13th the dola paid our author an early visit, and was in high good humour, talking much of his friendship for the English, and claiming an acquaintance with captain Court, whom he supposed he had seen at Jidda. He said he had been two years at Suakin, and that sometimes the same person was allowed to remain ten years in office, though the appointment was annual. As he had several persons with him, our author enquired particularly if there were any rivers on any part of the coast, or if any pillars or other monuments of antiquity existed; but they all positively assured him there was neither.

After drinking coffee, and sitting several hours, the dola said he wished to receive his present and take his leave. Accordingly, Abdallah put on him a shawl of gold tissue, which is worn as a scarf over the right shoulder and under the left arm; and lord Valentia presented him with a turban of the same materials. The Bedowee dola had a scarf of an inferior quality. He went away in high good humour, and was saluted with three guns, as on his arrival.

On the 14th, Abdallah, who had been sent for provisions, returned with intelligence that there had been violent disputes on shore; that emir Mohammed, the son of the Bedowee dola, told him he had learned that 500 dollars had been given to the nayib of Massowab, and that the Bedowee emirs wanted to come off with presents, and ask for the same sum. This assertion, however, which was supposed to have been made by Mr. Maxfield's pilot, who had made his escape on shore, was proved to be a falsehood, and the business was amicably adjusted.

On the 16th Unus came to take his leave, his engagement extending only to Suakin. His lordship gave him 30 dollars on account of the Company, for his exertions in saving the Panther when aground; with which he was particularly gratified, as he had no expectations beyond the presents which he received on that occasion. He was asked if he would hire himself to go as far as Jibbel Macowar, to which place it was intended to have pilots. He said he had no objection, but that he must consult his crew, who were only

hired to Suakin; and it afterwards appeared that they were unwilling to go.

After some altercation relative to the demand for pilotage, our voyagers agreed to hire a dow and a pilot, for which they were to pay 165 dollars—100 for the dow, and 65 for the pilot; since, without submitting to this, they would have been precluded from examining the coast as far as Macowar.

Having made the final arrangements for their departure, they were visited, in the morning of the 22d, by emir Mohammed, and two nephews of the Turkish dola. The former, in consequence of his friendly exertions, received a turban and cummurbund, a half-hour sand-glass, and 50 dollars. The dola's nephews took sweetmeats, but would not drink coffee, as that is not permitted till they are fifteen. Fifty pounds of powder and some oil of cinnamon were then sent to the Bedowee dola; and the emir departed under a salute of two guns.

February 26.—After experiencing much difficulty in warping out, the Panther got under weigh about nine o'clock, accompanied by Mr. Maxfield, the dow, and a smaller boat; but as the sea-breeze did not set in favourably, they made but little way. About twelve it freshened considerably, and continued to do so till four, when the pilot pointed out an anchoring ground, for which they stood; but he changed his mind, and pushed on for another. This, however, he could not reach; and as the sky threatened a gale, captain Court returned to the first. On passing over a shallow spot, considerable alarm was excited; but on entering a bason, formed by a circle of rocks, they were completely protected from the swell, and had excellent holding ground.

Perceiving, in the morning, that the shore next to them consisted of a parcel of islands covered with trees, a party was sent off to cut some wood, and Mr. Salt and lord Valentia's servant went in the boat. On their return, it appeared that these islands, at low water, are connected with the main land, and that they are only a kind of sunderbunds, composed of the rack tree, with a reef of rocks toward the sea, defending the whole line. His lordship's servant shot a grey bird which stood nearly six feet upright; but Mr. Salt could discover no plants.

March 2:—It blew very fresh in the night: the Assaye dragged, and then parted her anchor. Mr. Maxfield let go his last when only in three fathom, rock, when there was a very heavy swell from the northward. His situation being

dangerous, he fired signal guns of distress. The cutter was immediately dispatched with a hawser, with which his vessel was warped astern of the Panther. It afterwards appeared, that the timbers of the Assaye were completely rotten; and the pilot added his share of comfort, by asserting that the north-west monsoon had set in, and that there would be no change of wind. On the 4th, however, the breeze came off from the land, and by seven o'clock in the morning our voyagers got safely out from their unpleasant situation, to which they gave the appellation of Lent Bay.

On the 5th a whole fleet of dows was in sight, steering northward; the captain hailed one, and found it was from Mocha, laden with coffee. The pilot designed to have anchored between two of the shoals to the east, where he said there was moderate water and a good bottom; but as the breeze freshened, he determined to run for a harbour sanctified by the tomb of a sheik, who has chosen to be buried on a rising hillock, which marks the northern extremity of a narrow peninsula. Behind this is an excellent harbour called Mirza Sheik Baroud, where a vessel may lie secure from rocks, and completely land-locked from every wind. The reefs on the outside are visible, and the space between amply sufficient for a vessel to pass with safety. The vessels got in just as it was dark, and the wind freshened so considerably soon afterwards, that their situation was peculiarly grateful.

Next morning lord Valentia felt too weak to go on shore, but the captain and Mr. Salt visited the tomb, which is merely composed of mats. "Should the British," says our author, "ever form any arrangements for the Red Sea, a tomb might be built of white stone, which would conciliate the natives, and answer as an excellent sea-mark."

On the 7th the captain set sail by break of day; but as there was no safe anchoring within 20 miles, and the wind proved unfavourable, they turned about, and got into their former birth at Sheik Baroud, where they procured two bullocks and seven sheep, through the medium of the haggard of the dow.

On the 9th they again got under weigh early in the morning, and by four o'clock anchored in an open bay, behind which was a harbour called Daroor. They were now in ten fathom, mud and clay, but had the reefs very close to them on both sides. The swell was considerable, and they were as much exposed to it as if they had been in the open sea.

Next morning captain Court, the other gentlemen, the pilot, Abdallah, and lord Valentia's servant, went up the

harbour and landed on the shore, where they conciliated the esteem of the natives, by giving them some tobacco and some of the buttons of their coats. The Bedowee invited them to go up to a village at some distance; but this, for prudential reasons, was declined. One man said he would endeavour to procure them some sheep, and would bring them to the beach if he succeeded. The harbour, which is of considerable extent, is perfectly land-locked, and has from two to four fathom water, with a mud bottom. The hills are extremely high, and line the coast regularly at the distance of a few miles; the intervening space is flat sand with a few trees. Some islands in the harbour are completely covered with rack trees.

March 11.—The night was nearly calm; and in the morning, a light breeze from the land induced the captain to attempt getting under weigh. It took from four to six, however, to get up one anchor; and, on attempting to raise the other, the wind headed them, and the anchor dragged. They again let it go, but the fineness of the weather soon induced them to resume their work. Unluckily, one anchor caught hold of the other, and they got so close to the southern reef, that they could plainly distinguish the coral of the rocks which threatened them with destruction. The anchors prevented the vessel from wearing round into a channel which opened to the southward, and exposed them to such imminent danger, that had the ship struck she would, in all probability, have gone for ever. At this moment, however, the captain cut both cables, and the vessel providentially wore clear of all danger, though without an inch to spare. As, however, they had only their sheet anchor left, they resolved to return into Daroor, and to endeavour, with the assistance of the Assaye, to recover the bower anchors; as a buoy had fortunately been left to one, and a considerable quantity of cable to the other. They accordingly ran into the harbour, which they found as smooth as glass, while Mr. Maxfield cast anchor on the outside, to be ready to assist in getting up the anchors.

Here they were informed by a native, who proved to be one of their dow's crew, that emir Mohammed had been up to Torateit; and imagining that the monsoon (shaman) would prevent the dow from proceeding, had sent him, by land, to procure at this place such provisions as might be wanted. "This conduct," observes our author, "gave me great pleasure—it was attentive and friendly, and argued well for a future connexion between the natives of the Afri-

can coast and the English, if cultivated by those who follow us, and not violated by caprice or tyranny, as has too often been the case."

Our author sent the Suakin man on shore, with instructions to persuade one of the principal natives to come down to the vessel; and in the afternoon the messenger returned with the sheik of the village, who was a decent looking man, armed with a sword, and mounted on a fine camel. He presented Lord Valentia with a sheep, and appeared very well satisfied on receiving some tobacco and a couple of dollars, though the value of money is but little known in these parts.

March 14.—Having recovered the anchors, the captain weighed anchor early in the morning; but he was still confined by reefs to the east, and compelled to make short tacks. Near one of these reefs he was greatly alarmed by finding himself within twenty yards of a sunken rock, with which the pilot was entirely unacquainted. On examination, it appeared that it was not above twice the size of the cutter, and that there was only three and four feet water on it. As it was the most dangerous spot hitherto discovered by our voyagers in the Red Sea, they resolved to ascertain its position accurately. The shore lights, both to the north and even a little easterly, bore they could afterwards pass; a small anchorage, called Aroos, under the reefs, close to the shore, and another which the pilot called Fadja. The latter, probably the Fashak of the Arabs, lies in 20° 3' N. and 38° 10' E. to the N. by a good Tharibon. Towards evening a favourable change of the wind induced them to attempt, in hopes of reaching the harbour of Howierie; but at sunset the pilot could distinguish none of his marks by which to enter, and it was therefore resolved to wait till night, as there was no possibility of anchoring. They stood off and on till twelve o'clock, when they lay to, as there was great danger of falling among sunken rocks in another part of the channel. The next day at noon, still by candle within sight of Howierie, and, by their observations, ascertained that it was situated in 20° 10' 08" N. Areke was also perceptible, which Dr. Anville has erroneously stated to lie in 20° 32', though its real latitude is 20° 11'. The current was for some time adverse, and the passage continued narrow, and extremely dangerous, from the numerous shoals. They had once soundings in ten fathoms, and, with the shoals so close and narrow, that they determined to let go their anchors; but the pilot persuaded them to proceed to the anchorage of Salaka, which they

reached by five o'clock, after passing a bar of rocks in two and a half fathom. When in, they had ten fathom, mud, but not sufficient room to swing scarcely.

March 16. — In the morning, they hove up two anchors; but before they could get out, the wind changed, and prevented their moving. "It was so truly vexatious," says our author, "to see four dows sail by us, about eleven, with a fair wind, while we were fast in a pound, that, in a splenetic fit, I gave it the name of, *Mouise-trapi Bay*." Salaka is situate in lat. 20° 28' S. long. 150° 28' E.

March 17. — In the night the vessel swung round, with her stern over the rocks in three fathom, and not a hundred yards distant had a quarter lessoner. A gale was expected both by the pilot and the ordn; but as the present situation was particularly dangerous, from the impracticability of giving the ship a sufficient scope of cable, Captain Court determined to attempt beating to Macowar, which, from the mast head, appeared to be a fine harbour, at the distance of about ten miles. About half an hour after they had cleared the rocks, the wind began to freshen, and by eight o'clock blew so hard, as to render the hope of reaching Macowar completely abortive. The captain was therefore obliged to direct his course toward Howie-terrie band, as the pilot ably conducted them through a labyrinth of shoals; they got into a safe channel by nine o'clock.

The circumstance of our author being driven back when so near the completion of his labours, was peculiarly mortifying; for the open sea commences at Macowar, and he would then have had only the ordinary difficulties of navigation to contend with. It appears, however, that he was both resigned and satisfied. "We had been deterred," says he, "by no dangers or inconveniences from prosecuting the voyage; we had been for some time without bread; we had not two days' flour or rice, and could procure no live stock,

except sheep, which will not live long on ship-board with the provisions we could give them. Our seamen had nothing but tallow and salt meat, and of the former scarcely sufficient for sixteen days; the spirits were very likely to be out before a fresh supply could be obtained; and, owing to the leaking of our casks, there was not more than three weeks' water on board.

Under these circumstances our author resolved to return to Mochay in order to procure a supply of necessaries, and then to attempt beating up to Cosseira. He therefore gave the

necessary directions to captain Coarig; and, as it blew a fresh gale, they reached Sheikh Baroud before dark. Early the next morning they quitted Sheikh Baroud with a moderate gale, and at twelve o'clock they were off Suakin where they dismissed this pilot with ten dollars and three pieces of Surat cloth, in consequence of his fidelity and attention. Before dark they came within sight of Hurroo Ribt Island, where they took a new departure, and sailed all night.

Next morning the wind was more moderate, and they enjoyed a continuation of gentle breezes and pleasant weather till the 21st, when they got safely into Massowah harbour. Abdallah having been sent on shore to announce their arrival, a banian came on board with a civil message from the nayib; and in the course of the day our voyagers procured some fowls; but neither bullocks, sheep, nor goats were to be had without delay; as the want of rain had occasioned a great scarcity, and the remaining stock had been sent into the interior of the country: the tanks also were exhausted, and the inhabitants were obliged to drink the brackish water of Arkeko. At night the nayib sent a present of Habesh cotton cloth and honey to our author, with a message that his daughter was going to be married, and that she was also his lordship's daughter, as he and the nayib were one. As this hint was too broad to be either misunderstood or evaded, a piece of gold tissue and some Lucknow chintz were sent to the bride. As it would

In consequence of the repeated assurances of the native pilots, strengthened by actual observation, that the N.W. Wind monsoon had set in, our author abandoned his design of attempting to reach Suez during the present season; and resolved, in its stead, to open a communication with the court of Abyssinia, and, if practicable, to send some of his party up into the country. The banian had frequently stated, that the ras Welleta Selassé was anxious to hear from Lord Valentia. His lordship therefore delivered him a message for that chief, which he desired him to put on paper, and forward it to Tigre by a special messenger, who was to receive four teen dollars, on condition of returning with an answer to Massowah within fifteen days. The banian now spoke with less reserve concerning the political situation of Massowah, and acknowledged that it lay completely at the mercy of the king of Abyssinia, and could offer no effectual resistance if he thought proper to attack it. In fact, it is merely of importance as being the port of Abyssinia; and if the trade were turned into any other channel, it would sink into insignificance.

On the morning of the 22d our voyagers set sail, and on the 24th landed on the island of Valentia, after having anchored during the preceding night under the south-west point. The southern part of the island consists of a cluster of small hills, sprinkled with trees and herbs; among which several narrow winding paths have been made by the natives. Water seems plentiful, and the bright verdure of the valleys, which lies between the hills and the sea shore, form a striking contrast with the arid appearance of the adjacent country. Goats were seen in numerous flocks upon all the hills, the most lofty of which our author named Mount Norris, as a token of respect to his father; it overhangs the village, and its base forms a rocky protuberance, the high-water mark. The dola and inhabitants of the village, which consists of about forty square and circular huts, received the strangers with great civility, and the former even appropriated part of his house to their use; couches in it covered with mats, as at Dhale. On applying for provisions for the Panther, our author, who was only provided with Spanish dollars, had the mortification to learn, that German crowns alone were current on the island. The dola, however, politely took his word that he would make the payment as soon as the ship anchored. There were no sheep, but the goats were excellent, and the bullocks were by far the finest which his lordship had seen on the coast of the Red Sea. As it would not have been safe to send the largest of these on board alive, our author wished him to be killed. The owner, desirous of prompt payment, hesitated a little; but on the dola's passing his word for the money, he was led to the slaughter. This was performed in a most awkward manner with an old sword, and they were several minutes in cutting through his neck before they reached the arteries. On Lord Valentia's expressing a wish to dine on shore, the dola cheerfully undertook to make the best provision the island would afford. Accordingly, a fine kid and a goose were killed, and delivered to his wife, who performed the office of cook in an inner room, where no one was permitted to enter. In about two hours dinner was served up in very clean wooden bowls, and new mats supplied the place of a table-cloth: some excellent cakes of jawrri and ghee were also produced, with salt and pepper laid beside them. The only things particularly wanted were knives and forks: of the former there was but one, which had killed the kid, and was now employed to cut it in pieces. The provisions, how-

ever, were excellently cooked, and our author observes that he never enjoyed a dinner more. In the evening the Panther anchored, when the German crews were paid; the good landlady and all who had assisted were gratified with presents, and the European party returned on board.

Early the next morning they weighed anchor with a freshening breeze, and, after providentially escaping the sunken rocks and breakers off the Anish islands, they arrived safely on the 27th at Mocha, where our author was met by Mr. Pringle, Mr. Bancroft, and a party of Americans arrived since his departure.

Mocha, as viewed from the sea, makes a tolerably handsome appearance, the whole of the buildings being whitewashed, and the minarets of the mosques rising to a considerable height. The regular line of flat-roofed houses is also broken by several tombs called Kebas, after the mosque which was consecrated by the Arabian impostor himself, and was similar to them in form, being a square edifice covered with a circular dome. On landing at the pier, the effect is improved by the battlements of the walls, and a lofty tower on which cannon are mounted; but immediately on passing the gates every pleasing idea is chased from the mind by the filth which abounds in all directions. The residence of the dola is a large and lofty edifice, having one front to the sea, and another to a square, one side of which is occupied by the official residence of the ras-kateb, or secretary of state, and an extensive serai. The windows are generally small, closed with lattices, and sometimes opening into a wooden balcony ornamented with carved work. In the upper apartments there is a range of circular windows above the others, filled with thin strata of a transparent stone, which is found in the vicinity of Sana. The floors and roofs of the larger houses are made of chunam, sustained by beams, with pieces of plank laid across, and close to each other. The internal passages are long and narrow, and the staircases so extremely steep, that they cannot be ascended without some difficulty. The British factory is a large and lofty building, but has most of the inconveniences of an Arab house, and is rendered peculiarly unpleasant by its contiguity to the dola's stables, where the asses keep up an incessant braying. It is, however, very superior to the French and Danish factories, which are rapidly falling to decay.

The huts belonging to the lower order of Arabs are composed of wicker work, covered on the inside with mats, and sometimes on the outside with a little clay. The roofs are

invariably thatched: and a small yard, is fenced off in front of each house, but too small to admit a circulation of air.

The wall which surrounds the town is not above sixteen feet high towards the sea, though, in some places, on the land side, it may be thirty. In every part it is too thin to resist a cannon ball, and the batteries along the shore cannot bear the shock of firing the cannon that are upon them. Near the sea gate, part of the wall has actually fallen down, and has been repaired with a few boards and matting.

The garrison commonly consists of about 80 horse and 200 matchlock-men, who receive two dollars and a half per month; but out of this they provide their own arms, and powder and ball for exercise. When on guard at any of the gates, they recline on couches, with their matchlocks lying by their side; while the right hand is employed in holding a pipe, or a cup of coffee. The troops attend the dola every Friday to the great mosque, and as the principal Mussulmaun inhabitants are also present, the procession is handsome, several streamers being carried by the horsemen, and before the dola the green and red flags of the Imaum, on the former of which is figured the double-bladed sword of Mohammed. The Arab dress, composed of the richest satins and kincans of India, looks extremely well on horseback; and is particularly set off by the flowing scarf, and the turban with the ends hanging low on the back.

Mocha, as well as the other towns belonging to the Imaum, is governed by a dola. In former times, an Arab of high rank was nominated to fill this office; but now that the authority of the sovereign is considerably lessened, it is deemed advisable to give the situation to a slave, who may always be removed at pleasure, and from whom the profits of his government may be taken with greater safety. The second officer in the town is the bas kateb, who is considered as a licensed spy over the dola; the third is the cadi, or judge; and these three compose the divan, in which all public business is transacted. The nocturnal police is very strict; and if any person should be found out of his house after the dola has retired to bed, which is announced by the beating of drums, he would be instantly conducted to prison.

Without the walls of Mocha are two large villages, ambosomed in groves of date trees; one of these is occupied by the Samanlies, the other by Jews, who carry on an extensive but disgraceful trade in a fiery and unwholesome spirit, which is extracted from the date tree, and drank by the

Mussulmauns in private. These villages are not more cleanly than the town.

The Arab youth have generally pleasing eyes, and mild expressive countenances; but as they advance towards maturity, the change is very disadvantageous. In advanced age, however, their appearance is truly venerable. The long snowy beard is admirably contrasted by their dark eyes, and their meagre figure is concealed by the flowing drapery of their vestments. The few women whom our author had an opportunity of seeing, had rather pretty countenances, but their legs were of a surprising thickness.

The principal food used by the inferior Arabs is a coarse grain cultivated in the country, juwarry, ghee, dates, and fish, when procurable. The higher classes occasionally add some mutton or beef, completely stewed down; and on festivals, a little pillau. Carva, which is made from the husk of the coffee berry, seems to be a favourite beverage; and the men are so fond of smoking, that they are rarely seen without a pipe in their hand. Poultry is equally reasonable and abundant; and sweet potatoes, onions, and water melons, are cultivated in most of the small gardens without the town.

With respect to the character of the Arabs who are settled in towns, our author observes, that they here learned all the vices of civilized society, without having quitted those of a savage state. "Scarcely possessed of a single good quality," says his lordship, "they believe themselves superior to every other nation; and, though inveterate cowards, they are cruel and revengeful. Superstitious followers of Mohammed, they do not obey one moral precept of the Koran; and though they perform the prescribed ablutions with strict regularity, yet I never heard of a vice, natural or unnatural, which they do not practice and avow. Hypocrisy and deceit are so natural to them, that they prefer telling a lie to speaking the truth, even when not urged to do so by any motive of interest. As a government, they are extortioners and tyrants; as traders, they are fraudulent and corrupt; as individuals, they are sunk into the lowest state of ignorance and debauchery; and, in short, require to be civilized more than the inhabitants of the South Seas."

The climate of Mocha is extremely sultry, and the country in the vicinity is more dreary than can easily be conceived. To the foot of the mountains it consists of an arid sand, covered with a saline efflorescence, and producing

nothing but the common mimosa, and a species of salicornia, whose burnt appearance gives little idea of vegetation. Even where a brackish well has afforded the opportunity of cultivating a few vegetables, the scene is still cheerless, from the fence of dried reeds, which is alone visible. Mr. Salt, by the dola's permission, paid a visit to Moosa, and designed to have proceeded to Beit-el-Fakih; but was recalled, in consequence of some disputes respecting the relegadoes. He describes the country, even there, as possessing little interest, though it exhibits some fields of grain, and other marks of cultivation.

The export trade of Mocha, independently of coffee, is very considerable in gum arabic, myrrh, and frankincense; which is imported from the opposite coast of Africa, but chiefly from Berbera without the straits, where a fair is held every year.

It is now upwards of forty years since a new sect started up in India which has increased with great rapidity, and may probably occasion a more important change in the political situation of that country than any circumstance since the death of Mohammed. Abdul Wahab, a private individual, born in the province of Nedjed-el-Ared, studied the sciences for many years in Arabia; and, after travelling through Persia, and residing some time at Basra, returned to his native country in the character of a reformer. To the sheiks, who at that time presided over the smaller tribes into which the province of Nedjed was then divided, he pointed out the abuses which had crept into the Mussulman religion, particularly the worshipping of saints, and the use of spirituous liquors. The following profession of faith, drawn up by this singular character, and embraced by his followers, who are called Wahabee, was given to our author by one of the sect, who was in Mecca at the time it was taken by Suud.

There is only one God! He is God, and Mohammed is his prophet. Act according to the Koran, and the sayings of Mohammed! It is unnecessary for you to pray for the blessing of God on the prophet more than once in your life. You are not to invoke the prophet to intercede with God on your behalf, for his intercession will be of no avail. At the day of judgment it will avail you. Do not call on the prophet; call on God alone.

These doctrines were rapidly disseminated among the different tribes, and gradually tended to the recognition of a supreme authority in the person of Abdul Wahab, which completely destroyed the former balance of power in the

north east part of Arabia. The sheiks who refused to acknowledge his controlling power, united against him, and attacked him in his native city of El Aâne. Their attempt, however, proved unsuccessful; and from this time, the reformer continued to extend his doctrines and his territories, till at length he named to himself the supreme power over the whole province of Nedjed.

Abdul was succeeded by his son Abdaluziz, during whose reign the reformed religion was planted, by force of arms, on the greater part of the peninsula of Arabia; and Mecca was taken by his eldest son Suud, who destroyed above eighty splendid tombs, which covered the remains of the descendants of Mohammed, and plundered the holy places of their valuable articles, at the same time prohibiting the use of tobacco and coffee under severe penalties. He afterwards marched against Jidda, but was induced to return by the news of his father's death. It seems he was assassinated while at prayers in a mosque, by an Arab, whose daughter he had forcibly carried away from her home many years before.

In 1804 Medina, with all its accumulated treasures, fell into the hands of the Wahabec, and the tomb of the prophet shared the fate of those of his descendants at Mecca. Jidda was again attacked, but without success; Yambo fell, but was retaken on the sea side; and the pacha of Syria having forced his way through the undisciplined forces of Suud, the usual ceremonies were performed by the Mussulmauns at the holy Caaba. Lord Valentia observes, however, that they were performed probably for the last time, as the desert is now completely covered with flying squadrons of Wahabee, who render a passage too dangerous to be attempted. "I consider Arabia," says our author, "as lost for ever to the sultaun; and, consequently, that he has ceased to be the head of the Mussulmann religion. The sacred city is in the possession of a prince, who denies to Mohammed the veneration which he has received for 1200 years; his descendants will soon cease to reign; and although the Koran may be revered for a longer period throughout a portion of Asia, the mighty fabric of Islamism must be considered as having passed away, from the moment that Suud entered Mecca on the 27th of April, 1803."

On the 3d of June lord Valentia received a letter from Currum Chuud, stating that he had forwarded his lordship's message to the ras Welleta Selassé, who had sent an answer, expressing a wish that his lordship would go up himself, or send some one to him; but it seemed doubtful whether he

had not confounded our author with Mr. Pringle, the resident at Mocha, as the address would suit either of them. As, however, it appeared an object of the greatest importance to obtain some accurate information respecting a country, which during a century had been visited only by Mr. Bruce, his lordship resolved to send Mr. Salt, with such presents as he could procure at Mocha; and, as captain Rudland and Mr. Carter expressed a wish to accompany him, preparations were immediately made for their departure.

On consulting captain Court and the rest of the party, it was determined that they should go in the Panther to Massowah, to protect them from the insolence of the dola of Arkeko, and to give them more consequence in the eyes of the natives, and that captain Court might subsequently examine the north of Dhalac. Accordingly, on the 20th they set sail, provided with presents for the king and ras, and with such conveniences for their journey as the circumstances of their situation would allow.

The same morning a dow which had been sent to Massowah, with orders to attend captain Court in his survey, returned with letters from the nayib and from Currum Chund. The former observed that he did not yet wish lord Valentia to send his people; that he (the nayib) had not consented to their going; and without his permission none could enter Habesh, of which he styled himself "the gates;" that he must consult his brothers and soldiers, and would transmit the result by Currum Chund the ensuing month. Currum Chund, in his letter, advised our author to wait till his arrival; that in the interim he would make the necessary arrangements with the nayib; but if his lordship sent at the present juncture, the nayib would demand five or six hundred dollars for permission.

As the loss of the dow would have been peculiarly inconvenient to captain Court, and as it was necessary that he should know our author's sentiments on this unexpected occurrence, Unus was immediately dispatched after him with letters, in which his lordship recommended his urging to the nayib, that if he were the gates of Habesh, lord Valentia was the gates of Massowah; and that if the former were closed against him, he could easily shut the other, by not suffering a single dow to enter the place. He observed, however, that it was most probably a trick of the dola of Arkeko, to get money from the messengers, under the idea that they might arrive there in a dow, unprotected.

July 10.—An alarm recently spread concerning an attack of Mocha, by the sheriffe of Abou Arish, gained ground. The banian at Loheia had written to Devage, advising him to be on his guard, and stating that the troops of the sheriffe amounted to 15,000 men. At this time there were at Mocha about 450, as some had lately arrived with an escort of coffee from Oudein, and a few more came in afterwards; but these, from their wretched appearance, were more likely to be injurious than serviceable, on account of the scarcity of provisions, which was so great, that if the Wahabee had surrounded the town, the common people would have been exposed to the horrors of famine in the course of one week.

On the evening of the 15th, the Wahabee carried off 70 loaded camels between Mocha and Moosa. The garrison was immediately ordered out; but, as the party they were to attack were too powerful for them, they contrived to take a wrong road, and returned with only one lame camel, the next morning; when two of the ascarri were thrown into prison for cowardice.

On the 26th the naqueda of a dow from Massowah brought intelligence, that 17 days ago the Panther was there; that at first the dola objected to the gentlemen going into Habesh; but on their agreeing to pay what was customary, every thing was amicably adjusted, and he had undertaken to become responsible for their safety. Farther intelligence was received by another dow on the 2d of August; and on the 5th emir Mohammed, who had behaved so kindly at Suakin, brought letters from captain Court and Mr. Salt, which on the whole were satisfactory. On the 15th our author received the pleasing intelligence, that Mr. Salt had arrived in safety at Dixan, the frontier of Habesh; and on the 16th captain Court landed, and gave his lordship an account of his voyage, from which the following particulars are extracted.

On the 20th of July, having left Mr. Salt under the protection of a guard of sepoy at Arkeko, captain Court reached the Panther about eleven o'clock; but had scarcely been on board an hour, when a squall of hot wind from the land suddenly arose, in which he parted his cable. Overwhelmed by a cloud of dust, and conceiving that some severe weather was approaching, he resolved to run the vessel out of the harbour, and endeavour to get sea-room before the gale should become too strong; and in the event of the weather clearing up, he determined to attempt a passage into Arkeko bay, and bring the Panther to an anchor abreast that town;

in order to intimidate the nayib from throwing any more obstacles in the way of Mr. Salt's departure, and also to facilitate Mr. Crawford's return to the vessel with his guard of sepoys. At half past four in the afternoon the squall began to abate, and at half past seven the vessel was anchored opposite the town, which produced in the minds of the nayib, and his rapacious ascarri, the exact sensations that the captain had anticipated.

On the 21st captain Court quitted Arkeko bay, in order to visit the island of Dohul, where he had been led to expect a supply of provisions and fresh water. On his first landing there he found the inhabitants mild, inoffensive, and hospitable; and from the evident pleasure with which they received his presents of tobacco, rice, and blue cloth, he expected they would have cheerfully supplied his wants at a reasonable price: but on the arrival of a boat from the nayib, they changed their conduct, and from being forward to oblige, became quite the reverse, and evidently wished to get rid of their visitors as soon as possible. It also appeared, that in consequence of the long drought, the Dohul wells, which are about 20 in number, could not supply the Panther with sufficient expedition. The captain therefore determined upon going to Dhalac, where he replenished his stock, after being exposed to the most imminent danger while at anchor on a lee shore, in the hardest gale of wind he had ever experienced.

On his return to Massowah, he learned that a kafila had arrived from Dixan, and consequently applied to the nayib to know whether any letters had come by it for lord Valentia, but received an answer in the negative. At the instigation of Unus, however, he afterwards wrote to demand them, and added, that unless they were forwarded by Unus within 48 hours, he (the captain) would immediately return to Mocha, to receive instructions from lord Valentia, which might probably lead to unpleasant consequences.

Having quitted the harbour, the captain found on the morning of August 1, that he had been driven by the northerly currents within sight of Dohul, and after beating for 24 hours against these currents and a strong south-east wind, he found himself precisely in the same situation on the following morning. In the course of the day, however, he had the pleasure of receiving Mr. Salt's letters, by Unus, in which he announced his safe arrival at Dixan. For the six following days they beat against adverse winds and currents, without being able to get round Hurroo Point. At length

they rounded it in the burst of a land gale at midnight ; and at three o'clock on the 11th of August they were a-breast of the town of Mocha, though, on account of stress of weather, they were unable to land till the 16th.

On the night of the 13th of September, lord Valentia, who had retired to rest, was alarmed by a fire, which destroyed thirty or forty thatched houses near the American factory. If the wind had blown either from the south or west, the whole town must have inevitably been consumed : but as it happened to be perfectly calm, the fears of the inhabitants subsided in a few hours. Some Samaulies exerted themselves in extinguishing the flames ; but the Arabs, with the dola at their head, were inactive spectators. On the evening of the 19th, another fire broke out in a store-house, and partly consumed it : the wind was fresh, and if the fire had communicated to one house of thatch, the whole basar must have been destroyed, as it was immediately contiguous, and built of the most combustible materials. A third accident of the same kind occurred on the 25th, in the middle of the day, when captain Court, with his boat's crew, and some Americans, with theirs, saved the town by their exertions.

October 15.—Our author agreed with Unus to accompany him up the Red Sea for 150 dollars per month, and hired six Samaulies to act as lascars on board the Panther, in preference to Arabs. He also desired the captain to lay in a stock of white Surat cloth for barter, and some superior articles for presents to the sheiks, or other chiefs who might be found civil and accommodating.

On the 1st of November the dola, having heard that lord Valentia wished to buy a spear and shield of the cavalry, sent his own as a present, together with a battle-axe, all handsomely ornamented with silver. His lordship sent word that he would either pay him a formal visit on the evening of his departure, provided the gates were kept open for him to go out afterwards, or he would visit him in the evening of the present day, sans ceremonie. The latter proposal was accepted, and after some conversation relative to Yemen, the dola presented our author with a piece of silver cloth manufactured at Sana, and, at parting, expressed the usual anxiety for his welfare.

On the 3d lord Valentia went on board, having been attended to the pier by an innumerable crowd of beggars, among whom his lordship and captain Court threw a scramble of komassis. At four o'clock the next morning they weighed anchor, in a stiff gale and heavy sea ; but at eight

o'clock, when they were up with Jibbel Arish, the weather moderated, and they sailed along very pleasantly till dark, when they cast anchor. Mr. Pringle arrived in his dow at the same time, but went on shore, close to a village of huts called Ait.

Next morning Mr. Pringle and Unus went on board, when it was resolved to proceed to Massowah. Accordingly they weighed anchor at one o'clock, and, with a strong breeze, rounded the northern Codalic rock, which forms the boundary of the bay on that side, as the southern does on the other. The following day they anchored close to Massowah harbour, and received the gratifying intelligence, that Mr. Salt and his companions were on the road near Arkeko, and might soon be expected on board.

On our author's sending for Currum Chund, a servant of the nayib's came off to present his master's compliments, and this man acknowledged that the nayib did not wish Currum Chund to come. And on lord Valentia's sending a second message, Currum Chund himself refused, stating that he had gained nothing by the English, and that he was out of pocket by the accommodations he had procured for Mr. Salt and Mr. Pringle. It immediately recurred to his lordship's mind that he dreaded his resentment, now that Mr. Salt would be able to explain his conduct in the Habesh business. The nayib sent several messages expressive of his regard for the English, but begged they would not land, as they had incurred the displeasure of the ascarri. Soon afterwards Mr. Salt and the other gentlemen arrived, attended by the baharnegash of Dixan, and a servant of the ras. On their coming on board, Mr. Salt was saluted with eleven guns: the baharnegash, conceiving they were firing upon the town, conjured them to stop; but on the real cause being interpreted to him, he was fully satisfied, and partook of some wine and sweetmeats.

Till the morning of the 14th, our author was employed in preparing dispatches for India, and in making arrangements for the return of Mr. Carter and the Arab servants to Mocha.

The sabbath, in Habesh, begins at sun-set. The baharnegash happened to be on board on the Saturday evening, and, as soon as the sun went down, requested permission to say his prayers. He turned himself towards the east, and, in a sort of chaunt, addressed the deity and a considerable number of saints; his people occasionally joining in his sup-

plications. He then prostrated himself three times, having performed the whole of his devotion with great decorum.

The nayib's conduct, in desiring the English not to land, and even in attempting to drive the Panther away, by depriving her of water and fresh provisions, naturally excited great resentment; but the baharnegash used every possible argument to prevent a quarrel, and even went on his knees to lord Valentia, embracing his feet, and positively refusing to rise till his lordship had promised that he would not fire on the town.

As Currum Chund's behaviour had precluded the possibility of employing him, our author had recourse to a Mussulmaun merchant, named Hadje Hassan Ben Mohammed Anja, who was recommended to Mr. Salt by pacha Abdallah, as an active friend, and greatly in the confidence of the ras. This man stated, that in addition to their disappointment at Mr. Salt's having escaped so well from them, the ascarri were alarmed by an idea that lord Valentia was going on to Jidda, to procure for himself the sovereignty of Massowah from the expected Turkish pacha, and that the island would be garrisoned by English troops. He added, that the nayib had never received his investiture as aga of the ascarri, which rendered them more insolent, as conceiving he had no legal authority over them.

The baharnegash, who came on board every day, was equally astonished and delighted with the working of the guns, and the exercises of the sepoys; and observed, that twelve such men would enable the ras to vanquish the Galla. He always counted the pieces of china on the table at breakfast and dinner; and was much gratified with his presents, which consisted of a fine piece of kincaub, some china, a razor, coffee, sweetmeats, snuff, and a hundred dollars in money.

One of Mr. Salt's attendants, Nathaniel Pearce, was persuaded by the ras to stay in the country, and as this might ultimately prove very beneficial, Mr. Salt left him every thing he could spare, and several other articles were forwarded from the Panther. Our author sent him arms and money, and the baharnegash declared he would pledge his life for his safety.

On the landing-place, opposite to Massowah, our voyagers discovered a rude fluted column of black granite, with a capital. As it was dissimilar from any other which our author had seen, he was led to hope that it might lead to a dis-

covery of the ruins of Aduli, whence it was probably brought. On inquiry it appeared, that there were quarries of a similar stone in the lower hills, to the west of Massowah, and some ruins were spoken of, as lying between those hills and the coast : but no positive intelligence of any other columns could be obtained, nor would the situation of affairs with respect to the nayib admit of any researches at a distance from the vessel.

In consequence of a deficiency of sheep and water, which the nayib excused by the aridity of the season, our author resolved, after dismissing the baharnegash with letters to the ras and pacha Abdallah, to go to Dohul : however, he sent a frassel of coffee to the nayib, as a proof that he parted on amicable terms.

The following narrative of Mr. Salt's expedition was delivered to lord Valentia by that gentleman, on his return.

On the 28th of June Mr. Salt and his companions arrived in the harbour of Massowah, having experienced a regular succession of land and sea breezes during their passage from Mocha. As soon as they had anchored, captain Court sent on shore for Currum Chund ; but he returned for answer, that he was much alarmed at their coming in the " great ship," after he had written to delay their expedition, and that he could not communicate with him till he had obtained permission from the nayib, who was then at Arkeko.

The next day Hamed Chamie, the Arab interpreter, was sent on shore ; and on his return he stated, that the banian was greatly alarmed at their speedy return in the Panther, for the anchorage of which the sirdar of the troops was reviving his claim of 500 dollars. All would have been well, he said, if they had come quietly in a dow.

On the 30th the nayib came over to Massowah, and immediately sent his salaams to the Europeans, fixing twelve o'clock for their public visit. Accordingly, Mr. Salt and captain Rudland went on shore with captain Court, under a salute of eleven guns, which was designed to give importance to their mission. On landing, they were saluted with all the guns which the islanders could muster, and then proceeded to the hall of audience, attended by a havildar's guard of Bombay marines. The ceremonies were the same as at lord Valentia's visit, except that the sepoy's were ranged along the lower end of the hall. The divan was much crowded, in consequence of the nayib, the sirdar, and the dola of Arkeko being present. After the usual compliments had passed, and coffee had been handed round, Mr. Salt

and captain Court received caftans of blue cloth lined with satin; and at the termination of their visit, they retired to the house of Abou Yusuff, the nayib's secretary, which Currum Chund had prepared for their reception.

July 1.—The nayib's brother and the vizier came to the house before breakfast, and demanded in rather indelicate terms, the enormous sum of 1000 dollars, half for the anchorage of the Panther, and half for permitting them to pass through the country on their intended visit to Habesh. The apartment being nearly full of strangers, Mr. Salt stopped the conversation by observing, that he never discussed subjects of business before a multitude of people, and begged them to take some more appropriate opportunity. They departed immediately, promising to return at eleven o'clock; but when that time arrived, the banian and one of the nayib's secretaries came with intelligence, that the nayib had consented to reduce his demand to 300 dollars to be paid down to the ascarri, and that the expences of the journey was to be a subsequent consideration. In reply to this, they were given to understand that no such demand would be complied with, and that only one agreement would be made, which must comprehend a supply of mules, asses, a guard, and provisions for the journey. However, as it was stated that the nayib wished to talk over the business personally, Mr. Salt declined returning an answer till he should see him.

In the evening Mr. Salt and his friends were conducted to the cadjan house, where lord Valentia had had his first private audience. The nayib was in a loose undress seated at the farther end of the room, and his principal attendants were in a similar dishabille: the light diffused by a single lamp was so faint, that it was with some difficulty the nayib himself could be recognised.

Having made their usual salaams, the visitors were seated immediately opposite to the nayib, and a dialogue took place, through the medium of Hamed Chamie, between him and Mr. Salt, in which the former used every art to extort an exorbitant sum, and the latter determinately resused to pay more than 500 dollars for permission to pass through the country, including the whole expences of the journey. After some time the nayib began to abate of his demand, and, at length acceded to Mr. Salt's terms, when Hamed Chamie, elevating his voice that all might hear, exclaimed, "God be praised, it is settled; 500 dollars is the sum agreed upon."

Early the next morning the nayib sent a message for the

money; and the answer that it was customary with the English to pay one half on making a bargain, and the other half on its being fulfilled, gave rise to a fresh altercation. At length, however, Mr. Salt agreed to pay down the 500 dollars, on condition of receiving a written acknowledgment for the money, and an agreement that all the preparations should be completed in ten days. To this proposal the nayib assented, after some attempts to evade giving a written agreement.

On the 7th, one of the nayib's attendants introduced to the Europeans a man who was just arrived from Dowaba. His mode of salutation differed from that of the inhabitants at Massowah. He kissed the back of his hand, and then made a slight inclination of the head. He called himself a Christian, and told the English gentlemen that "he was all one with them."

On the 12th, it appeared that the nayib paid little regard to the obligation of his written promise; and it was not till after many remonstrances and implied menaces, that he determined to fulfil it. On the evening of the 17th, however, he promised to attend the travellers to Arkeko on the morrow; and at day-break his boat passed the Panther under weigh for that island, when Mr. Salt and his companions set off immediately in Unus's dōw, attended by a naig and seven sepoys, under charge of lieutenant Crawford. At eleven o'clock they landed, and walked about half a mile over a burning tract of sand to the house prepared for their reception; and about two o'clock the whole of the baggage was got up, without any loss or accident.

As soon as the boat was ready to return, Mr. Salt desired Hamed Chamie to enquire of the nayib when they were to leave Arkeko, that he might convey the intelligence to captain Court: he replied, that the morrow was the sabbath, when, of course, nothing could be done; that the next day would be occupied in arranging the baggage; and that the journey should be commenced on the following morning. After some remonstrance, however, on this needless delay, it was agreed that our travellers should set out on the day after the sabbath. This affair being settled, they procured for their day's supply, a sheep, and a quantity of water: the latter, though well tasted, was of a whitish colour, and deposited a considerable quantity of sediment. In the evening they received two sheep from the nayib. During the night they heard the cries of hyænas; and other wild beasts, which, from the noise they made, must have been very numerous.

July 20.—On quitting Arkeko, Mr. Salt's party consisted of ten persons, viz. himself; captain Rudland; Mr. Carter; Hamed Chamie, the interpreter; Andrew, another interpreter; an English servant; two Arabian servants; a boy from Massowah; and an old man, who carried their pedometer. They were also accompanied by a Mussulmaun sheik, and his little boy, who were going up the country on business, and proved equally attentive and useful. Their guard consisted of about 25 of the nayib's ascarri, besides whom they had a guide, and ten camel drivers.

At eight o'clock in the morning the camels were loaded with the baggage, and proceeded on their way, escorted by Pearce, the English servant, and Mr. Carter, who volunteered upon the occasion; but as there were a few matters yet remained, Mr. Salt, with captain Rudland and the rest of the party, remained during the heat of the day at Arkeko. Mr. Salt now discovered that no animals had been provided, except a mule for himself; but as this was not a time to begin an altercation upon the subject, he hired an ass for captain Rudland, four camels for the servants, and four others to carry the tent poles, for which he agreed to pay eight dollars. The nayib now, without assigning any reason, declared he would have 22 dollars; but the Panther happening at this juncture to move towards Arkeko, the fears of the nayib and the dola were excited, and every thing was immediately prepared for setting off.

"Of Arkeko," says Mr. Salt, "I have little to say: it is an assemblage of miserable huts, among which are two store-houses with walled yards, belonging to the nayib: before that in which we resided was a verandah, covered with mats. Immediately beyond the gardens, on the south, lies a burying ground, and to the right a village, where most of the ascarri reside."

About a mile and a half from Arkeko are six wells, from which the town receives a scanty supply of fresh water. They are nearly 20 feet deep, and above 15 in diameter; but by the evening they are so completely drained, that the water, as it rises in the middle of each, is taken up with a sort of skimmer, and put into skins.

Having watered the mules and camels, Mr. Salt and his companions passed another village, where the gardens were carefully fenced with large branches of the thorny acacia. They also observed, in the course of this route, several red deer remarkably tame, two large flocks of goats, and some small wolves which nearly resembled the Paria dogs of India.

July 21.—After reposing in the midst of their camels and baggage, at a place which Bruce calls Shillokeeb, but which the natives pronounce Shillikee, they commenced their morning's march by moonlight, and were much gratified with the sight of some green trees at a distance, which indicated the existence of fresh water, after they had been completely wearied with the sun-burnt foliage of the acacia. Accordingly, they soon arrived at the bank of a torrent called Weah, where they hung up the walls of their tent on the branches of a tree somewhat resembling the cedar, except that the boughs incline downwards like those of the weeping willow. One of Mr. Salt's attendants found the quill of a porcupine, and here they first saw the dung of elephants.

The ascarri, conceiving that the travellers had now advanced so far as to be completely in their power, began to make demands of tobacco, rice, coffee, and liquor; and as the camel-drivers were equally disposed to display their rapacity and insolence, they would probably have proceeded to extremities, had they not been deterred by the superiority of the European fire-arms. In the afternoon they quitted Weah, and, passing the torrent, proceeded over the plain, where captain Rndland made an excursion with his gun, attended by a Shangalla hunter, armed with a spear and a circular shield, the latter of which was made of the skin of the rhinoceros, and was about 30 inches in diameter: they saw several deer, hares, guinea-fowls, and partridges.

After passing a second stream, which, like the former, was discoloured by the dirt and rotten wood brought down from the hills, they encamped for the night at a station called Mackela, then occupied by a tribe of the Hazorta, who had come down with their flocks into the low country for water. Their encampment was of a circular form, and about 300 feet in diameter, carefully surrounded with a fence of thorns and brushwood; within, and at equal distances from each other, were some rude huts, composed of sticks and mats, while the space in the centre formed a convenient resting place, during the night, for the sheep and goats, which consisted of about 500. The sheik of the tribe called himself a Dancalle. This tribe seem to fare tolerably well: they have milk and butter, and a fruit called *gersa*, which, when boiled, nearly resembles the common pea.

July 22.—The attendants made no preparations for resuming their journey at the appointed hour, and on enquiry it appeared, that the delay was occasioned by the non-arrival of the mules, which, according to the nayib's promise,

were to have joined them at this place. The ascarri also threw out some broad hints, that they were determined not to proceed till their former demands were satisfied. At this juncture, however, an Abyssinian Christian, with ten mules, arrived from Dixan, with express orders to convey our travellers and their baggage to the ras at Antalow; and he stated, that the strictest orders had been issued to ensure their personal safety during the remainder of the journey. On receiving this intelligence Mr. Salt told the chief of the ascarri, that he and his followers were at full liberty to return; but he thought proper to proceed, and finding there were now no hopes of obtaining any thing by force, promised better behaviour for the future.

At three o'clock in the afternoon they resumed their route, and after a fatiguing march over the dry bed of a torrent, they came to a little rising ground called Hamhamou, where they resolved to encamp for the night. The camels were just unloaded, when the guide announced that a storm was at hand. They accordingly collected the baggage with the utmost expedition, covered it with the walls of their tent, and were beginning to pitch the tent itself, when the rain began to descend in torrents, accompanied by loud thunder and vivid lightning. The storm continued four hours, during which the air became so cold, as to render both a cloth coat and an Arab cloak necessary. Bruce passed a night on the same spot, and it was his fortune, though at a different season of the year, to encounter a similar storm.

From this place a winding path, of about a mile, leads up the mountain on the eastern side of the torrent, to some natural cisterns in the rock, which contain excellent water of a crystalline clearness.

The next morning, having dismissed the ascarri, by the advice of their Abyssinian guide, our travellers quitted Hamhamou at ten o'clock; and at half past four arrived at Sadoon, distant about ten miles. This is a small verdant plot, within a few yards of a stream, shaded by the same kind of trees as those at Weah, and completely surrounded by woody mountains.

July 24.—Their next stage brought them to Tubbo, a very picturesque station, abounding in groves of umbrageous trees, and surrounded by abrupt cliffs and precipices. The adjacent mountains are said to be inhabited by the Hazorta, Wel-leihah, and fifty other tribes; so that it is probable each hill has its distinct tribe. A man of the Hazorta tribe came down to the Europeans unarmed, and accompanied by his little

boy: they were very thinly clad, and seemed highly gratified on being presented with a small piece of tobacco. After resting here a few hours, they proceeded to Illilah (the Lila of Bruce), where they took up their evening quarters under the shade of a tree, and slept without molestation.

Early the next morning they resumed their journey, and, after a march of nearly two hours, they reached a place called Asubah, where there was a burial ground. Here they met with some herdsmen, and purchased a cow, to serve as provision for their people during the ascent of Taranta; and in about a quarter of an hour more they reached their station at the foot of that mountain. As the camels could advance no farther, on account of the unevenness of the ground, it became necessary to convey the baggage to Dixan by some other method; and, after some consideration, they agreed with some men and boys of the Hazorta tribe to carry the packages on their shoulders.

July 26.—Mr. Salt having conciliated the favour of an Hazorta chief by some trifling presents, embraced the opportunity of making some enquiries respecting the tribe to which he belonged. He stated, in reply, that their population amounted to about 5000; that they usually married four wives; and that he himself had that number, and nine children. He said they possessed many cattle, but seldom killed them, as they formed the principal medium of barter for grain with the Abyssinians. On being asked why they did not cultivate their own lands, he said they were ignorant of the art of doing so; otherwise they would willingly supply their own wants. Hence it appears extremely probable, that these people might be easily brought to a very superior state of civilization.

July 27.—After freeing themselves from the fresh insolence of the nayib's servants, and surmounting the difficulties of the passage of Taranta, which Bruce has highly exaggerated, Mr. Salt and captain Rudland took shelter in a village, about three miles from Dixan, under a hut divided into different compartments, and occupied by several families. The mode of building here is by raising walls of the required height, adjoining to a steep slope on the side of a hill, and then laying on a roof of sods, which gives the appearance of caves to these habitations: the cattle are lodged in the same apartment as the women and children. The civility of the poor inmates was rewarded with an empty wine bottle; and about two o'clock in the afternoon our travellers reached Dixan,

where they were received by the baharnegash Yasores, and the principal men of the town.

On the 29th Mr. Salt had a conversation with the baharnegash, respecting his conveyance from Dixan to Adowa. He stated that he had received orders to pay every possible attention to the Europeans, and added, that Mr. Salt's letters had been forwarded to the ras; but as he was a stranger to their contents, he wished for some information concerning the object of the intended visit. Mr. Salt replied, that the English was a very powerful nation, which had complete command of the sea, and that an English nobleman, then at Mocha, had commissioned him to open a friendly intercourse with Abyssinia, which, if properly encouraged, might be productive of the most beneficial consequences. He seemed entirely satisfied with this explanation, and advised Mr. Salt to write immediately to pacha Abdallah, secretary to the governor of Adowa, stating what number of animals would be wanted for the party, and for the conveyance of their baggage. A letter was accordingly sent off, to which an answer was returned on the 7th of August. The pacha stated that the mules were not to leave Adowa till the morrow, and would therefore probably not reach Dixan before Sunday. This delay was attributed to the necessity of sending to Antalow for an order to have more mules purchased, as the people at Adowa declined sending their mules for the strangers.

August 8.—On an alarm being given that an hyæna was at hand, our travellers sallied out of their hut, and discovered two of these animals, one of which was shot by captain Rudland. On hearing the report of the piece the villagers came out, armed with spears, and accompanied by their dogs, which, on seeing the hyæna stretched out and roaring on the ground, fell upon him with great fury; but, in ordinary circumstances, the dog and hyæna, though mutually hostile, seldom venture to attack each other.

The Abyssinians hold the hyæna in such abhorrence, that none of them could be persuaded to assist in carrying home the game; and while our travellers were skinning it, they looked on with evident signs of horror and disgust. The baharnegash, however, begged the liver, to form one of the ingredients of an ink in which charms are written.

On the 12th, about noon, Mr. Salt received intelligence of the arrival of the mules; and soon afterwards the baharnegash introduced Hadjee Hamed and Negada Moosa; the

former was represented as a person in the confidence of the ras, to whom the English were to make known all their wishes, and the latter as a man appointed to take charge of their persons and baggage. They stated that the ras was impatient to see his visitors, and had expressly desired that they might be taken by the nearest road to his presence: they added, that all things were prepared for their accommodation in the villages through which they had to pass; and that whoever should presume to molest them, must answer for the offence with his head. They also mentioned, that an additional retinue would meet them within two days' march of Antalow.

Early the next morning the mules, 21 in number, were presented to Mr. Salt, at the door of his hut, by Hamed Chamie. Sixteen of them were of a large and coarse breed, for carrying the baggage, and five of a lighter, for riding. This ceremony being over, and the baharnegash having promised to provide three additional mules, that all the party might be accommodated, Mr. Salt gave orders to have every thing prepared for setting out by day-light on the morrow; having consented to remain till that time, as his new attendants were anxious for a little rest.

The houses of Dixan are flat-roofed, and have neither windows nor chimneys; two pots of earthen-ware, indeed, rise out of the roof, but these are so narrow as to give vent only to a small portion of the smoke. The town is built round a hill, which commands a fine prospect of the mountains of Tigre, and the circumjacent country. The only public building in Dixan is the chapel, which Mr. Salt describes as a place of mean appearance, with mud walls, and a conical thatched roof. "On entering the door of the enclosure," says that gentleman, "the boys who conducted us kissed the door-posts; and we, in conformity to their customs, pulled off our shoes and hats on entering the door of the building itself. The inner building was shut. The aisle that surrounded it was strewn with rushes; and on the walls were painted rude figures, in glaring colours, of St. George and St. Haimanout, on herseback, with spears, and various other strange figures in as many strange postures."

The natives are, for the most part, of a very dark complexion, and appear to be ignorant, idle, and dirty. As badges of their religion, they wear the mark of a cross upon the breast, right arm, or forehead, with a blue silk string round the neck; and they hold the Mahommedans in such contempt, that they will not even taste of any thing which

has been killed by one of that persuasion. Their children, however, are circumcised on the eighth day after their birth. They generally repeat a prayer over every thing which they eat, drink, receive, or give away, concluding the ceremony with blowing upon it, as a conjurer does on his balls.

Polygamy is universally practised; and the number of wives possessed by each man varies from one to ten, according to their circumstances; as they are obliged to furnish each woman with a separate place of residence. Boys marry at fourteen years of age; girls at ten, eleven, and twelve. Most of the laborious occupations, such as grinding corn, cultivating the ground, picking esculent herbs, and bringing in wood and water, devolve upon the females. Their dress consists of a tanned hide round the waist, and a few beads and white shells, which decorate their necks and arms: women of the higher class allow the nails on the left hand to grow to a considerable length, and preserve them from injury by wearing cases of leather on their fingers. They carry their children on their backs.

There are no schools in Dixan for the education of youth, and only a few persons are capable of reading the church bible, which seems to be the sole book in their possession. Even among those who consider themselves as priests, not one in twenty can write the characters which they read; and though one man, who had been travelling about the country in the double capacity of priest and physician, professed to write the native language, Mr. Salt was unable to obtain from him the different characters of the Greek alphabet.

The baharnegash appears to preside over Dixan and six or seven adjacent villages, which have agreed among themselves to continue in peace and amity with each other. The affairs of his government are carried on entirely by verbal messages; his dress is equally simple with that of the other inhabitants; and his only ensign of office is a peeled staff about six feet long, which is also borne by his relations and those in authority under him. In addition to the duties of a governor, he performs those of chief priest, and recites prayers to his people every morning and evening. The form of prayer commences with chaunting three times over Jehu Arozoo (praise be to Jesus), in which the whole assembly join. This is succeeded by Binta Mariam Arozoo; then Haimanot Johannim, Georgio, Welleta Selassé, &c. all of which are changed three times. The introductory invocation, Jehu Arozoo, is then repeated, and the priest recites several prayers, to which his auditors answer, Amen. The whole congregation then

prostrate themselves on the ground, calling out on the name of God, "Tabbait—Tabbait—Tabbait," which concludes the service. The priests usually bear large keys in their hands, like that which painters place in the hand of St. Peter.

The proportion of land capable of cultivation in these parts seems to be very scanty, consisting only of a few spots on the sides of the hills, and the drier parts of the valleys. The wooden ploughs used by the natives are rudely shaped out of the root or branch of a tree, and sometimes the shares are made of iron. After the land has been ploughed twice, the clods are broken with rude hooked instruments, and the grain is scattered upon the ground. There seems to be plenty of juwarry and barley, but no wheat was to be seen at the time of Mr. Salt's visit.

The duties arising from the merchandize which passes through Dixan, are collected by the person at whose house the merchant puts up. Travellers are lodged and boarded during their stay; for which the landlord is remunerated either in money or goods, and it seems that the charges made upon these occasions are exorbitant in the extreme.

Our travellers passed the village of Hadawe and the plain of Zarai, which strongly resembled the Vale of Evesham in Worcestershire; the whole was in a high state of cultivation, and dispersed in ridges for the convenience of irrigation: here an aben gumba and many guinea fowls made their appearance. They came in sight of another village called Adishud, and arrived at the village of Adioolta, where they were met by another baharnegash, by whom our travellers were not received with much civility.

The inhabitants of this are nominally Christians; they acknowledge no other authority than that of their head-man. The village exhibited every appearance of neatness and plenty; the valley was well cropped with Indian corn. A particular kind of coarse cloth is here manufactured from the wool and hair of their sheep and goats: the materials are first spun into small ropes instead of threads, which, when sewed together, make a covering like a quilt. Proceeding in a southerly direction, the vegetation assumed a different aspect, the whole face of the country was covered with acacias, and the kolqual became less frequent, where verdure and the freshness of the bark formed a scene very similar to some of our forests in England.

They passed another very large daroo tree, whose branches

covered a space of at least 300 feet in circumference. Our travellers proceeded to the village of Bakauko, where their lodging would scarcely have served for a cow-shed in England; but they were hospitably entertained with plenty of milk and honey.

August 15.—Our travellers were yesterday joined by a female hadjee or pilgrim, who had spent three years at Mecca, and was on her return to the distant territory of Galla, who was treated with much respect by one of their chiefs, who shared his coffee with her. Our travellers arrived at Abha, the residence of the baharnegash Subhart, where they were very kindly received by the old man, in a small house built under the brow of a projecting rock, which completely sheltered it from the weather.

He was seated on a couch surrounded by his attendants, and almost entirely covered in a long white mantle with a red fringe and border; he was in person small, and his face deeply wrinkled with age. More form is used here than at Dixan: the mode of salutation is to present the hand, and afterwards kiss the back of it twice. No person can go into the presence of the baharnegash without uncovering to the waist; nor is he addressed by any one, except in a whisper, with his mouth covered and applied close to his ear. Soon after our travellers were seated, he gave them plenty of hydromel, and seemed to think some of the party did not make sufficiently free, although some of them drank two brülles*: he also treated them with cakes covered with curds. Here is a beautiful and widely commanding view from a summit, upon which is a church, partly excavated out of a rock of very steep ascent. The fare of our travellers was this day abundant, having been provided with five sheep and plenty of maise†. Mussulmauns as well as Christians appeared to enjoy this beverage.

On turning round the angle of a mountain, our travellers found a large concourse of people assembled from all the neighbouring villages, to barter the produce of their different hills. This being a new and interesting sight, they rode up, and took a circuit round the market; they observed amongst other wares, iron, wrought and unwrought, for ploughshares, &c. cattle of all kinds, horses, skins, cotton,

* Decanters of Venetian glass, holding a pint.

† A liquor made of honey and fermented with barley, and strengthened with a bitter root called zaddo; it is called hydromel by Bruce, and mead by Poucet, the latter of whom has accurately described the process of making it.

ghee, and butter; the latter as white as in England, and in round balls: baskets also of chullies, and a red pod found on the neighbouring hills, which the inhabitants eat when ripe. This market is held weekly.

The women they saw here were generally tall and well shaped, and some of them handsome.

Our travellers procured some supper at the ruinous village of Recaito, in exchange for a few beads; but they found the damsels very keen in making their bargains. All the villages in this district bear strong marks of the ravages committed by the army of the ras, or some other military devastators, the greater part of them being mere heaps of ruins, which the people have no inclination to rebuild.

Mr. Salt collected here three species of bulbous plants, and a few specimens of iron ore, which lay plentifully scattered on several hills they passed over.

At Shihah our travellers were much incommoded by smoke, being obliged to cook in their sleeping room. Mr. Salt considers it probable, that it is this smoke which injures the sight of the inhabitants; for they observed that even the children were many of them blind, and every woman advanced in years had lost one, and many of them both their eyes.

Here our travellers were alarmed by the baharnegash, who called out vociferously that an enemy was at hand; and upon a light being brought, they found the whole of the baharnegash's attendants ready armed, with lighted matchlocks, spears, and shields. The rumbling noise, like that of a drum or tom-tom, supposed to have proceeded from an hill in the rear, was discovered to be nothing more than the noise made by an old woman in grinding her corn, which here, as well as in Arabia and India, is always done in the night. The alarm however continuing, they at length learned from Hamed Chamie, that two brothers, Aggoos and Subagadis, with their army, were coming to take possession of the town, and that the whole country was in a state of uproar; but at the same time it was no means their intention to do our travellers any voluntary injury. They afterwards learned that the chiefs, hearing our travellers were in the town, had declared their intention of delaying the attack until they should have passed on to the ras.

August 20.—Tegra Mokau Wellela Samuel, chief of the villages of Debra Muttai, came down from the hill with a present of sheep and milk. He apologized for his dress, be-

ing in mourning for his brother ; his shirt, which was blackened with dirt, was to be worn eighty days*.

Mr. Salt received a visit from Aggoos, chief of Calaut, attended by a large train of warriors, some of whom were armed with matchlocks, and others with spears and shields. The chief appeared to be but little more than twenty years of age, in person handsome, but in his manners fierce and rude. He mentioned, that on hearing we were travelling that way, he had deferred his attack upon Shihah : he brought a couple of bullocks, and in the evening our travellers received from him some milk, and sixty-five cakes of teff bread, two feet in diameter, as also twenty-five from Welleta Samuel.

Genater, the capital of the district of Agowma, at which our travellers arrived this day, is a village consisting principally of conical huts, overlooked by an high steep rock, on the top of which is an area about 100 feet in diameter, occupied partially by a citadel. Here our travellers were met by Subagadis, the elder of the four sons of Shum Woldo. He uncovered himself with great humility when approaching, and saluted our travellers by kissing their hands ; he then led them to his state room, which was lofty, and supported by round posts in the centre. Here our travellers were treated with an excellent fowl currie, wheaten loaves cooked in steam, and plenty of maize : he also, by the ras's order, presented him with three bullocks, four pots and two skins of honey. Mr. Salt says, Subagadis was in his manners the most polished Abyssinian he had seen. The thermometer was at 66°.

August 22.—Mr. Salt made a present of a looking-glass, some beads, and a few olives, to the lady of the house, who was of a much lighter complexion than any our travellers had before met with, and distantly related to the ras. These were received with great satisfaction, and for the first time, says Mr. Salt, we found ourselves among people who were above begging.

In the morning our travellers were amused with the sight of an Abyssinian banquet, at which they counted ninety-five persons feeding at the same time in the hall, although new guests were continually replacing those who were satisfied. Mr. Salt says it must frighten many persons to go into the

* This is the manner of mourning by the Christians in Abyssinia ; they also tear the skin off their temples, to shew their affection to the deceased.

middle of such a throng, cutting away at the raw meat with their long drawn knives, and handing it about in large pieces from the higher ranks to the inferior. Sometimes if it happened to be a coarse piece, it was observed to pass through six or seven gradations. At the farther end of the hall sat Subagadis and his wife, with her female attendants, behind a curtain half drawn.

The lady, Mr. Salt says, was young and pretty.—She asked him for a pair of ear-rings, which were presented accordingly.

Captain Rudland shot two eagles, which Mr. Salt supposed to be the male and female: the people were much delighted on the occasion, having never seen a bird shot flying.

In coming into this village, Mr. Salt says he had seen a plant very like the ensette of Bruce: upon examination it proved to be a new species of musa: it grows from thirty to forty feet high. This plant again occurred in the mountains of Adowa.

August 24.—The lady of the house, sister-in-law to the wife of Subagadis, paid our travellers a visit: Mr. Salt presented her with a looking-glass and some beads; the chiefs also of the villages they had passed the day with, paid our travellers a morning visit, and presented them with a bullock and other articles. The hills beyond the villages, Mr. Salt says, produced many new and uncouth forms, and sheep of all shades from white to black, were grazing on the sides of them. After a ride of five miles, in the course of which they passed several small villages, each containing one principal house surrounded with a stone wall, our travellers ascended an hill leading to a larger village, the residence of Ayto Guebra.

The chief is married to a niece of ras Welleta Salassé, who, with Tecla Hammaintout, the husband of the lady's sister, and some other friends, hospitably entertained them with maise, curry, and immense piles of bread, and the guests were given to understand, that to eat and drink heartily was the best compliment which they could pay them. Indeed, Mr. Salt says, they were plied so fast with maise, so strong and excellent in quality, that they were obliged to depart in a hurry, lest their servants should be incapable of proceeding.

On quitting the banquetting room, our travellers were ushered rather unexpectedly into the lady's apartment, who received them very cordially, and paid her compliments in an easy and polite manner.

Our travellers departed to the mansion of Debib, chief of Negarlie, where a second feast was soon prepared, and 400 cakes of the usual size were given to their people, together with bullocks, honey, ghee, &c.

August 25.—The master of the house rode on with our travellers in the morning, as had been the custom since they left Abha. He sat, Mr. Salt says, his horse firmly and gracefully, like most of his countrymen, who with their white dresses and black sheep skins thrown loosely over the shoulder, make by no means an unhandsome figure on horseback. They wear nothing on their heads, but consider it as a mark of dignity to cover the lower part of the face with the loose part of their dress. They are generally attended by eight or ten followers with matchlocks and spears.

After ascending and descending some steep mountains, our travellers went to visit a church or convent cut out of the solid rock, called Abrahassubha. This place is situated on the side of a rock commanding a view of a large and beautiful plain, thinly set with daroo and wild date trees. In the front of the excavation is a thatched entrance of two stories, built much in the style of the Portuguese. Here was a room answering in some degree to the chancel in modern churches, having a dome-shaped ceiling of very exquisite workmanship. In this room are contained the baptismal font, and other articles used in the ceremonies of the church, which are concealed from view by a curtain suspended between two pillars at the entrance. The ceiling is hollowed out into a dome about thirty feet high, curiously carved and painted. The floor is flagged with square stones, and the walls are carved and ornamented with crosses, paintings, and inscriptions in the Ethiopic character, which Mr. Salt was informed consisted entirely of sentences taken from scripture. Representations of Christ, the Apostles, and Saint George combating the dragon, were the most conspicuous of the paintings.

This temple is full of bats and insects, particularly in the side cells, in each of which is a tomb.

One of the most curious circumstances attending this excavation, Mr. Salt says, is, that water continually issues from one of the pillars which deposits a ferruginous sediment, but does not appear to have in any degree corroded the stone.

On the outside are several tombs excavated in the sides of the rock, only covered over by loose stones. The priests who attended, were all neatly dressed in white,

with light turbans, or more properly wrappers twisted round their heads.

The rock out of which this is excavated is very hard. This church, Mr. Salt says, is certainly more ancient than the residence of the Portuguese in Abyssinia, and he thinks it probable to have been one of those formed by the emperor Lalibala, by workmen sent from Egypt for that purpose.

Mr. Salt procured specimens of several beautiful species of silices; he was also presented with a neatly turned horn, the peculiar manufacture of Abyssinia; he also visited the church at Chelicut, attended by a multitude of priests all handsomely clothed in white, by whom they were requested upon entering the first gateway, to take off their shoes and hats; the Mussulmauns were permitted to enter the first avenue. Mr. Salt describes the building as consisting of three concentric circular walls covered with a thatched roof and surmounted with a ball and cross. The spaces between the two outer walls were open avenues; the body of the church was circumscribed by the central one.

The walls were coated with whitish red plaster, ornamented with gilding, and covered with representations of Noah and the Ark, Christ and the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, the Martyrdom of the Saints, many extravagant designs taken from the prophecies, and St. George fighting the Dragon. This latter Saint seems, Mr. Salt says, to be a great national favourite, and every where makes a very conspicuous figure upon his white horse.

The colouring of these paintings, Mr. Salt says, was very gaudy; one picture of the Virgin Mary, the face of which was covered with glass to preserve it, was executed, he says, in a style superior to the generality of eastern paintings: the infant Christ was in one instance placed on the left hand of his mother, and in another on her right.

A very handsome glass chandelier, given by the sheriffe of Mecca to the ras, is suspended in the outer circle. The vestments and furniture of the officiating priests were very rich and beautiful, and they took great pleasure in shewing them. Among other articles were eleven mitres of pure silver inlaid with gold, two dresses of black velvet richly studded with silver, a large silver drum hooped with gold, beside a rich Venetian cloth handsomely embroidered:

Mr. Salt proceeded to pay his visit to the ras at Antalow, and (it being market day) he was obliged, he says, to pass through a crowd of at least 3000 of the inhabitants. Our travellers were not allowed to dismount from their mules till

they had got into the entrance of the great hall, at the farther end of which the ras was seated upon a couch with two large pillows upon it covered with rich satin. His principal chiefs, and amongst others, Baharnegash Yasous, were seated upon the floor, which was carpeted. According to the custom of the country, our travellers bowed, and then kissed the back of his hand, and he in return kissed theirs; he then pointed to a vacant couch on his right, covered with a beautiful skin, upon which our travellers were immediately seated; where the usual compliments were passed, with additional compliments from lord Valentia at Mocha.

Our travellers were furnished in the course of the day with abundance of provisions, and pressed to eat and drink profusely. Several polite messages were sent by the ras in the evening, who sent also for their fire arms, at which he appeared highly delighted: he sent also a dish of stewed fish; about twelve he sent them some clouted cream: and at four Mr. Salt was called up to receive the compliments of the morning.

August 29.—About 10 in the morning our travellers breakfasted with the ras, where they were plentifully fed by the ras himself with eggs, fowl in curry, and balls of a mixed composition of wild celery, curds and ghee, after which they were offered brinde; but upon expressing a wish to have it dressed, the meat was afterwards brought grilled and cut into pieces by one of the attendants, and handed to their mouths by the ras, much in the same way, Mr. Salt says, as “boys in England feed young magpies.”

The confusion in the hall at this repast, was, Mr. Salt says, not to be described; the people were squabbling and almost fighting with their drawn knives, for the raw meat that was handed about, and the test bread that lay heaped round the table. Some persons, however, who appeared to be masters of the ceremony, carrying long white sticks, chastised those who were too eager in seizing their portions.

On the following day Mr. Salt being sent for by the ras (having transmitted the letter from lord Valentia by Hamed Chamie, explaining the object of his mission), delivered his lordship's presents, consisting of two entire pieces of broad cloth, one blue and the other red; a watch, a telescope, some pieces of kincaub and satin, a dress of gold tissue, a gold ring and broach, and several pieces of muslin, at which the ras seemed highly pleased. Mr. Salt then stated, that the object of his mission was, to promote an intercourse of friendship between two such powerful countries

as Egypt and Abyssinia, the inhabitants of which moreover were of the same religion—represented the advantage to the ras, from the British being uncontrouled masters of the sea, in supplying himself at the first hand with any articles he might require, and those of superior quality, instead of having been hitherto obliged to receive all his imports at the third and fourth hand, upon which an immoderate duty had been paid upon every separate transfer. The ras appeared inclined to favour this proposition: a sea port was accordingly proposed for importing merchandize, called Buré, about four days journey from Antalow, and it was agreed that one of the gentlemen who accompanied Mr. Salt should repair thither, to make enquiries on the spot.

The town of Antalow consists of upwards of 1000 houses, with conical thatched roofs, erected upon an uneven rising ground in the valley below. The house of the ras is conspicuous from its size, the different shape of the roof and the wall which surrounds it. The country around, Mr. Salt describes as extremely uninteresting.

Our travellers breakfasted with the ras: the dishes were the same as usual, with the addition of boiled cow-heel. In the evening they went to the hall, where they found the ras at chess in the midst of his chiefs. The chess men, which are coarsely made of ivory, Mr. Salt describes as very large and clumsy; and when they have occasion to take off any of their adversaries' pieces, they strike it from the place with great force and eagerness. Their game, Mr. Salt observed, differed very much from ours. Bishops jump over the head of knights, and are only allowed to move three squares. The pawns move only one step forward at starting, and get no rank by reaching the end of the board*. Much noise is made; every person around, even the slaves, having a voice in the game, and seizing the pieces at pleasure to shew any advisable move. Mr. Salt observed however, that they always managed with considerable ingenuity to let the ras win every game.

A repast was afterwards served up, at which many ladies were present, amongst whom there was one of his brother's wives, who sat on the same couch with the ras; others were

* Captain Rudland, in his journal, notices other differences. The queen moves diagonally, and only one square at a time. The castles have either not the power of the same piece in the European games, or the players do not seem to make use of them so frequently, nor do they seem to value a castle so much as a knight.

seated on the floor, but all appeared to do justice to the brinde.

By an observation obtained by Mr. Carter, the latitude of Antalow was $12^{\circ} 48' 30''$; the thermometer was at this time at 60° .

With respect to the markets, Mr. Salt says that he sent Pearce one morning, who found it so crowded that he could with difficulty ascertain the articles brought to barter; corn, butter, ghee, onions, skins and cattle, appeared to be the staple commodities: the small currency consisted of wedges of rock salt, each weighing two or three pounds, and estimated at one-thirtieth of a dollar.

Weekly markets are held in many parts of the country at a distance from all habitations, two of which our travellers passed, in which many hundred men were assembled, who, Mr. Salt says, do not therefore consider it infamous (as Mr. Bruce erroneously asserts) for them to attend a market.

With respect to the administration of justice, the ras rules over his subjects with most despotic sway; he devotes the greater part of every morning to hearing complaints of his subjects, whose lives and property depend entirely upon his nod. The parties who appear before him, Mr. Salt describes as very vociferous, and when provoked by their opponents, often employ such violent gesticulations, that to all appearance the very presence of the ras would scarcely appear sufficient to restrain them from coming to blows.

September 9.—Mr. Salt, attended by Pearce and Andrew, and Ibrahim the interpreter, departed for Axum. They ascended the hill of Antalow, and in passing a church, the guide, Guebra Selassé, and a chief who was passing, dismounted from their mules, a mark of respect generally paid by the Christians of this country*. Upon arriving at Muc-cullah they found the ras, who received our traveller very cordially, seated him beside him on the couch, and ordered some beef to be grilled, which though brought nearly raw, Mr. Salt says he ate with a keen appetite.

September 10.—The church has nothing worthy of observation, unless that it was ornamented with paintings like those at Chelicut, the only difference being that Mr. Salt observed the letters I. N. R. I. in Roman characters, written on a cross, the meaning of which, Mr. Salt says, the priests appeared perfectly to understand. Mr. Salt was received with much attention by the priests, the greater part of

* This, however, captain Rudland observes subsequently, was not an universal custom,

whom were engaged in singing and ginging keys, one of which was on the right hand of each. This they accompanied with most violent grimaces and gestures, rather performing, Mr. Salt says, the parts of antics on a stage than of persons employed in devotion.

Mr. Salt afterwards proceeded to the ras's house, where he found a long table set out, and a great quantity of bread cakes piled up. Mr. Salt was seated upon a couch beside him, and had the honour of being fed from his own hand. The ballambarras, or master of the bread department, the baharnegash of Dixan, the chief of Dehib, with many others of equal authority were in waiting: there were four changes of guests at the table, and three large jars of maize were emptied, each of which contained at least half a hoghead.

The ras prevailed upon Mr. Salt to eat a small portion of the brinde, and he conceives it to be merely prejudice that deters us from eating it. The ras pointed out two Falasha or Jews: they acknowledge no king except the sovereign of the country, the line of Gideon being extinct: they informed him that they were very numerous at Gondar, and in the provinces of Knara and Samen, and that their chief employment consisted in building and thatching houses. They pretend to have entered the country in the time of Mimeleh.

September 11.—Mr. Salt went over the plain of Jambela in a N.N.W. direction. The whole of this plain was in a high state of cultivation, and contains at least forty villages, exclusive of several others in ruins.

About six miles N.N.W. from the village of Tsai, which with their territory, form a free district under one of the ras's nephews, Mr. Salt saw several birds, one of which he has no doubt was the black eagle of Bruce: his drawing of it appears, Mr. Salt says, very correct, but this bird in its habits more resembles a hawk than an eagle, as it perches upon the tops of trees, and being driven from one flies to another. At the next halting place where our travellers were to remain for the night, there being no maize for drink, they were obliged to put up with booza; this, Mr. Salt says, is made from the crumbs of all sorts of bread, and greatly resembles bad, sour small beer, with a toast in it.

September 14.—Our travellers arrived at the mansion of Bashaw Guebra Eyat, a man of much consequence, able to bring into the field a large body of soldiers armed with matchlocks, a circumstance on which in this country, Mr. Salt says, the importance of a chief greatly depends. Mr.

Salt met on his journey a poor woman, who in a supplicatory tone, begged him to give her some physic for a child she carried at her back, who according to report was afflicted with an evil spirit.

The hills our travellers were passing over, consisted almost entirely of a brown calcareous stone, chiefly in perpendicular strata; hence, instead of flat tabular elevations, as is the case where the strata lie horizontally, the hills are in form inclining to pyramidal; the whole country is well watered, springs being found on almost every mountain.

Upon approaching the church of Abbou Garima, they had to cross a valley nearly circular, closed on all sides by high but irregular hills: a stream of water runs through this valley, and wild date trees at that time covered with fruit, were scattered over its surface.

From having found this tree exclusively in the neighbourhood of religious houses of unknown antiquity, Mr. Salt is led to conjecture that it was introduced by the Christian fathers who came hither from Egypt.

The church of Abbou Garima is said to have been built in the reign of Guebra Mascal, about the year 560. It is surrounded by oxy cedars, daroo trees, and date trees of so great a height as to have the appearance of cocoa-nut trees.

The porch of this church is formed by a wretched shed. The main building is square, divided by a passage dividing it into two unequal compartments. It is built of solid masses of stone and timber, strengthened in some places by bars of iron. Within are some miserable paintings, one of which represents Abbou Garima, with a long white beard and mustachios, wearing a turban, and seated according to the Turkish fashion. He is attended by many others similarly dressed, amongst whom is one only with mustachios.

The fabulous account given by the priests who attended was, that Abbou Garima 1500 years ago, was brought hither from Secundria in one night, by the Angel Gabriel, and after residing here a long time, was carried away in as mysterious a manner, and has never since been heard of, in commemoration of which, this church was erected by Guebra Mascal, who then reigned over Abyssinia.

Mr. Salt arrived at Adowa about sunset, where he was conducted to the ras's house, and spent the evening with great conviviality. Many chiefs of rank were present, among whom was a nephew of ras Michel. The whole company expressed their astonishment that Mr. Salt should know all the public transactions of Abyssinia for the last 50 years.

Mr. Salt visited the church of St. Mariam, which is built exactly in the same style as those mentioned before. They were attended by a crowd of inhabitants shouting and laughing, and the women making a clapping noise peculiar to themselves, expressive of their pleasure and astonishment. Upon a hill a little out of the town stands the convent of Fremena, so called by the Jesuits, who founded it: this name, however, if ever adopted, is by the inhabitants unknown. Within the walls, which are now in ruins, stands the church of St. George, a wretched edifice, with the internal walls painted in the usual style: on the north side of the church is the appearance of a large tank, and upon an higher eminence at the extremity of the northern brow of the hill, is a square building with an open doorway on each side, in which is hung a large bell marked with Ethiopic characters; the outer wall and the enclosed buildings were composed of small stones, laid very inartificially, and cemented with mud. Some parts of the wall are thirty feet high, and at the angles are round abutments; yet, says Mr. Salt, this does not appear a place of strength, although Mr. Bruce has thought proper to represent these buttresses as flanking towers, and converted the belfry into a citadel!

The church of St. Michail, placed on a rising ground on the east side of the valley, is surrounded completely by trees, and is, Mr. Salt thinks, the most respectable church in appearance of any in Adowa: on coming out of church, a woman fell at Mr. Salt's feet, requesting him to heal her son, who was deaf and dumb.

Adowa is a place of considerable extent, about a mile across, and has a striking appearance on account of a great number of wanza trees, which are thickly planted in the enclosures round the houses. The fruit when ripe, is considered by the inhabitants good eating. Mr. Salt found Mr. Bruce's drawing of this tree, as far as it went, correct.

Adowa supplies great quantities of cloth, principally of a coarse quality, which circulates through the country as money, and is the principal currency in which the chiefs pay their annual tribute. Each piece is about 16 cubits long, and one and three quarters wide: its value is thirty pieces of salt, or one dollar. Some of the finer cloths, Mr. Salt says, are valued as high as twelve dollars for a dress, each dress being fifty cubits in length. These, however, are worn only by the principal men in the country.

The native Christian manufacturer, will make only three dresses of fine cloth in a year: the Mussalmaun will make more, but of an inferior price and quality.

On going down into the hall to pay his compliments to Nebrida Aram, Mr. Salt was unexpectedly introduced to one of the royal family, who was sitting with him on a couch. This was Fasilidas, son of Yasous, who was placed on the throne by the ras Guxo.

Mr. Salt proceeded along the valley, in a westward direction; they crossed the Mai Gogua and another stream, which he supposes may be the Riberani of Bruce. The venereal disease is said to be prevalent here; however from all the enquiries he could make in the country, Mr. Salt is of opinion that it does not exist here at all, but that debility, and a bad sort of itch common to the country, are generally mistaken for it. This last disease always yielded, Mr. Salt says, to an application of gunpowder and lemon juice. Continuing his road, Mr. Salt passed over an hill which was one continued bed of iron ore. The next hill was covered with spar: beyond this, Mr. Salt crossed a plain fully six miles in extent, which brought him to Calam Negus.

This consisted of two excavations, formed in the hill, raised and covered with large blocks of brown granite, one of which, Mr. Salt says, serving as a cover to one of the cells, measured eleven feet and a quarter by eight and a quarter. These caves bear to each other very nearly north and south: the workmanship is good, but rough; the stone bearing all the marks of the chisel.

The first cave, the guides informed our travellers, was the road by which Calam Negus went to Jerusalem, and if any person should take a candle into it at night, he would distinctly see the whole of the way to that holy city. Mr. Salt supposes Calam Negus to have been a king cotemporary with Justin, who reigned in the country about the year 552. He was famous for a successful incursion into Arabia against the Homerites, and sent his crown upon his return to be suspended in the temple of Jerusalem. Mr. Salt says he astonished his guides by finding the extent of this cave.

The second cave, which was nearly closed up by earth that had fallen in, Mr. Salt, upon exploring, found much more curious than the first: in this cave were three plain tombs at right angles to the wall, nearly east and west. By following the walls till they brought them again to the entrance, our travellers satisfactorily ascertained the whole extent of the place.

These curious remains of antiquity lie nearly west of the hills, above Adowa, and about a mile from the skirts of Axum.

The first impression upon a beholder of Axum church, is its great resemblance to the Gothic seats of English noblemen; upon approaching nearer, our travellers passed the ruins of a great number of obelisks, some of them sculptured, and others plain; at length Mr. Salt was gratified with the view of an obelisk still erect, which had hitherto been concealed by a large daroo tree, and which Mr. Salt says, is undoubtedly the one mentioned by Poncet, and afterwards drawn and described by Bruce. This is about 80 feet high, formed out of a single black granite curiously carved and in excellent proportion. The elevation published by Bruce, Mr. Salt says, can furnish no idea of this beautiful and extraordinary monument. It is difficult, Mr. Salt says, to conceive the method by which such a solid mass of granite could be raised; and this astonishment must be increased after passing through a country now reduced to so rude a state as Abyssinia.

A little below this only obelisk which has withstood the effects of time, and appears as perfect as when originally erected, they came opposite to the church which Bruce, Mr. Salt says, has most unjustly depreciated; since, according to the latter gentleman's opinion (with the exception of Chelicut) in point of size, richness or sanctity, it has no rival compared with all others in Tigre.

The height of the church, Mr. Salt says, cannot be less than 40 feet; the colonnade in front is supported by four massive square pillars about five feet in diameter, composed of small stones and covered with plaister. Upon our travellers requesting to see the interior of the building, the farther folding door was thrown open, and singing was heard in a distant apartment; some of the priests then came forward, reciting prayers and burning incense. All the books and rich dresses belonging to the church, were brought forward: the former are of a large size, covered with gilding and figures in relief: the latter were similar to those at Chelicut.

Mr. Salt learned from the books in this place, that the first Christian Church at Axum was built 1140 years ago, at the same time as that of Abrahassab, and was destroyed by Mohammed Gragne in 1526; the present church was built by Sultan Ayto Fasil, son of Ayto Socenios, in 1657.

The clerical establishment of this place, Mr. Salt says, appears to be on a far superior scale to any he had seen in Abyssinia, with the exception of Chelicut, which being the

residence of the ras, is necessarily more attended to; and the chief priest claims a very high precedence over all the churches to the eastward of the Tacazza. The dress of the priesthood differs in some degree from all the other ranks; wearing, in addition to the large folding mantle and close drawers which constitute the simple dress of the Abyssinians, a close vest of linen next the skin, which covers every part of the body to the knees, and a thin shawl of cotton, leaving the tops of their heads exposed.

The church was found upon measurement to be 111 feet in length and 51 in breadth.

From hence Mr. Salt was conducted to view two walls lined with stone, and a small square pillar surrounded by pillars; on a seat within which the ancient kings used to be crowned. Behind the king's seat other remains are scattered about in different directions. Mr. Salt could, however, find only upon one the least appearance of any inscription, which was in Ethiopic characters, and of which he gives the following translation: "The Aboona David removed and broke to pieces here; he thought within himself the Lord was pleased that he should do so." This will account, Mr. Salt says, satisfactorily, if just, for the destruction of the temple and the obelisks.

Mr. Salt found another upright stone about half a mile from the church, which was covered with Greek characters, deeply cut in the stone, each letter being nearly two inches long. Mr. Salt wrote down the best account he could get from the books of Axum, of ras Michel, and his rebellion in Tigre against the emperor Yasous; his standing a siege on the mountain of Sumayut: his subsequent concession and pardon; all of which, Mr. Salt says, confirm the historical account of the same transactions as related by Mr. Bruce.

September 18.—Mr. Salt proceeded to copy the inscription above-mentioned; he also went to take a drawing of the obelisk still erect, which he says he found extremely different from the drawing of it given by Bruce. Those ornaments, which Bruce is pleased to term tryglyphs, metopes, and guttæ, being most regularly, instead of irregularly disposed.

Mr. Salt says, he is now perfectly satisfied, that all Bruce's pretended knowledge of drawing is not to be depended upon. The present instance, to use Mr. Salt's own words, affording a striking example, "both of his want of veracity and uncommon assurance, in giving, with a view to correct others, as a geometrical elevation, so very false a sketch of

this monument." This monument, Mr. Salt says, is inferior in size to one that has fallen down, which also differs from it in the form of its ornaments.

Mr. Salt here describes the situation, buildings, ruins, &c. of the town of Axum. The situation of the monument called the king's seat, the seat itself, and the slab on which the feet naturally rest, are of granite and not freestone, as erroneously described by Bruce, whose inscription also; Mr. Salt, from not having been able to trace any vestiges of it, deems fictitious.

All the monuments about the church form a group, and are probably, Mr. Salt says, a part of one great edifice. All the information Mr. Salt could procure at Axum, relative to the singular remains there, was from the attending priests, who informed him, on the authority of their books, that all their ancient monuments and obelisks, originally fifty-five in number (of which four were of the size now standing) were built by Ethiopus, the father of Abyssinia, about 1544 years ago; and that the great reservoir, which supplies every house with water, was constructed during the reign of Isaac king of Abyssinia, by the Aboona Samuel, who died at Axum 392 years ago, and was buried under the daroo tree still remaining near the church; and that in the year 1070 a female, named Gadit, in great authority came from Ambara, and from a superstitious motive, destroyed as far as was practicable, these remains of ancient art, and laid the whole place in ruins. The Ethiopic inscription, however, makes it doubtful whether this were not done by the Aboona David.

From this account of Axum, Mr. Salt says it will appear that Bruce's description of "the mountain of red marble, of the wall cut out of the same, five feet high, with its one hundred and thirty-three pedestals, on which stood colossal statues of the Dog Star, two of which only were remaining, and of the road cut between the wall and the mountain," are all of them contrary to existing facts; and he conceives that the fallacious presumption, that no Englishman would ever travel to refute him, induced Mr. Bruce to have thus attempted to impose. In addition to this, Mr. Salt enumerates his never having seen the inscription, although standing so near the road. His account of the church, and his general remarks on the priests, give reason to suppose that he never had any communication with them, although they were the only persons capable of giving him any information on the subject.

Mr. Salt describes the, lower class of inhabitants of Axum as more rude to strangers, and less under authority, than any he had observed during his excursion. When any person is injured in this country, his first attempt is to get hold of his adversary's apparel, which having fastened to his own in a hard knot, nothing can force him to quit until he gets into the presence of his superior, to whose decision he means to appeal; and it is singular, Mr. Salt says, that persons who may have stolen double the value of their garment, will not consent to part with it, in order to escape from the disgrace attendant upon such a proceeding.

The mode of keeping children in order is, in this country, no less singular. Our traveller observed one of Nebrida Aram's boys, with large shackles on his legs, as a punishment for some truant tricks of which he had been guilty.

Mr. Salt, by appointment, twice visited Ozoro Tsai. This princess was seated, surrounded by her attendants, on an handsome couch, placed in a recess, which was divided by an undrawn curtain, with the lower part of her face covered. What was wanting in conversation was made up in laughing, joking, and drinking: the lady urgently plying our traveller with maize, taking at the same time an equal portion herself. The Ozoro, Mr. Salt says, was not so great a beauty as Bruce's princess, being of a dark complexion, although of very pleasant manners.

Here follows the Journal of Captain Rudland, of what occurred at Antalow after Mr. Salt's departure, in which the following are the most interesting particulars.

September 17.—The captain attended the ras upon an hunting party, an amusement to which he is much attached, and which is thus conducted. He has about fifty dogs, of an inferior cast, not unlike the English lurcher, and at least five hundred men. These are disposed among the thickets of acacia, with which the small surrounding hills are covered, to rouse the deer, hares, grouse, partridges, and guinea fowl. As soon as one of these is put up (for the birds fly only to a very short distance) it is instantly pursued by the dogs and men who happen to be nearest.

Upon this an universal yell is set up, which so frightens the poor animal, that, together with the keenness of the dogs, it seldom has the good fortune to escape.

September 20.—Captain Rudland accompanied the ras to divine service, which was performed in a temporary building, in the centre of the valley, about a mile from the church. On entering this place many priests were assembled,

who had formed themselves into a circle, chaunting the psalms with a large tom-tom or drum in the centre.

The seat occupied by the ras was secured by a curtain from the view of all without, within which was placed a crown of gold, some frankincense, dried grapes, and wheat; the former was burned, and the two latter were made use of instead of the bread and wine.

After the prayers were over, and the ras had read a chapter in the bible, they all went round into the middle of the plain. The ras being seated on the ground, two or three of the dresses of his slaves were spread out and fixed upon spears, so as to form a complete covering. The chess board was then brought, and the ras, as usual, continued to play until four in the afternoon, when they returned to Muccullah, to the usual Friday's repast.

Captain Rudland supposes that there could not have been less than 10,000 people, of whom two-thirds were females, assembled upon this occasion. When the ras was about to return, a deputation of priests was sent to the building for the crown and other insignia, which were carried back by students, dressed in rich velvets, of different colours, and Indian kincanbs; over each of them was carried a red satin umbrella. All the females joined in the procession, and every one of respectability carried in her hand a large brass key, similar in form to those in the hands of the priests.

Captain Rudland gives also an account of a funeral, at which, he says, none but women seemed to manifest their grief, by shedding tears, and scratching the skin from their temples, foreheads, and even noses, till they were as raw as brinde.

Upon returning to the building, the captain accidentally saw the Muccullah princess, Ozoro Endett, and three other ladies belonging to the chief men of the place, who invited him to sit down.

The Ozoro was covered with trinkets and chains of silver, even her shoes, in the hands of her slave girls, were studded with gold. These ladies were very free in examining the captain's dress and skin, but nothing seemed to excite their attention more than his hair, which, until they touched it, they could not conceive, he says, to be natural.

Mr. Salt here resuming his journal, gives the following account of a grand military review. The ras was seated in a small verandah in front of the building, which overlooked a walled enclosure of 300 yards in circumference; he was surrounded by his principal chiefs, and our travellers

(Mr. Salt and captain Rudland) were placed on his couch beside him.

The outer part of the enclosure Mr. Salt describes as being lined with crowds of inhabitants, the walls were also covered. Opposite the ras was a gateway, with a room above, in which were seated a number of officers of state, who were appointed to regulate the review.

Through this gateway the chiefs entered separately, but each attended by his respective followers. First entered the cavalry, with their chiefs at the head, in dresses principally of kincaubs, embroidered damask flowered with gold, or black velvet studded with silver ornaments, thrown over their shoulders as a scarf, and fastened across the breast with a gold clasp; round their heads they wore bandages formed of red, green, or yellow satin, tied behind, long and loosely streaming as they rode. Instead of this latter ornament, some had only fillets of skin round their heads, the hairs of which being erect, gave an additional wildness to their appearance; some few had horns of gold, either perpendicular above their foreheads, or projecting forwards, and several on the upper part of their arm had a silver disk; others wore silver bracelets, in the shape of an horse's collar, round their right arms, equal in number to the enemies they had slain.

The horses, which were richly caparisoned, bore on their fronts the bloody garments of foes slaughtered by their riders. They galloped round the circus, brandishing their spears with great agility: each chief, after riding seven or eight times round the circus, presented himself in a menacing attitude, directly before the ras, and recited in pompous language, the achievements he had performed; concluding his harangue by throwing down the indubitable trophies of his valour, which had before been suspended above the bracelets on his right arm. One chief brought only a knife, that he had taken from his opponent. But this custom, Mr. Salt says, is not confined to the chiefs alone, for every ragged fellow among the foot soldiers, who enters with the horsemen, has the same privilege; amongst the latter, Mr. Salt says, probably followers of the camp (for they were not soldiers) were savage enough to produce unquestionable evidence that boys, not men, had been the victims of their fury. From these latter the ras very justly refused that approbation which he liberally conveyed to the rest.

The inferior warriors, Mr. Salt says, were clad in skins, chiefly of sheep, some of which were bordered with red and blue, in different shades.

The matchlock men, amounting to at least 1500, came intermixed with the foot soldiers, who were armed with spears and shields : these came in most irregular order, and their gestures, Mr. Salt says, were, if possible, more ridiculous than those of the spearmen, imitating, as appeared to him, men hunting wild beasts among the bushes : they concluded by firing their muskets, as nearly as possible, at the legs of their opponents, then drawing their knives and aiming a blow, to complete the murderous execution of their matchlocks.

In this mode there were many sham fights between spearmen and musqueteers, but it was always contrived that the latter should prove victorious. The ras's band, mounted on mules and beating the heavy drums, marching in on one side, and on the other a procession, bearing the ornaments of the church, terminated the review.

With respect to the horsemanship of the Abyssinians, Mr. Salt thinks it fully equal to that of the Arabians : and considering the stirrups they use, which are merely small rings of iron, into which they only put the two larger toes, he thinks this is no slight praise. They are particularly expert in the use of the spear, and have a peculiar method of vibrating it in the hand, which gives it, Mr. Salt says, a very warlike and classical effect. In short, they appear to be as complete horsemen as it is possible to be without discipline, of which they have none.

Several of the persons who were most elegantly dressed and most numerous attended, were persons holding situations in the ras's household, as the chief of the maize, bread, &c.

There were some, however, who were very haughty and imperious in their manners, particularly Fit Aurari Zogo, a man with a very handsome and expressive countenance, who obliged at least, Mr. Salt says, 200 persons, who were sitting between himself and the ras, to move, before he would condescend to make his address. After the soldiers, Mr. Salt says, there were a great many unarmed elderly men, cultivators of the soil, who came to make their obedience before the ras ; but of these he only noticed two of the most conspicuous ; whilst during the review he was extremely attentive, and his notice of the chiefs was very acutely distributed according to their respective power. After the review there was a Galla song, and dance. Amongst the chiefs who afterwards joined the ras, Mr. Salt observed a Galla Mussulmaun, who had twenty-nine rings of silver on his left arm ; and several of the other chiefs had from ten to twenty :

After the review was a brinde feast, of which we have the following description :

A long table was laid in the middle of the great hall, at the upper end of which, in a recess, the floor of which was raised about half a foot above the level of the room, was a couch, with two large pillows covered with striped satin, behind which was a lower couch covered with a handsome skin. The ras, leaning on two of his principal chiefs, took his seat on the higher couch, and invited our travellers at the same time to occupy the couch behind. The chiefs ranged themselves on their haunches (for there were no benches) on each side of the table, and behind the ras, crowding in two or three ranks towards the upper end of the room.

The sides of the table were covered with teft bread to the height of a foot, in the form of round thin pancakes, and down the middle was ranged a single row of dishes, consisting of hot curry, made of fowl, mutton, ghee, and curds. A quantity of fine wheaten bread in rolls, was prepared for the use of the ras, which he broke, and distributed to our travellers, and afterwards to some of the chiefs about him.

This ceremony was the signal for commencing the feast, upon which several female slaves, at different parts of the table, having previously washed their hands in presence of the ras, dipped the teft bread into the curries and other dishes, and distributed it amongst the guests.

A man, whose particular business it was, performed the same office to the ras, who immediately handed a portion to our travellers, and then to some of the chiefs, who, upon receiving it, rose up and bowed; balls, formed of curds, greens, and teft bread mixed together, were also handed about.

The cattle during this interval were killing on the outside of the hall: this is done by laying the beast down on the ground, and nearly separating his head from his body with a jambea knife, pronouncing at the same time, *Bis m' Allah Guebra Mensus Kedus*, an invocation which, Mr. Salt says, appears to be borrowed from the followers of Mohammed.

The skin is then stripped from the animal with all possible expedition, and the entrails, lights, liver, and tripes are taken out; which latter the attendants voraciously devour as their perquisites, sometimes, Mr. Salt says, without paying much regard to the trouble of cleaning them. The flesh of the animal, of which the rump and heart are considered as prime delicacies, is cut into large pieces, and while the

fibres are yet quivering, is brought into the guests, who have by this time consumed as much as they like of the curries and other dishes.

This raw flesh, which is called *brinde*, is in irregular pieces, but commonly adhering to a bone, by which the attendants carried it; it was then handed round to the chiefs, who with their crooked knives cut off a large steak, which they afterwards very dexterously cut into strips about half an inch in diameter, holding it at the same time between the two forefingers of the left hand.

Their meat being thus prepared they took it up with the left hand, and put it to their mouths. Mr. Salt says, he mentions these seemingly trifling particulars, to shew that Bruce is mistaken, in asserting that, "no man in Abyssinia of any fashion whatever, feeds himself or touches his own meat." Indeed, so far from this delicacy being observed, Mr. Salt says, it is extremely common for the highest chiefs to help their neighbours round, not unfrequently even their women. If the piece did not happen to please the person who cut it off, he handed it to a dependent behind him, from whom if not approved, it passed sometimes to a seventh hand.

The quantity of *brinde* consumed is, Mr. Salt says, scarcely credible, and whilst it was consuming, the maize was very plentifully distributed about in *brnlbes* or Venetian glass: horns being only used for *booza*. When the first party was satisfied, they retired, and were succeeded by a second of inferior rank, by whom the remains of the *brinde* were consumed.

These were followed by a third, fourth, and even fifth party, who were obliged to content themselves with the coarse test bread and a single horn of *booza*, and were driven away by the master of the ceremonies before they had taken off their fill.

Near the conclusion of the feast, the *ras* sent off from the table, large quantities of test bread, for the followers of the most favourite chiefs: and the whole concluded with a violent scramble for the last cakes; during which, Mr. Salt says, it appeared to be a point of etiquette to make as much confusion and uproar as possible.

During the feast a few boys were by favour permitted to remain under the table, to pick up what fell from the guests; but if any one was discovered to be there without permission, he was beaten severely by blows given with the elbow. There were also two men holding out small crosses, which intimated that they were at that time obliged to fast.

Mr. Salt here found many chiefs whom he knew, and who were highly gratified by distributing amongst them snuff and cherry brandy, of which they were all extremely fond; the ras could only be induced to take some snuff.

September 27.—Mr. Salt was waited upon by basha Abdallah, who had come from Adowa at the desire of the ras, for the purpose of settling the arrangements between them, and afterwards had an interview with the ras, at which basha Abdallah was present, who explained so satisfactorily the object of Mr. Salt's mission, that the ras declared he had been much imposed upon, as until that moment he had never fully comprehended the motives of the visit; and declared, says Mr. Salt, that notwithstanding the insinuations against them, his heart was now entirely with them, and if they wished it, he would swear to comply with all their wishes, and protect them and their property in safety to Massowah.

October 3d.—Mr. Salt had another conversation with the ras, and delivered several medicines to the care of Pearce, who having at a previous interview offered to continue in the country, was regularly engaged in the ras's service. At this interview, Mr. Salt says, the ras required them to swear, that whatever physic they left behind them should not poison him, upon which Mr. Salt and captain Rudland, laying hold of his hand, swore, that in the presence of that God whom they both worshipped, they solemnly declared that the physic they then left him was for his benefit, and not to injure any one. This ceremony, Mr. Salt said, had a great effect upon the ras, who seemed happy in consequence, and declared that he should ever consider the English as his best friends.

Mr. Salt then urged the subject of his journey, pressing him strongly for permission to return by way of Adowa, as he was extremely anxious to have another examination of the ancient ruins at Axum, which he at length obtained. Mr. Salt, at the ras's special request, gave him a blunderbuss with a spring bayonet, belonging to lord Valentia, in return for which he said he would give him his own knife, and whatever spear and shield Mr. Salt might chuse. Mr. Salt accordingly selected one with two heads, as being more curious than the others; the ras presented the knife for lord Valentia; gave Mr. Salt a brace of partridges, and a very large horn of the country, which was at the top nearly seven inches in diameter. All these horns, Mr. Salt says, are said to be brought to Tigre from Gondar, but they are

chiefly manufactured and made into cups at Gojam. They are produced by an animal called *gusht* or *Walkayt*; these horns hang back upon the animal's neck, from the skin of which shields are also made. They are smooth, round, and very different from those of the buffalo. The entire horn is used by the Abyssinians to carry maize for them when upon a journey.

They had repeated solicitations, Mr. Salt says, from some persons of considerable consequence, to take them to England; and, in fact, Mr. Salt observes, there are few who would not be very glad to go. The chiefs fare well; but the lower class, Mr. Salt believes, seldom get sufficient, even of the coarse test bread, of which their food almost entirely consists. The pay of the soldiers of the ras, exclusive of their food, is only from 13 to 15 pieces of cloth in the year, and his head builder has but six *wakeas* of gold per year, and two *gerbuttehs* of corn per month. Money appears an extremely scarce article, and the want of small currency a serious inconvenience. Labour and provisions are extremely cheap; the value of a dollar at Antalow is equal to 28 pieces of salt; but the greatest part of the traffic is carried on by exchange. One piece of cloth (about a dollar) will purchase five *gerbuttehs* of grain:

In the morning Mr. Salt received letters from the ras for the king of England, with several complete dresses of the finest cloth manufactured in the country, which he was requested to forward through lord Valentia. After interchanging some presents, Mr. Salt took leave of the ras.

Mr. Salt describes the ras not as a man of superior understanding, but as having gained his power by cunning rather than strength, and as retaining his high station by a dexterous management of parties. His rule, which is very extended, comprehends the whole of that part of Abyssinia which is to the eastward of the Tacazza, including the provinces of Seré, Tigré Endérta, the capital of which is Antalow, upper and lower Buré, and the whole of the Midré bahar or district bordering upon the sea. His mild government, after the cruel administration of Michael Suhul, is Mr. Salt says, most grateful to the Tegrians. Mr. Salt could only judge of the population from the lands being cultivated where it was practicable, and the number of troops assembled at the review, which certainly exceeded 10,000, and Mr. Salt understood that more than double this number could be assembled in time of war.

Of the manners and customs of Antalow the following is

the substance: A good deal of attention is paid to ceremony, most of those who wait in the presence of the ras uncover themselves as low as the waist, others expose only the breast, afterwards replacing their garments. Mussulmauns are permitted to appear before him with their heads covered, as also the priests, and some few of the christian chiefs. All mechanics, or persons employed in cooking, &c. wear a cloth about their heads. No one addresses the ras, in public, without rising from the ground, and uncovering to the waist. Equals salute each other by kissing, whenever they meet, repeating their compliments over again, like their neighbours the Arabs. They are, with all their freedom, Mr. Salt says, scrupulous observers of good breeding, and particularly attentive to their friends, especially at meals, where they make it a point to feed each other.

The ras wears a small piece of the finest cloth upon his head, and has always in attendance six or seven slaves, one of whom brushes away the flies with a chowry made of a cow's tail; another is employed to replace his garment when it falls down from off his shoulders, unless the minister be present, to whom in such cases this office devolves. All ranks appear to stand in great awe of his authority, except a few favourite slaves, who appear perfectly at their ease.

In the decision of causes, which ever party may be in the wrong, it generally terminates to the advantage of the ras, by whom the matter is decided. The parties begin by denying each other's statement: one then proceeds to say, if he should be found in the wrong he will forfeit to the judge a quantity of salt, a mule, slaves, gold, or whatever else he may chuse to stake upon his veracity. The other having agreed to a fixed penalty, the cause is put off until further evidence is adduced, when the party in the wrong is convicted and punished only by the loss of what he had voluntarily offered to risk: both parties then kiss the ground three times and retire.

Lands descend, Mr. Salt was informed, by inheritance, from father to son; if no son then to the brother, but all the children and relations have a claim to maintenance. The ras never thinks of interfering with any chief whilst the tribute continues to be paid.

Great men take as many wives as they please; but it is difficult to get rid of them owing to their connections, who always resent any affront offered to the women. Marriages are easily made up: the parties go to any friend's home,

where they enter into an engagement with each other without the presence of a priest being necessary.

The assertion of Mr. Bruce, that the women are allowed a free intercourse with the males, Mr. Salt says, is incorrect: the married women are watched indeed, with some caution by their husbands, and even occasionally excluded from male society, as in the case of Ozoro Mantwaub. Bruce is equally incorrect, Mr. Salt says, in stating that bastards, of the offspring of a connection between the master and a domestic servant, can inherit the father's property; they are considered, on the contrary, Mr. Salt says, as little better than menial servants, except that they are not compelled to work.

In their treatment to their children they are savage, yet respectful towards women, whom, in our opinion, they nevertheless treat with little regard to decency in their conversation; but those gross and disgusting scenes which Bruce describes as following a brinde feast, Mr. Salt says, he firmly believes, existed only in Bruce's imagination, as well as eating the raw flesh stripped from a *living* animal, which Bruce impudently asserts to have been eaten at the ordinary banquet of citizens, and even priests, throughout the country: the brinde feast of the ras, before described, Mr. Salt says, is a convincing proof to the contrary of this.

Calves and lambs are not eaten; wild fowl is also prohibited, which appears, Mr. Salt says, to be the adoption of a Jewish custom. Hogs are not kept tame, but in opposition to the Jews, they seem to have no objection to them wild. The Jews will neither eat, drink, nor smoke with Mussulmanns, but do so with strangers, when convinced that they are Christians. They are least particular with respect to drinking, as Mr. Salt says he has repeatedly seen them drink out of the same cup.

The Mussulmanns will eat bread and fish from the ras's table, and even in his presence. The higher orders are extremely regular in attending to the established fast days, which occupy one third of the year. The lower class, however, will devour at all times, whatever they can catch. They are charitable to the distressed, and even humane to dogs, though they dislike them, permitting them to have free access to their houses.

Upon enquiring information relative to the Nile, there were some points, Mr. Salt says, in which they all agreed: such as its situation near Geesh, the marshiness of the plain, the elevation of the spot from whence it flows, its circuit

from Gojam, its course being distinguishable through the lake Dembea, but they differed very much as to the number of fountains from whence it springs, some speaking of three, others four, and others five; but this they said would depend upon the seasons, for if much rain fell the accumulation of water would force open fresh passages.

Both Christians and Mussulmans spoke in high terms of the magnificence of Gondar, and the splendour of the court when the king and the ras were there together; but as Mr. Salt was disappointed in their account of Adelow, he supposes he should be equally so with respect to Gondar.

Adelow has neither wall nor fortification; for the comparative splendour of their churches they are indebted to the Portuguese, by whom they were erected, who have left them as models for modern artisans; the want of wood, and the difficulty of procuring stone, and their ignorance of the art of making brick, have rendered the little glimmering of art which broke in upon them almost useless. A few Greek artisans are here, but these are little better than the native workmen. What is most to be admired, Mr. Salt says, is the neatness of the thatching and the roofs of the houses, which is entirely executed by the Falasha or Jews.

The royal family are no longer confined to the mountains of Wechne, or Way-gne, but now live dependent on the chiefs of the different provinces.

The manufactures of Abyssinia, Mr. Salt says, are trifling; the cotton plant grows in many parts, particularly around Adowa; but as they are ignorant of the mode of separating the cotton from the seed, they import it from India in a state fit for working up their dresses: coarse carpets are manufactured at Samen and at Gondar, from the hair and wool of the goats and sheep, which are dyed red and light blue; the red is from a tree called haddie, the blue from a plant resembling indigofeva. A yellow dye is also obtained from the mocmoco, and a black from an earth: they have no dark blue.

Spears and razors are manufactured at Antalow, and knives at Adowa; iron they procure from Senaar and Walkayt, and also from Berbera, between which and Gondar a considerable trade is carried on: the Abyssinians carrying with them ivory, slaves, and horses, and bringing back iron, cotton, and India goods: the latter find their way to Ras-el-Feel, where the kafilas from Senaar halt and make their purchases. The profit to the Abyssinians upon these articles, Mr. Salt estimates at one hundred per cent.,

which have before been loaded to at least an equal amount either at Mocha or Aden. Kafilas also travel between Darfur, Funge, and Gondar, but Mr. Salt could obtain no accurate information of the articles in which they traded.

Mr. Bruce's History of the Revolutions in Abyssinia, Mr. Salt says, is in general accurate, but they have been still more numerous since Bruce's departure.

Mr. Salt took an affectionate leave of the ras, who was almost in tears at parting; again recommended Pearce to his protection, which he solemnly promised; and after a journey of little importance, during which he was joined by basha Abdallah, returned to Adowa, where he met an old man in the service of Yannes, who went hence with Bruce to Gondar, and several persons well acquainted with the transactions of the last thirty-five years, who pointed out several of Bruce's inaccuracies.

Our travellers left Adowa and proceeded to Axum, where they again examined the obelisk, the church, the pedestals, the square enclosure, and the slab, on which they found no inscription but the short one in Ethiopic, mentioned before. Mr. Salt also made very strict enquiries of the priests, who all agreed that there was no other inscription than that which he had already copied.

This monument, which has been erected 1500 years, and from the circumstance of its being found in so perfect a state, strongly proves, Mr. Salt says, the want of research and inattention among the fathers who visited this country in the 15th century, or their extreme inaccuracy respecting matters of this nature. Mr. Salt examined minutely several other persons, who were unanimous in declaring that Bruce was not present in any engagement, nor did he hold any public or private situation while in Abyssinia, nor could they ever learn why he came into the country. Near the river Angueah Mr. Salt observed the largest fish he had met with in Abyssinia; it was apparently a species of mullet, some of which were at least a foot long; and a little beyond the village of Dogai, captain Rudland shot a species of the king-fisher; at some distance further they got a sight of the black eagle of Bruce, and the captain killed an ashkoko. At Negoto the principal grain cultivated is called the leoghe, of which, Mr. Salt says, Bruce, by mistake, has given a drawing instead of the text. A toll is established at Negoto for the kafilas, but it is extremely irregular. On the plain of Begassé, captain Rudland shot a hooper, and a species of lapwing, which is common in Egypt, remarkable for a

strong spine on the pinion of each wing; and farther on Mr. Salt had the good fortune to kill the black eagle of Bruce.

The following is stated as the mode in which travellers bake their bread in this country: viz. the flour, which was generally the unsifted produce of barley, (ground between two stones) was first made up with a little water into dough. It was then flattened out, and a stone of the hardest consistency being heated red hot, was put into the centre of the dough, which was afterwards completely closed over the stone into the form of a round ball. It was then placed upon the clearest part of the fire, which in a few minutes produced what our travellers thought most excellent cakes.

This mode of baking bread is in common use with travellers in Abyssinia.

Mr. Salt had an opportunity of observing the manner of living of a family of the Haorta tribe, which he describes as follows. Their evening's meal consisted solely of coarse cakes of bread made from the grain collected that day in the field*. The old woman first sifted away a portion of the husks; the grain was then ground by her and a young girl, and afterwards mixed up into a thick batter, which was spread out with the hand, on a broken dish, placed over a brisk fire; the old woman and the girl being, in the mean time, busily engaged in watching its progress. An old man who appeared to be the head of the family, was sitting at his ease, smoking a country hooka: a boy about fifteen, was lolling on a seat, in a recess, at the farther end of the room, and two children, a cow, and some goats, completed the group.

The family had scarcely patience to wait till the first cake was baked, which was eagerly devoured the moment it was taken off the fire, and that nothing might be lost, the old woman picked out of the ashes every crumb which had dropped. All, however, Mr. Salt said, appeared perfectly happy over this frugal repast, which was concluded with an hearty draught of water.

November 1.—Mr. Salt and his fellow travellers arrived at Dixan, where they were received with great joy by the inhabitants and their chief, baharnegash Yasous, who, by the influence of Mr. Salt, had obtained the regular investment of his office. The information Mr. Salt had derived of Abyssinia from the travels of Bruce and Peneet, was to the inhabitants, Mr. Salt says, a source of perpetual astonish-

* This family was come up to assist in getting in the harvest.

ment, and when they shewed the baharnegash Bruce's drawings of Gondar and its vicinity, our travellers were raised in his estimation almost beyond the level of mortality.

Mr. Salt gives the following account of the agriculture of Abyssinia.

Wheat, of which there are two varieties cultivated in Habesh, fetches from *four to six* gerbuttehs for the firk of cloth, or dollar. This is made into large loaves, which are either baked or prepared by steam, and is eaten only by the first class; indeed, Mr. Salt says, this is rarely seen but at the ras's table, and is called *gogo*. The chief food of all ranks is teft, and being considered equal in goodness with wheat, fetches the same price: this, which is made into the thin cakes of the size called engara, varies in colour from white to black. *Neug*, a small grain, not unlike the *raggy* of India, is held next in estimation: this sells for as much as the two grains above-mentioned, and, from being scarce, frequently fetches double the price: it is a dry harsh grain, and is mixed with teft or barley.

A species of flax is also cultivated in the neighbourhood of Dixan, which, although not in much esteem for bread, is nevertheless much eaten by the lower class when parched. A species of vetch too is in much request, which is chiefly eaten in the morning, either with teft, or mixed up with the *ghee* and curds into balls. This is always seen at table on fast days, when green wheat and parched Indian corn are also introduced.

Of barley (called *ambasha*) there are two kinds, one of which is of a black colour. A great quantity is cultivated, but it is less valued than any other grain, and does not fetch above half the price*. This is very harsh and dry, and is the only corn given to horses or mules. Indian corn or maize, is much cultivated between Galla and Dixan, but Mr. Salt never saw it made into bread.

From the circumstance of corn being only exchanged as an article of barter, and not having any fixed price, as in other countries, it is scarcely possible to ascertain the actual price of any kind of corn. Exclusive of this, almost every man cultivates just enough for the consumption of his own family, and therefore seldom goes to market either to buy or to sell it.

A *gerbutteh* of grain is said to make from eleven to

* This is said to proceed from the difficulty of preparing it, for when dried and cleaned it makes one of the best kinds of bread used in the country, and is made in form of cakes, about a foot in diameter, and three quarters of an inch thick.

fifteen of the large cakes, or *engara*; two of which are considered as sufficient for the provision of one man, which reckoning six *gerbutteh* to the dollar, will make the keep of a servant amount to somewhat about two-pence per day. But as servants are rarely more than half fed, with other circumstances turning to the master's favor, Mr. Salt conceives this to be about double the actual cost.

The implements of husbandry are extremely rude, the plough being shaped to the purpose from the root and branch of a tree, a plough-share of iron is indeed sometimes added. Two oxen, guided by men alone, are invariably yoked to the plough. In all the other departments of agriculture, the women take an equal if not a greater share.

The luxuriance of the soil, which, in the low-lands, admits of two crops annually, produces a great number of weeds, the clearing of which is one of the most irksome of their labours. To effect this they often turn up the ground a second time, and carefully pick up every root. But this not being sufficient, as soon as the corn is about half ripe, they collect together men, women, and children, who form a line along the field, and with singing and much merriment, pluck forth all the weeds from the corn.

The labour of reaping is entirely thrown upon the females, and on passing any field where the women were at work, our travellers were saluted uniformly with the shrill sharp cry, which is undoubtedly, Mr. Salt says, the *ziraleet* described by Russell as being used by the women of Syria during the harvest*.

November 4.—Mr. Salt arrived at Taranta, where he was visited by the chief, Ummar Shum, of the Hazorta, from whom he learned that there were 3000 fighting men in their tribe under five different chiefs, all of whom, whose territories extend from Dixan to the sea, live in strict amity with each other, and acknowledge Shum Abdallah Welled-el-Zangarah as supreme.

This chief resides at Zulla by the sea side, somewhat near to the Island of Valentia, where water is procurable throughout the year, that is, Mr. Salt says, there are wells, which though generally exhausted in the evening, are, like those at Arkeko, full again by morning. Here they remained

* Mr. Russell quotes also an accurate description of it from Pietro della Valle, (according to Mr. Salt), who says it is "a sharp and loud cry of joy," made in concert, by a quick and somewhat tremulous application of the tongue to the palate, producing the sound Heli li li li li li li li!

four or five months, and when they return they bring back salt procured from a mountain two days journey from Zulla, which, in Habesh, and the districts of baharnegash Yasous, and Snbhart, they exchange for grain. They cultivate a little grain themselves, but principally subsist on the flesh and milk of their cattle. There are two powerful tribes to the north and south, called *Baisamoo* and *Teeroor*, with whom they are at war; all of them speak the same language, called *Dancalli*; with this tribe they trade, but are afraid of them.

Whatever is stolen from Habesh is taken to Massowah, where, in lieu of the stolen property, they receive Surat cloth, spear heads, and other articles, from the nayib, who, Mr. Salt says, monopolizes this scandalous traffic, and punishes any one who attempts to share it with him.

November 6.—Our travellers reached Arkeko, where they embarked on board the Panther, which was lying there to receive them. This concludes the journal of Mr. Salt, which is followed by a very ingenious dissertation, tending to prove, that instead of having passed over from Arabia, the inhabitants of Abyssinia were originally refugees from Egypt, who conquered and mingled with the Aborigines of the country; and he supports his hypotheses from their veneration for the Nile, their style of building, their written character, and their form of government, all of which bear strong characteristics of Egyptian origin.

Mr. Salt regrets that this spirited nation, whose religion is, with little difference, the same as ours, and who have maintained such severe struggles to sustain the Christian faith, should be in so precarious a state, as without assistance to be unable to withstand the superior numbers of the Galla.

Mr. Salt produces the testimonies of the Jesuits in their favour, as also of the Patriarch Alphonso Mendez and Poncet, and concludes the dissertation by observing, that he believes the Abyssinians in general to be possessed of most excellent inclinations, with great quickness of understanding, and an anxious desire of improvement; and he is fully persuaded that there is no part of the world where European influence might be exerted with more beneficial effects than in Abyssinia.

November 14.—Lord Valentia with his party sailed with the land breeze from Massowah, and the Panther was in great danger, and near being cast away upon a shoal, about ten miles north of Port Mornington, which, from its having been seen in a vivid flash, they called *Lightning Shoal*, and

having lost their anchors, and nearly exhausted their provisions, they resolved to bear away for Massowah, where, with their only remaining anchor, they brought to on the 25th, and on the 28th bore away for Port Mornington, the value of which was farther increased by the discovery of a channel seven miles in width, between several islands, to the eastward, which formed a continuation with Duncan's Islands and the Island of Tella, from whence, his lordship says, it is now ascertained, that that noble harbour is accessible from the main sea, and that the only danger in the navigation is Lightning Shoal, which once being known is easily avoided.

On the 9th of December they disembarked at Jidda, where having neither rice nor fresh provisions, Mr. Crawford was dispatched on shore with the letters he received from Seid Dond, to the vizier and to Ibrahim Jelani. The former invited his lordship to an interview, and the latter promised he would do his best to serve our travellers, but that every thing was very scarce at Jidda, the Wahabee being in great force all round the town.

December 10.—Our author left the Panther with his attendants, under a salute of seventeen guns. Several of the vizier's officers were in waiting to receive him, very handsomely dressed in scarlet English broad cloth, lined with yellow satin. A double line of soldiers reached the door, extending to the hall of audience. A salute of three guns was fired as his lordship landed. At the foot of the stairs he was met by the grand vizier's secretary, who made his compliments and preceded him. The audience chamber had two large windows opposite to each other, in both of which were seats covered with carpets. An old fashioned large elbow chair was placed for his lordship, opposite to the centre window, covered with very rich cushions.

Soon afterwards the vizier, who is described as a stupid looking eunuch, made his appearance, with his train borne, and seated himself at one corner of the window. The usual compliments having passed, he offered our travellers every possible assistance, regretting that he could do, however, but little, from the scarcity which at that time prevailed. Permission was asked to employ and consult Ibrahim Jelani upon the subject, which was granted. Coffee was presented, but it being Ramadan, none of the Mussulmauns would partake of it. Excellent rose water sherbet was presented, with embroidered napkins to wipe the mouth. Rose water being given and their faces perfumed, our travellers proceeded to

Jelani's, from whence it was arranged that his lordship should return to the vizier. After some interviews between his lordship, the vizier, and Jelani, and a few presents from the former, supplies were at length obtained, which, as has been before noticed, were at once dear and difficult to procure.

In one of these visits Jelani shewed his lordship all his sabres, some of which were very fine; they were all Persian, but some had been lengthened in Egypt at both ends, so as to give the Mameluke point, which cuts both ways. One of these, his lordship says, instead of curves, was watered in strait lines: this he valued at 1000 dollars. He had also a large stock of guns and pistols.

The room his lordship was received in, was flagged, and open at the top; the house was three stories high: at the first floor was a curtain which could be drawn horizontally across. This was open, and permitted our travellers to see the range of latticed windows handsomely carved, which they soon perceived belonged to his zenana, where his lordship perceived several ladies looking through the holes, who at length lifted up the window.

These ladies were as fair as Europeans, and had black hair, eyes, and eyebrows. Their lips were of a most beautiful vermilion: some were so young, that his lordship thinks they must have been Jelani's daughters.

The houses in Jidda are superior to those in Mocha; they are built of very fine madrepore; the doors handsomely arched and covered with fretwork ornaments, carved in the stone; the zig zag generally prevalent in the Saxon arch was the most common. Lord Valentia was particularly struck with the resemblance between these arches and those in our cathedrals; some of these arches were pointed like the Gothic, and others flat like the Saxon: the windows were numerous.

The streets of Jidda are very narrow. The palace is pleasantly situated near the water's edge: the custom-house, which faces the sea, is a lofty handsome building. The bazar was well filled, though it was Ramadan; plenty of wheat, pulse, dates, figs, raisins, and bread, the latter of which was in small cakes.

After several interviews with the emir Bahar and Jelani, relative to the supplies, lord Valentia paid a visit to the latter, who was encircled by a great number of persons who came to congratulate him upon the *Ede*.

Each of these were presented, upon their entrance, with sherbet, and an embroidered napkin to wipe their mouths.

The dresses were all very rich. Jelani had an under dress of silk lined with ermine, and over that another of black fox skins. Tea was served in the English style, but it was execrable, and there was no milk.

Upon the return of Jelani, who had been absent, about one o'clock an English table was brought, chairs placed round it, and two Mussulmauns, besides Jelani, sat down at table with our travellers. Bread was placed before the whole company, knives and forks before his lordship's party only.

The first dish was a soup, composed of milk, meat, and some kind of acid, which was excellent: this they took out with small horn spoons, handing it immediately to their mouths; his lordship's party had theirs in basons. This was followed by some very rich forced-meat balls; then water melons in slices; then meat again stewed; then pastry: and thus proceeding alternately with sweets and meat to the number of fifteen or sixteen dishes.

One dish only was put upon the table at a time, which, our noble traveller says, was so rapidly removed, that they were not half an hour at table. Pomegranates, bananas, and sherbet with raisins in it, terminated the repast; after which each person turned round and washed his hands over a bason, into which water was poured by a slave who held a white napkin. His lordship describes all the dishes as excellent. Upon taking leave they had coffee and rose water. The Arab's first meal is soon after day-break, and consists of rice, milk, fruit, sweetmeats, bread, and coffee. Of the second, our travellers partook; and the third, consisting of meat and pastry, is after sunset.

The people in general, lord Valentia describes as dressed in new and handsome clothes. The coffee-houses were now filled, all shops, except those which sold eatables, were shut, and every thing, notwithstanding the Wahabee, wore an aspect of festivity.

December 25.—Lord Valentia paid his compliments to the vizier, to whom he was introduced by the emir Bahar, and placed in the seat of honour.

On the 28th arrived the Olive, commanded by captain Loane, loaded with rice and sugar.

The emir Bahar procured his lordship some slaves who could dive and procure the yusser, a species of kerotophyte, abounding in the harbour of Jidda, which has a singular effect under water, from its gently waving motion when agitated by the tide.

This his lordship describes as of a deep black, and al-

though the stem at the base, where it adheres to the madre-pore, is not thicker than a quill, yet its slender branches extend to a length of upwards of four feet. It is covered with a brown glutinous substance, evidently, his lordship says, composed of millions of animalculæ, proceeding from the small pores in the yussers which become visible when they are removed. This, when taken up, is flexible, but when dry becomes very brittle. The divers went down in fourteen fathom, and procured some beautiful specimens of madre-pore, which forms the shoals of the harbour. Yusser is found at Yambo of a white colour, and he saw specimens of both kinds nearly an inch in diameter at the base. This takes a polish, and is by the Arabians formed into beads.

Jidda is indebted for its celebrity to its being the nearest sea port to Mecca, from whence it is distant about forty miles. It is indebted to Africa for its supplies, and was governed by a pacha appointed by the sultaun, who formerly divided the receipts of the custom-house, which were then considerable, with the sheriffe. But when Egypt was torn by internal convulsions, and the Wahabee power arose and cut off the communication between Mecca and Constantinople, disputes commenced which terminated in hostilities, and Ghalib, the present sovereign, attacked the pacha in the citadel, which he nearly destroyed, and secretly poisoned the pacha. As, however, the Wahabee have taken advantage of the absence of the Turkish troops, his lordship says Ghalib must at length resign Mecca, Medina, Yambo, and Jidda, to the Wahabee.

Amongst his lordship's remarks upon Jidda, he observes, that many able men in England have entertained an idea, that Bonaparte, even with the possession of Egypt, would find it impracticable to reach India, from the want of vessels to convey his troops. His lordship says, his residence at Jidda had fully convinced *him*, that the idea was erroneous, and he received in addition from Jelani some conclusive information upon that subject. He was assured that the trade of Cosseir, Suez, Jidda, and Yambo, would supply a sufficient number of vessels to convey 10,000 men.

From the wind being favourable nine months in the year, they might run down to Loheia with such rapidity as to procure supplies of water and provisions every night, where those articles might be procured: from thence, if the wind should be unfavourable, they might go by land to Mocha, where a sufficient number of vessels, under American co-

lours, might be provided for their conveyance to India without exciting any suspicion in the British, who would consider them as coming for the usual supplies of coffee and gums.

The danger, however, his lordship says, will diminish every year with the decay of the Arabian trade, which will be annihilated if Abyssinia and Senaar should be supplied directly from Europe and India, and the British should obtain permission from the Egyptian government to send their Indian manufactures to Suez.

January 2.—His lordship quitted the harbour of Jidda, and on the 26th reached the anchoring ground of Suez, where a boat came off from the dola, who commanded in the absence of the aga, with a present of eggs, loaves, and live sheep. Early on the following morning his lordship visited the dola, whom he describes as a venerable old man, with a long white beard, who laughed and talked very freely without any of the dignity of the Turk.

Lord Valentia communicated his wish to depart as soon as possible for Cairo; begged permission to hire camels for the journey, and to make an arrangement with the Arabs for his protection, to which the dola replied, that he would grant his lordship all the assistance in his power.

His lordship was next presented to the custom master, by whom he was turned over for a supply of provisions to an inferior agent, who informed him that supplies were very uncertain, that water was brought in daily by the Arabs, at an exorbitant price; that bullocks were fifteen dollars a hundred weight, and eggs and fish were alone abundant and cheap.

On the beach between Attaké and the town, lord Valentia procured some very fine specimens of bivalve shells, and on the spit of sand a variety of marine productions; he also considerably increased his collection of sea-weed, with which the Red Sea abounds more than any other, although Bruce says that he never saw a sea-weed in it, asserting that it would have too much agitation to produce such vegetables.

Upon the arrival of the caravan, consisting of 1500 camels, 300 armed Arabs, and about 30 Turks, with two officers, who came to guard the *mahmal*, or sacred covering for the *kaaba* at Mecca, in the evening, his lordship was visited by the scheik Chedid, a handsome looking man about thirty, with very black hair and beard: he seemed good natured, and, as his lordship understood, was very fond of brandy.

By the 11th every thing was arranged, and they were to depart on the morrow with a kafila of coffee worth 100,000*l*. Chedid related to his lordship a remarkable instance of Arabian honour, in the preservation of Elfi Bey, who had fled to his wife for protection. He told his lordship that he, Chedid, was called the English schech, that he loved the English, and only wished that they had the country instead of the Turks, who he said were all rascals; assured his lordship that all the Arab tribes were most anxious for the return of the English, and would be glad to have even the French, in preference to their present masters; which his lordship says he believes, the common people being in a much better situation under the French government; the impositions being then less and grain cheaper, all export being stopped by the activity of the British cruisers.

Suez, lord Valentia describes as having been formerly a place of considerable splendour, each bey having a house there in which his factor resided. The buildings, which were some of them large, are now, through the wanton injuries of the French, little more than an heap of ruins. It has suffered as much from the stagnation of trade which followed the occupation of Egypt by the French, as from their hostility. An Arab house, which is flat roofed, his lordship says, soon falls into decay, if its preservation be not duly attended to. The place at present then appeared to be rising in consequence.

The chief trade of Suez has ever been in coffee, the whole quantity consumed in the Turkish empire coming through that port and Cosseir. The tumults in Egypt, which terminated by the beys occupying the upper provinces, divided the country, and cut off the communications between the different parts of it, so that no coffee except for the use of the beys, is sent to Cosseir, and the residue finds its way to Suez, where it is liable not only to the exactions of the pacha, but even to seizure.

Were Egypt, however, again to become tranquil and under one master, from the force of the northerly winds which blow in the upper part of the gulf, Suez, his lordship says, would never become a place of great trade, even were the great canal formerly made to be cleaned.

February 13.—The schech having sent the camels for their baggage, our travellers commenced their journey across the desert. His lordship travelled in a takterouan, which he describes, from being no more than five feet long, as being more like a box than a palanquin, and very uncom-

fortable; this is slung between two camels, by large shafts, which pass underneath. The rest of the gentlemen travelled in *mohaffas**; they had fourteen camels for their baggage and water, and to avoid the necessity of dressing food in the desert, they provided plenty of cold meat, bread, fruit, butter, and cheese; they were also obliged to provide coffee, bread, and rice, for the soldiers of Chedid, and the men attending the camels.

At half past ten our travellers mounted their camels, and about twelve they reached the wells, where they pitched their tents, a distance of four miles. Chedid having heard that it was likely our travellers would be attacked, it was determined that a part of the escort with the Turks should go in front, another part in the middle of the caravan, and a few in the rear.

The robbers in the desert, his lordship says, are not supposed to exceed 500, but although Chedid was as bold as a lion, it nevertheless became necessary to take every precaution, as the appearance of preparation might often prevent an attack, for the Arabs, his lordship says, like other banditti, never fight unless they conceive their superiority so great as to ensure them success.

February 14.—Our travellers proceeded at half after five in the morning, and did not halt until a quarter past six in the evening, their camels going at the rate of three miles an hour. At nine they passed a building on the right, formerly used by the Turks as a fort, when they were more powerful to protect the caravans from robbers; this fort is nearly in ruins. Soon afterwards the road became more stony, and they quitted the plain of Suez, and had small hills on their right and left. This being considered as a most dangerous spot, the escort was upon the alert.

The Turks marched in front displaying two flags, the first, belonging to *mahmal*, was white, with a yellow border, and the two-bladed sword in yellow in the centre: the other belonging to the sultaun, which was half green, half red, the green uppermost. With these was Chedid, as commander in chief, who always preceded the caravan to the top of the ascents, where he waited till they came up, and then went on as before.

His lordship collected during his march, several beautiful specimens of Egyptian pebble, with which the whole road

* A kind of little couches, two of which are slung sideways on the opposite sides of a camel, with an awning spread between to keep off the sun.

was covered. The only vegetable productions he observed, were a few stunted *Mimosas*, an *Artemisia*, probably the *Absinthium* of Bruce, an *Echium* with a purple blossom, and an elegant but leafless *Spartium* with a white and purple blossom.

February 15.—Our travellers did not reach their halting place until five. The road was more winding than on the preceding day. From the time of our travellers quitting the wells until half past four this day, they had been gradually ascending; at that time they reached the highest point, and beheld a descent before them leading to the fertile plains of Egypt; “dark,” his lordship says, “with verdure, through which the Nile was winding its course. The scene appeared still more beautiful from being contrasted by the arid foreground of the desert.”

February 16.—It was three o’clock before the caravan departed; at eight they reached an opening on the hills, down which they rapidly descended, and at the bottom were met by Mr. Aziz, the acting resident for the British during the absence of major Missett. Here our travellers parted from the rest of the caravan, and passing some magnificent Mussulmaun tombs, kept along the walls of Cairo till they reached an ancient and lofty gate called Bab-el-Fituch, which they entered, orders having been given for that purpose by the pacha.

Lord Valentia and his attendants took up their residence in the British factory at the European quarter, where he was shortly after waited upon by the fathers and principal of the Franciscans of Jerusalem, and immediately afterwards by the Franciscans of the Propaganda. Mr. Macardle, of Rosetti’s house, and other European gentlemen, also came to pay their compliments. His highness Mohammed Ali sent to learn on what day his lordship intended to visit him.

His lordship was also visited by the fathers of the Greek convent, situated in the Greek quarter, which is dependent on the patriarch of Alexandria.

Of an Egyptian dance at Mr. Macardle’s, his lordship gives the following description. The dancers were veiled, to conceal their ugliness; their singing was something in the manner of the nautch girls in India, but they never raised their voices to an artificial pitch. These dances were infinitely too indecent; even for description, yet Mrs. Macardle, a pretty Greek, and a great number of ladies who were present, laughed excessively, and even when asked, danced

themselves in the same indecent manner: this his lordship attributes not to vice, but to habit.

In the intervals of the performance the dancing girls went round demanding money from each person.

In so turbulent a city as Cairo, every house is wisely constructed for defence, and, consequently, has no windows, or only a few of small dimensions, towards the street; they are generally built round a court, and contain a small garden within their walls. The house of Mr. Rosetti, in which Mr. Macardler resides, is very large, with lofty rooms, and well furnished; a part of the end of the state apartment is raised from the floor, and covered with rich carpet, around which are couches composed of cushions, in the eastern style, which is called a divan. The whole room is covered either with a mat or a carpet, and in the middle are chairs and tables: the windows are large and glazed.

The female Greeks born in Egypt are pretty, fair, and well made, when young, but child-birth destroys their figures by relaxation, and their bosoms become large and flaccid. Their head dress is Asiatic, and richly adorned with gold, pearls, and diamonds: their robes are of the same style, and consist of satins and velvets, faced or lined with fur. Unfortunately, in the same proportion in which the outside is adorned, the inside is neglected. The mind of a female Greek is a total blank, or worse.

The gentlemen of Mr. Rosetti's house are chiefly Italians; there were very few French. A kind of agent, his lordship says, went occasionally to the pacha, but as Bonaparte was not then acknowledged by the Porte, was not received in any public character.

February 18.—At three o'clock our travellers went by appointment to visit the pacha, who does not reside in the citadel, but in a large house in the osbeckia. His highness had sent five horses, most magnificently caparisoned, for lord Valentia and suite, and a party of his chaous, with silver sticks, to attend them and keep off the crowd. The apartment into which they were shewn, was crowded with soldiers, and was remarkable neither for its size nor richness. As soon as they were seated, he entered by a side door. His lordship arose, and paid his compliments in the European fashion, while Mr. Aziz, as a native subject of the Porte, kissed the hem of his garment, and continued standing during the audience. He is a little man, of an intelligent countenance, with a reddish brown beard of moderate dimensions, but of which he seemed to be proud, as he was

continually stroking it. He seated himself close to lord Valentia on a divan, and began the conversation with the usual train of compliments on his arrival, addressing him by the title of general. His lordship thanked him for all his kindness; and, as he had been previously requested by Chedid, mentioned how well he had behaved in the desert, and at Suez. His highness gravely answered, that if he had behaved otherwise, his head should have answered for it. He expressed a great regard for the English, saying that he had been much with their officers, when they were in Egypt, and that he had uniformly been kindly treated; that it was therefore his inclination to do every thing in his power for them all, and particularly for a person of his lordship's consequence. It was also his duty, since he knew that they were the steadiest friends of the Porte. They conversed on the reports which had circulated of Bonaparte having taken Vienna: he said he could hardly believe it, though every thing was possible in such wars as these. He told his lordship that the French agent had been to notify it to him, and to inform him, that it was now the great emperor's intention to reconquer the Crimea from Russia, and restore it to the Porte: that he had answered, "the Porte does not want the Crimea; she has already so widely extended an empire, that she cannot manage the whole of it; she only wants friends." Lord Valentia told his highness, that if Bonaparte got the Crimea, he would restore it to the Porte as he did Egypt. He replied, he knew that very well; and if France should be victorious, he was very much afraid they should have to fight again, and that the Turkish troops were not capable of resisting the French; that they were not now what they were formerly. His lordship observed, that they had fought bravely, and resisted successfully the emperor Joseph in the last war. He replied, "Aye, yet they were then much divided among themselves." He offered our traveller every assistance in his power to visit the pyramids, and desired he would not scruple to apply to him for every thing he wanted. Coffee was served on their entry; the cup out of which the pacha drank was set with diamonds; their cups were of gold embossed. When sherbet was served, they took the hint to retire. He said, he hoped to see his lordship again, and should any thing particular occur, he would send to him. His highness was plainly dressed; and wore no jewels of any kind. On quitting the house a salute was fired.

February 19.—His lordship visited the Jerusalem convent, which is a good building, and strong enough to keep

out the natives in time of tumult. The church, which is handsome, contains some tolerable pictures, but these are spoiled by having gold crowns inserted over the heads of the saints.

A reverend friar with a silver beard, who had resided fifty years in the convent, shewed our travellers with great satisfaction, the figure of St. George, his patron saint. The whole brotherhood appeared gay and contented. The superior was a man of sense and information. They have a good organ, and a library tolerably filled: this has been formed by the accumulation of such fathers as have died in the convent; those who remove, always take their property with them. His lordship was shewn in the sacristy the splendid habiliments in which the cardinal de Rohan formerly celebrated high mass. This is the most ancient establishment of the Franciscans, and they are entirely supported by charitable contributions.

His lordship also visited the Franciscan fathers of the Propaganda, whom he represents as very poor; formerly receiving each a miserable pittance of 60 dollars, which is no longer paid. They subsist only on charity, and having fewer friends than the Capuchins, live very indifferently.

February 20.—His lordship visited the citadel; the pacha hearing of his intention, had sent seven horses richly caparisoned, an officer of the troops to conduct them, and two chaous bashi to keep off the crowd. He was accompanied by several European gentlemen and the pacha's servants, who were mounted upon asses.

Our travellers made their way through the narrow streets, which were as usual crowded until they reached a kind of open place before the gate of the new citadel, opposite to which is a very noble mosque. They mounted a steep hill paved with large flag stones, surrounded by ruins of houses destroyed in the disputes between the Turks and Albanians, till they reached the walls of the new citadel, which are strong and lofty. Our travellers went directly to the hall of audience, where they were received by an officer of the garrison in a room formerly the zenana of the pacha, looking directly over the walls towards Old Cairo and the pyramids; in the centre of which was a fountain. They next visited the mint, where they coin gold zequins, half zequins, and quarter zequins; piastres and parahs also in silver.

These pieces being much adulterated, the profit of coining brings in from one thousand to twelve hundred purses. The machinery for striking the coin was a clumsy imitation of

that used in Europe before Mr. Bolton's invention. Instead of flattening the metal by rollers, they beat it out with hammers.

Our travellers next visited Jacob's Well; the person who constructed this astonishing effort, his lordship says, must be endowed with uncommon mind, to sink an oblong pit of 24 feet by 18 to the depth of 146 through the solid rock, after which, without being baffled, to persevere and sink another also through the solid rock to the depth of 130 feet, where the rock terminated and the water was found. The size of this second, lord Valentia says, was, according to Norden, only fifteen by nine, wide enough, however, for every purpose of utility.

Lord Valentia sees no reason to doubt the tradition reported by Mr. Niebuhr, that this, as well as all the other noble works attributed to Joseph, were constructed by the celebrated Saladin, whose real name was Yusuff, in whose time the citadel was constructed.

Our travellers next visited the divan, now used by the French as an hospital; this, which has nothing to recommend it but its great size, being 149 feet long, 86 broad, and between 50 and 35 feet high, is now rapidly falling to decay.

The view from hence and every part of the ramparts is very beautiful, extending over the ruins of Old Cairo, the villages of Boulac and Gheza, with the great pyramids, the pyramids of Sacara, and the Nile. These, with the extensive plains of light green wheat, forming a contrast to the barren rock of Mokattem, which commands the citadel, rendered the prospect at once beautiful and enchanting.

The new and the old citadel cover a considerable extent of ground; they were formerly separated, but the French opened a communication between the two, who also wished to remove the rock of Mokattem, but this was opposed by Bonaparte.

All the splendid remains of antiquity are now, his lordship says, in the new citadel; the houses are chiefly in ruins. A great many houses in better condition are in the old citadel; but no noble public buildings. The walls have a parapet and towers two or three stories high, at equal distance, built of solid stone, with vaulted roofs, in each of which are cannon.

On quitting the divan, our travellers visited the hall of Joseph, a noble apartment, but in ruins; the roof, which is now gone, was sustained by four enormous pillars of red granite, each of one piece. The capitals of these are Egyp-

tian, and appear, his lordship says, to have been removed from some more ancient building; the walk on this side of the ramparts is equally beautiful with the other; it commands the town of Cairo, with its numerous minarets and public buildings; beyond lies the Nile, the island of Rhoda covered with large sycamore trees, the verdant plain, and the pyramids. The lines of forts erected on the different hillocks from the citadel to the Nile, and the aqueduct of Old Cairo, extend to the same distance on the left, which, with the mosque before described, forms, his lordship observes, a bold foreground for the view.

Our travellers next passed to a very noble room supported by numerous pillars of granite, each a single piece: all these, with the exception of four, were Egyptian; the others had Corinthian capitals, the roof had fallen in, but a cornice of wood still remained at a great height, ornamented with inscriptions from the koran. Opposite to this room was another which overlooked the city, covered with Mosaic work, of which a considerable part remained, although the buildings were now in ruins and filled with rubbish. The manufacturers employed to embroider the rich covering of the Kaaba, at Mecca, formerly occupied these buildings.

Lord Valentia regrets it as a melancholy circumstance, that the many splendid remains of the ancient sultans, contained in the citadel, should be so rapidly disappearing, and is of opinion that civil broils will destroy every other vestige than the outer walls, and the massive columns that could point out the citadel of Cairo as the former abode of monarchs.

Our traveller also visited the Greek archbishop of Mount Sinai, whom he describes as a handsome young man, of considerable talent, and an excellent scholar. He was educated at Petersburg, and informed his lordship that the convent, which was small and neat, was founded in the third century; that there were forty monks of the order of Saint Catharine, here and at Mount Sinai; that they had convents at Jerusalem, in Asia Minor, and in Russia; the whole number of fathers amounting to two hundred. All visitors ascend to a window by a basket, as in the other convents amongst the Arabs.

March 2.—The disturbances which had occurred in Egypt during the last three years, had rendered a visit to the pyramids too dangerous for individuals to perform. His lordship was solicited by several European gentlemen to be permitted to accompany him, and the pacha supplied

his party with horses, and sent two chaous bashi to take care of them, as usual. They quitted the city, and after passing among the innumerable hillocks, composed of broken pottery, and decayed bricks and sand, which rise to a considerable height between New and Old Cairo, our travellers at length reached the convent of St. George, which consists of a lofty round tower, divided into many apartments, and some square buildings, both of great antiquity. This large convent, however, from the heavy contributions levied by Mohammed Ali, is now abandoned. After resting here a short time, our travellers walked out to look at the mekias, the pillar in the centre of which is very handsome; it is divided into numerous compartments, affording the means of ascertaining the rise of the Nile, with which the bason surrounding it has a communication.

Our travellers wandered for some time among the ruins of a palace which stood around the mekias, and had several flights of steps descending to the river, of which a mosque, the roof of which had been supported by Corinthian pillars of Italian marble, constituted the chief ornament.

Their next visit was to a Jewish synagogue, remarkable only for its filth; and afterwards to a Coptic church, not only more cleanly, but curious, from its being believed to contain the cell in which the Virgin Mary resided during her abode in Egypt.

There is a vault under the body of the church, containing an oven-like aperture, where the infant Jesus is supposed to have slept.

In consequence of apprehensions of an attack by some Mamelukes under Elfi Bey, our travellers were delayed until the arrival of some troops, the household cavalry of the pacha, and some French Mamelukes were sent to protect them.

On the 5th, our travellers passed the river as soon as it was light, but Mussulmauns are not to be hurried, and it was some time before the governor of the town joined them with a large body of cavalry, and a piece of curricleartilery. They crossed the plain direct for the pyramids, while Taher Pacha kept between them and some villages to the north, where the Mamelukes and Arabs were said to be. He had with him full two thousand infantry, and another piece of curricleartilery, a force more than sufficient for our protection. His lordship was not struck with that astonishment, which many have expressed on approaching these vast masses. The idea of a pyramid is easily conceived, and

consequently surprise cannot enter the feelings of a person when he first beholds them. When, however, reason points out the prodigious labour with which they must have been erected, and the incomprehensible motives which could have led to such vast exertions, astonishment gradually increases, and the mind is lost in conjecture and admiration.

On reaching the entrance into the great pyramid, they were joined by many Arabs, residing in the neighbouring vaults, who offered their services in assisting them among the ruins, and clearing the passage that led to what is usually called the sepulchral chamber, from the sand that had accumulated in it. This was rapidly executed, and the flambeaux being lighted, the party entered. The different passages and chambers have been so often visited and described, that it is impossible any new discovery can be made by a modern traveller. The French have ascertained the actual dimensions, and it is curious, that Diodorus should have been proved to be correct, who has stated the base to be seven hundred feet, and the elevation six hundred. The British army had leisure to visit it frequently, and the officers have added their testimony to that of their predecessors, that the great pyramid is built of a stone found in the vicinity, and of which the rock itself on which it is erected, is composed. If ever this, or the others, were covered with marble or granite, not a vestige now remains to prove the fact; but it is probable that they were at least intended to be thus adorned, from the passages being of the finest white marble, and the chambers of the red granite of Upper Egypt.

If it were dubious in the time of Herodotus, by whom, or for what purpose, the pyramids were constructed, it is scarcely possible that modern ingenuity should clear away the deeper gloom with which the course of ages has covered the mystery; yet every person who has written on the subject, has embraced some decided opinion, and many have laboured hard to prove, what must ever remain doubtful. Among these, monsieur Maillet is the most remarkable, who has described the process of closing the great pyramid, as accurately as if he had been present when it was done. Lord Valentia was inclined to believe that it never was intended to be shut up, nor that any pains were taken to conceal the approaches to the great chamber; for if such were the case, nothing could be more absurd, than to line the passages, from the entrance to the extremity, with a highly polished white marble, which would have served as a guide to any

depredator, and would have precluded the possibility of his erring either to the right or left; whereas, if the passage had been formed of the same materials as the rest of the building, nearly a moiety of it might have been destroyed before its contents could have been discovered. If, on the contrary, the pyramid were intended to be open for the celebration of any of the sacred mysteries, the lining of polished marble to the passage, and the splendid coating of granite, which adorns the chambers, would be at once accounted for, and the sarcophagus might have been destined to contain the supposed body of Osiris during the annual lamentations for his loss.

Amongst the numerous conjectures with respect to the purpose for which these pyramids were constructed, lord Valentia considers that of Pococke as the most worthy of attention, who believes that the whole point of the high land, which protrudes due east into the plain of the Nile, was intended to be covered with an uniform pile, a part of which was to have been formed of the existing pyramids, and that others were to have been erected corresponding to the great pyramid and the third. The second pyramid would then be in the centre with the sphinx in front of it.

The regularity of the excavations which surround this building on two sides, leaving an opening to the east, and the fact that the causeways extend in the same direction, seem to prove, his lordship says, that this was intended as the front of the pile, and therefore tend to confirm Mr. Pococke's conjecture.

Among the renegado French who escorted his lordship, was a man who said he had escorted Bonaparte on his visit to the pyramids, who informed him that Napoleon had sent down a man into a well, suspended by a cord, but that after descending some distance they found it impossible to get him up again, probably from some curve in the passage.

The reception lord Valentia met with in Egypt was uncommonly flattering; and he felt the more pleased with it, as he found that it extremely mortified the French agents. Mr. Drovetti, their consul, could not contain his vexation. He exclaimed, "how very ridiculous to make such an uproar about a private individual!" but he well knew that, although in fact, his observations were just, yet that his lordship was on this occasion a public pageant, as no one believed that he had come without political motives; an idea which major Missett encouraged, to counteract the intrigues of the French, whose agents had for some time unblushingly asserted, that England considered

Egypt as of no consequence, and did not wish to keep up any connection with it.

After having passed through the Delta; after having examined its whole line of sea coast, and viewed both the great mouths of the Nile, his lordship could not discover a single argument in favour of the idea, that this fertile district has been formed by the mud of the river. For, if, in ancient times, this had actually been the case, how happens it that, in these days, the same cause does not produce the same effect? Yet it is evident that the volume of water brought down is as great as ever, by its covering the whole plain of Egypt; and many of the ancient canals being closed, the quantity discharged into the sea at Rosetta and Damietta is still greater than formerly. Instead, however, of the land continuing to extend to the northward, and a mound of black loam being deposited at the mouths of the river, the bar, which at all times renders the entrance shallow, and which after a gale from the north becomes so considerable as to be impassable till the stream has formed a new passage, consists of an arid sand alone, uncovered by any more fertile deposition.

It cannot be argued that, in early times, the sea shore may have been sand, though higher up, and that it has been covered by the mud of the Nile; for throughout the Delta the same rich soil is discoverable in the deepest pits, without any strata of sand between, while the whole sea coast is now like other flat coasts, unoccupied by rocks, a sand so mixed with marine salt, as scarcely to produce any vegetation.

The present sea shore of the Delta has, to his lordship, so little the appearance of having been formed since the deluge, that he must have better authority than Mr. Savary, or the traditions of the Egyptian priests, for believing that it was so. The former is a wild romancer, whose descriptions our traveller had already been obliged to controvert at Damietta, and to whom he could give no additional credit, when he asserts, that the narrow strip of land below Lesbé has been the gift of the Nile since the days of St. Louis; an assertion completely disproved, by its being of the same arid sand as the rest of the sea coast, and not of the rich soil of the Delta; and it is only necessary to look at the map of Egypt to be convinced, that unless the lake Menzalé had been united to the sea, it is impossible but that the land must then have extended as far as it now does, for it is scarcely of a sufficient width to keep their waters asunder.

To the traditions of the Egyptian priests, his lordship was inclined to give as little credit. They were celebrated for their anxiety to exalt their country, by giving it a remote antiquity; and what fable could be better adapted for the purpose than this? Slow and imperceptible as was the increase of the land at that time, how many ages must have confessedly passed away, before eighty miles of sea could have been filled up by the depositions of the river!

The column of Dioclesian has been described by every author; but the French, while in possession of Alexandria, at length ascertained its dimensions; to the English, however, they left the honour of decyphering the inscription, and of proving beyond controversy, that Dioclesian was the emperor to whom it was dedicated, and whose statue, on its summit, must have formed a most conspicuous object from every part of the country, and served as a still better landmark than the pillar alone, which, nevertheless, is now a most useful guide to navigators approaching the low, sandy shore of Egypt.

Modern Alexandria is by no means an ill built town, and its situation is extremely pleasant between the two harbours. The trade is still considerable with the Levant, and hardly a day passed during our stay, without the arrival of a Greek vessel. The new harbour is indeed nearly useless: and instead of the largest ships being able, as in the time of Strabo, to approach the steps, and unload close to the wharfs, it is only in a small part of the harbour, near to the causeway of the Pharos, that the little vessels of the Turkish empire can find a shelter from the northerly winds, in from two to five fathom water. The climate is by no means unpleasant, as the heat is tempered in summer by the strong gales, which almost constantly blow from the north, and carry with them the thick black clouds that, after breaking on the mountains of the interior of Africa, return in the floods of the Nile to fertilize the plains of Egypt. It is only a knowledge of this that can reconcile its inhabitants to seeing them constantly pass over their heads without once falling in a refreshing shower.

The consuls of the European powers live together in tolerable amity, except when a war between their masters reduces them to the necessity of not visiting in public. The British and French consuls-general are indeed the leaders, and the rivalry between their countries rages with full force at Alexandria. Major Missett is a man admirably adapted for his situation. He is well acquainted with the chiefs who

rule over the different parts of this once flourishing, but now distracted, country; knows their wants and wishes, and by a firm, but conciliatory, system of conduct, has baffled all the projects of the French, who still look back on Egypt with the steady determination of seizing on the first opportunity of re-conquering it.

For this they have employed their emissaries in instigating the beys against each other, and the pacha against them all, and have thereby prevented tranquillity from being restored, which would, they justly think, preclude the possibility of their return.

At the convention of El Arish, they prepared to leave a force in the country, by reporting that numbers had deserted into Upper Egypt: general Dongelet, with the 22d and 85th demi-brigades had, in fact, retired thither without any intention of departing, and a whole train of artillery was buried in the sands of the Faiume, to be employed on a future occasion. The victorious army of Abercromby secured a faithful evacuation of the country, but though their troops were driven away, their arts and intrigues remained.

Towards the latter end of October, 1802, the French frigate *La Corneille*, in company with a brig, entered the old port of Alexandria, and shortly afterwards major-general Stuart, the commander in chief of the British forces, received a letter from Sebastiani, expressing a wish to have an interview with him, in order to deliver a message from the first consul. The general returned no written answer, but sent major Missett, his secretary, to congratulate colonel Sebastiani on his arrival, and to know at what time it would be convenient to him to land, as, in compliment to him, the quarantine regulations should not be enforced. The hour having been fixed, major Missett, with an escort of dragoons, waited at the landing place for the colonel, whom he conducted to head quarters. The customary honours were paid to him at every post near which he passed. The message from the first consul to the British commander in chief was a demand that, in compliance with the treaty of Amiens, he should evacuate Alexandria: to which general Stuart replied, that he had no orders to that effect from his government. Sebastiani then observed, that the general ought to consider the consequences of its being refused, as he must be aware of the inferiority of the British force in Egypt, and the consequently precarious safety of the troops in Alexandria, several of the forts being in the hands of the Turks. Justly irritated at so indecorous a behaviour, ge-

neral Stuart abruptly put an end to the conversation, by declaring that were his force reduced to fifteen men, he would keep Alexandria, till ordered by his government to evacuate Egypt. That day colonel Sebastiani dined with major-general Stuart, and the conversation having naturally fallen on the antiquities of Egypt, the general observed, that the inscription on Pompey's pillar had lately been made out by some British officers; on which Sebastiani requested that Joubert, who acted as his interpreter, might have a copy of it. This was complied with, and some months afterwards, a paragraph appeared in the French papers, stating that Joubert had brought from Egypt an inscription which would determine at what period Pompey's pillar had been erected; but no notice was taken of the manner in which Joubert had obtained the inscription.

During his stay at Alexandria, Sebastiani received the most marked attentions from general Stuart: he was every day supplied with saddle-horses, and permitted to visit every spot within, as well as without the garrison, unattended by any British officer—a liberty of which he proved himself unworthy, by meanly holding private conversations with different soldiers of the foreign brigade, exhorting them to desert.

Soon after his arrival, colonel Sebastiani had his audience of the governor-general of Alexandria. General Stuart directed his interpreter, Mr. Reggio, to mix with the crowd; and learn what passed. Fortunately Mr. Joubert was so little qualified for the office of interpreter, that he could not translate the first compliments. The governor, distressed, called out aloud, “Is there no one here who speaks Franks?” Reggio immediately stepped forward, and acted as interpreter to the French agent, who began by assuring the governor of the first consul's high regard for his nation, that he was extremely afflicted that the English continued in Egypt contrary to his desire, but begged him to rest assured that the French would soon oblige them to retreat. Sebastiani was perfectly satisfied with his interpreter. It was only when speaking of Reggio to the French at Cairo, that he discovered the trick that had been played him.

In May 1803 the French establishment in Egypt was organized under Mr. Lesseps, who succeeded in creating a mortal enmity between Osman Bey and Elfi Bey, by exciting the former to assassinate the latter, on his return from England, under an idea that he was come with a sufficient European force to place him at the head of the government.

On finding afterwards that Osman Bey was inclined to throw himself upon the protection of the English, he bribed Mohammed Ali and Achmed Bey, two Albanian chiefs, to revolt from the beys, and drive them from Cairo. This scheme proved successful, and Egypt became, as the French government wished, divided under three masters. A detail of all the events which led to this and of the different intrigues by which the revolutions were accomplished, would occupy a much greater space than lord Valentia's limits would allow. The result has been, that one of the finest countries on the globe is sinking under the severest oppression.

Mohammed Ali Pacha rules over Lower Egypt from a little above Cairo to the sea, including the Delta, Damietta, and Rosetta; he is, decidedly, a man of talent, but is necessarily the slave of the undisciplined freebooters whom he ostensibly commands, and is obliged to plunder the defenceless natives, to gratify their rapacity; for his revenue is by no means equal to his expenditure, even with all the additions which requisitions from the Arabs, and exactions from the merchants, can bring into his coffers. The trade that was formerly carried on, through Egypt, with the interior of Africa, is now at an end; and even the commerce with Jidda is greatly diminished, from the dread of the immoderate extortion under which the merchant labours.

Upper Egypt is in possession of the beys, nominally under the command of Ibrahim Bey, to whom the title of Schech el Belled belongs, but really under the influence of Osman Bey Bardessi, who is a man of talent, and the representative of the famous Murad Bey. As the government of the beys was ever much more mild than that of the Turks, this province does not suffer so much from oppression as from the deprivation of every article which they were accustomed to receive from Lower Egypt, all trade with which has been cut off by Mohammed Ali.

Elfi Bey has possession of the Faiume, a fertile province, over which he tyrannises, and has extended his incursions to Damanour, which he might easily take, were he not afraid of sacrificing his Mamelukes in the assault, and thereby of comparatively diminishing his consequence with the other beys. Many Albanians have deserted to him, and he has a very large Arab force, which he has influenced by the assurance that he is closely connected with England, and expects a large army from that country, to place him at the head of the government. Were Damanour to fall, Alexandria would be at his mercy, as he commands all the supplies

of provision which come in from the desert. He, at one time, stopped every thing at the peninsula, and obliged Emin Aga to consent secretly to his sending his officers into the town, to purchase cloth and other articles, for which he was in the greatest distress.

Excepting from the alarm excited by the plans of Elfi, Alexandria is in perfect tranquillity. The garrison consists of the Turkish soldiers, disciplined after the European manner, who are, in general, reasonable men. The export of such articles as Lower Egypt produces, still keeps the town and harbour alive, and a Christian can walk about the town, without fear or danger of insult. It is here alone that the grand signior can be said to reign.

The most powerful schechs of the desert, the chief of whom is Chedid, are closely attached to the English nation, and avow their detestation of the French, but at the same time declare, that if we will not protect them, so unsupportable is the yoke of the Albanians, that they will submit to any European power to get rid of it. The beys have frequently offered either to hold the country subject to Great Britain; or, if we will assist them in driving away the Albanians, and placing them at the head of the government, that they will grant us such immunities and privileges as will, by placing the whole trade of the country in our hands, repay any expence we may incur.

On the 4th of June we celebrated the king's birth-day with the greatest festivity, and with all the splendour that Alexandria could afford. A royal salute was fired at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, from brass pateraroes in front of Mr. Briggs' house. The British flag was hoisted, and the populace were liberally regaled with coffee and sherbet, in the street before the door of the consul general, while parabs were thrown in profusion from the windows.

In consequence of intelligence received by major Missett, of a war being probable between Russia and the Porte, in which England would be involved, our travellers were impatient to depart, and only waited till the northerly winds enabled them to do so. Their friend, the surbaje, meant to accompany them, as his declarations, "that no man who had once been in the English service, would ever quit it," might call down on him the resentment of the Turkish government, should hostilities actually take place. In the morning, on the 11th of June, for the first time, they found that the climate of Alexandria could be oppressive; a sultry air came over the desert from the S. E. and warned them to

depart. They took an early dinner with their amiable and able friend, the major, and were afterwards accompanied by him, and the other Europeans, to the old port, where Emin Aga was in waiting to take his leave. In the course of the night every one got on board, and at three they sailed with a moderate breeze.

The fair wind continued only two days, when it came round to the west: and, as the *Queen* was a very bad sailer, uncoppered, and her masts too small, they made four points of lee-way, and were even rejoiced in the evening, at finding that they had made good a northerly course, by coming in sight of the mountains of Caramania, instead of Cyprus. Their stock of water was so short, that they determined to put into some place for a supply; this was chiefly owing to the number of passengers which the captain had taken on board, consisting, besides lord Valentia's party, of Turks, horses, ostriches, antelopes, monkeys, jerboas, and parrots. These, with the live stock, consumed a great quantity of water, and rendered the ship very uncomfortable.

Though they stood in for the land during the night, they were in the morning of the 23d twenty miles from it. A Neapolitan cook, whom lord Valentia hired at Alexandria, was alone acquainted with the coast, and asserted so positively that the bay of Finica was to leeward, that the captain, believing him stood away for it, and got safely to an anchor by three o'clock in seven fathom. The bay is a good one, and was much frequented by the Russians during their last war with the Porte, in consequence of the facility with which water could be procured from a small stream, running into the sea, with a rapid and deep current. It is distinguishable, at a great distance, in consequence of the lofty hills which rise above it, the centre one having a sugar-loaf point, rising out of a gradual swell. This marks the centre of the bay, and had still snow on its summit. To the eastward are some lofty, rocky islands, apparently two, which separate it from the gulf of Satalia: these lie more south of cape Cheledoni than Heather has placed them in his chart of the Mediterranean. According to our traveller's observation, he has also laid down the bay twelve miles too far north, and the anchoring ground too near the islands, from which, in fact, it is distant above twelve miles. They sent on shore lord Valentia's servant and a Turk to visit a village, at a small distance, beautifully embosomed in trees, and to report what could be procured. They procured only

a tunny fish and some unripe pears, but many promises were made for the morrow.

Early in the morning of the 24th they began to take in water, which was done by floating the casks over the bar, at the entrance of the river, and there filling them.

Lord Valentia was unwell, and therefore staid on board; but the rest of the party set off, after breakfast, for another village at the distance of four miles. On their return they reported that they had found the natives extremely civil, but averse from their seeing or speaking to their women; that their dress was Grecian, and picturesque, their houses small and wretched: that the head man received them into his house, which consisted of one room only, and procured for them fowls at twenty-five parahs each, goats at four or five dollars, and a buffalo and calf for ten dollars: honey, butter, eggs, clouted cream, apples, and apricots, were in abundance and reasonable; that the harvest was not got in, and that no grain was to be procured.

On the evening of the 26th of June our travellers quitted the bay of Finica, and kept close to the shores, to have the benefit of the land breeze. They passed Rhodes on the 2d July, and Scarpanto on the 4th, between which and Gozo, they found the passage to be much wider than is laid down in Heather's chart, and the latter a much larger island. On the 5th they sailed along Candia in a smooth sea, being protected by it from the N.W. wind which prevailed. The snow still lay on the summits of the mountains, whence squalls came down occasionally, with considerable violence. On the 7th they lost sight of Candia, and the captain persevered in running south, although they made but little westing, and there was every appearance of a gale of wind setting in from the northward. On the 10th the gale came on, when they were in sight of Derna head, and obliged them to bear away N. E.; but for two days, in consequence of her sailing so ill, the Queen made only one mile of northing. When the gale abated, they got again in sight of Candia and of Gozo, distinguishable from the higher land behind it, by the difference of colour, which is of a reddish cast, while the mountains are of a deep blue, nearly approaching to black. After escaping from the narrow part of the Mediterranean, between cape Derna and Candia, they found themselves in a different climate: heretofore they had, invariably, winds from the north to west, but never, for above ten minutes at a time, did they come from the eastward. In fact, as regular a monsoon blows in the Levant

during the summer months as in any part of the ocean. A gale of wind was generally foretold, as in the Red Sea, by a heavy swell and by some small black clouds, which rising visible in the horizon, passed rapidly over the vessel. It always came from the north, and gradually veering to west, in about twenty-four hours subsided into a calm, when the swell became extremely disagreeable. On reaching the more open sea, the wind was more moderate, and the sky appeared dappled with many light-coloured clouds, which were more stationary, and brought no wind with them. The weather became extremely pleasant, and on the 26th, for the first time, the wind came round to the eastward, and by ten o'clock this morning conveyed them to the port of Malta. Soon afterwards a boat was sent alongside, empty, attached by a cord to another, in which were four men. Our travellers entered the former with their baggage, and were towed by the latter to the Quarantini, where they took up their abode in several very lofty stone apartments, with large windows looking over the harbour. The whole building is of the same materials, and surrounds a quadrangle; it is built on the solid rock, with a flight of steps down to the water, and is kept exceedingly clean. The lower story is used to receive goods that are unclean.

The knights of Malta, when sovereigns of the island, were as willing to keep it dependent on other countries for its supplies, as they were for their revenues; they consequently discouraged agriculture, and even looked with a jealous eye on the commercial attempts of their subjects, whom they were willing to feed well, that they might increase in numbers, but whom they by no means wished to become affluent. Malta produced a supply of grain for three months only, the residue was imported, and the order had always sufficient for the consumption of a year, in their granaries.

Since the expulsion of the French, by the exertion of the natives, assisted by a British force, every thing has been greatly changed. Barbary being now in friendship with the inhabitants, affords abundant supplies. From Sicily small vessels arrive daily with the produce of that island; but the most valuable article procured from it, is snow from Mount Etna, which not only is a luxury to the rich, but an invaluable medicine in the hospitals. The Maltese, under the protection of the British flag, are rapidly rising in prosperity, by the success of their commercial speculations, and every inch of their little island will soon be cultivated like a garden.

Towards the land, La Valetta is perfectly impregnable, and justifies the observation of Bonaparte, when he entered it, "that it was fortunate there was some one within to open the gates for him." In the hands of the masters of the sea, it is an invaluable possession. Its harbours afford protection from every wind, and its dock-yards furnish supplies for a fleet, at a smaller expence than they can frequently be procured in England; while its fresh provisions, fruit and vegetables, ensure health to the seamen. As a naval station it protects the trade of the Levant, and renders the secret approach of a hostile squadron towards any part of the Turkish dominions, nearly impracticable; and so long as Great Britain preserves it, the gigantic plans of Bonaparte in the Mediterranean can never be carried into effect, nor can he impress on the Barbary powers, that idea of his importance, which is necessary to induce them to abandon all connection with us. As trade increases, the island will become a *depôt* for the woollens, cottons, and hardware of England, which will be thence carried away to all the surrounding coasts, by the vessels of the inhabitants. This will greatly increase the revenue, and soon render Malta a profit instead of an expence; even at present, the necessary civil expences are but small, and but little, if at all, exceeding the revenue. Malta requires only four thousand men for a garrison, but that number has generally been exceeded, not for the use of the place, but as a valuable and healthy *depôt*, whence they could be removed to any place where their services are required. This cannot be considered as part of the expence of Malta.

Lord Valentia was very much struck with the magnificent church of St. John, which still preserves the monuments of the illustrious masters of the order.

The library is a handsome building, and has a very valuable collection of books. It was accumulated from the private libraries of the different knights who died on the island, to whom the order was heir. It also received, as presents, most of the splendid works which were published by the Catholic sovereigns of Europe. It contains about eight thousand volumes, and is chiefly deficient in English literature.

The Maltese are frugal, temperate, and industrious. They proved themselves brave soldiers during the blockade of La Valetta, when about three thousand of them were under the command of sir Alexander Ball. They are as good seamen

as any in the Mediterranean, and are rapidly improving by their connection with the English.

A fleet of transports having arrived from Sicily, where they had landed troops, and being about to return, nearly empty, to England, sir Alexander Ball procured for lord Valentia the cabin of the *Diana*, captain Lamb, and an order for the conveyance of all his baggage. She was said to be the best sailer among them, and the captain was a very civil, worthy man. His lordship's preparations were soon made, and by the 24th of August they all embarked, after having parted with regret from sir Alexander, who had, by his uniformly kind attentions, added greatly to the satisfaction his lordship experienced at again finding himself in a civilized country.

After a pleasant passage, they reached Gibraltar on the 17th of September, having on their way seen Sicily, Sardinia, several of the capes of Africa, and, at length, the coast of Spain, along which they ran from near Carthage.

Lord Valentia landed on the 26th of September, and went to pay his compliments to general Drummond, the acting lieutenant-governor. His lordship was much indisposed, and unable to visit many of the works, but, occasionally, rode with the general to view the different spots which have been cultivated by the garrison. The extent of ground laid out in gardens, excited his lordship's surprise, and the beauty of several of the country houses well repaid the labour of getting at them.

On the 24th of October, 1806, after a tedious passage, with frequent gales towards the latter end, our travellers came to an anchor at St. Helen's, but, notwithstanding their impatience, were not permitted to land till the 26th, when lord Valentia went on shore at Portsmouth, after having been absent from England four years and four months.

END OF LORD VALENTIA'S TRAVELS.

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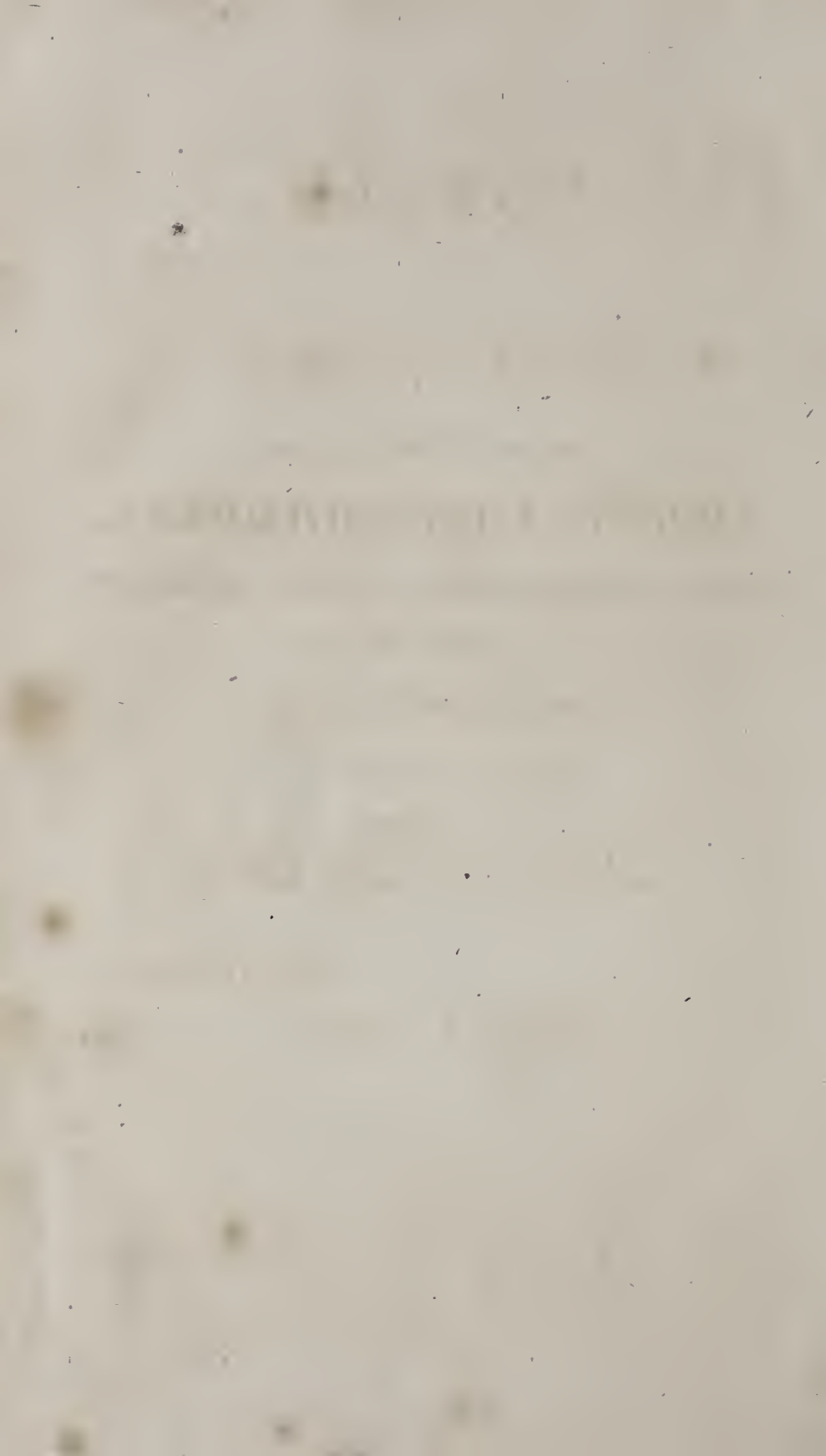
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A
VOYAGE
TO
SOUTH AMERICA,
AND THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE;
IN
HIS MAJESTY'S GUN BRIG
THE PROTECTOR,
COMMANDED BY
LIEUT. SIR G. M. KEITH, BART.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,
BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS,
BY B. McMILLAN, BOW STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1810.



TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY, LORD MULGRAVE,

FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY,

&c. &c. &c.

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE INSCRIBED,

AS A TOKEN

OF THE GRATITUDE AND RESPECT OF

THE AUTHOR.



VOYAGE,

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

Sail from Spithead—Anchor at Weymouth—A False Alarm—Anchor at Falmouth—Description of that Port—Marine Fishing—The Flying Fish described—Arrive at the Island of Madeira.

ON Sunday the 25th day of August, 1805, we sailed from Spithead under sealed orders, in company with his majesty's sloop *Espoir*, and the *Encounter* gun-brig; but the wind proving unfavourable, we put into Swannage Bay on the 27th, anchoring in six fathoms water, with the Needles Point bearing E. by S. and Peveril Point west.

The romantic forms of the high chalk cliffs, in the eastern part of this bay, contrasted with the low land of Peveril Point, the distant view of the Needles and the Isle of Wight, form together a group of scenery truly picturesque.

The wind coming fair during the night, we weighed and made all sail down channel; but this was of short continuance, for the next day it came round to S.W. which obliged us to stand in for Portland Roads. His majesty was then at Weymouth, with two of the royal yachts, and the *Diamond* and *Chiffonne* frigates attending on him. Our surprise and concern will be therefore more readily conceived than expressed, on observing that both the yachts and the frigates had their colours and pendants lowered half-mast down; but our fears on account of our beloved sovereign, were relieved on our coming to anchor, when we learnt that what had so much alarmed us, was in consequence of the death of his royal highness the duke of Gloucester.

We anchored in ten fathoms water, with Portland castle bearing W. by S. and Wyke church N.W. by N.

On the 30th, the wind being moderate though contrary, we weighed at daylight, in company with the *Espoir*, leaving the *Encounter* laying to, apparently waiting for one of her boats.

We had a heavy gale of wind from the northward on the 1st of September, during which we lost sight of the *Espoir*, but fell in with her again on the 3d off the *Lizard*, and sent our boat on board of her. On the 6th, we had a second gale from the S.W. heavier than the former, in which we again lost sight of the *Espoir*, and finding it continue, we bore up the next day for Falmouth harbour, and anchored in Carrick Roads in six fathoms water, St. Mawes' castle bearing S. E. by S. Pendennis castle S.W. by W. and the Black Rock S. by W. half W.

Scarcely had we let go the anchor, when we were agreeably surprised by the appearance of the *Espoir*, who also came to an anchor near us.

The following day being Saturday, we had an opportunity of visiting Falmouth market, which is most plentifully supplied from the adjacent country, and it is worthy of remark, that although this port is the depôt of all the foreign packets and their numerous passengers, and occasionally visited by many other ships, still the prices of the necessaries of life are far more reasonable than what is to be met with in any other sea-port on the S.W. coast of England.

There are many good houses in the town, but the streets are very irregular, narrow and ill paved; these inconveniences, however, are amply compensated by the safety and extent of the harbour, which is now furnished with moorings for the use of the channel fleet, when driven from their station off Brest by the severity of the S.W. gales.

Having completed our water here and received a supply of fresh beef, we weighed at daylight on the 8th, and made sail to the S.W. in company with the *Espoir*, having now given up hopes of being rejoined by the *Encounter*, it being reported at Falmouth that she had run aground in working out of Portland Roads.

Nothing of importance occurred until the 12th, when being in latitude $46^{\circ} 35' N.$ and longitude $5^{\circ} 49' W.$ we perceived at daylight on our lee-bow, a squadron consisting of four sail of the line and two frigates, standing to the westward with all sail set. The *Espoir* immediately made the private signal to them, which finding they did not answer, we had every reason to conclude them an enemy, and every reason for alarm on a comparison of our force.

After the signal had been flying an hour and a half, it was at length, to our great satisfaction, answered; upon which we run down to them, and spoke them.

The day following, as the *Espoir* sailed considerably better than we did, she took us in tow for the sake of greater expedition, in which unpleasant situation we continued until the 19th, when we were obliged to cast off, in a heavy gale of wind from the S.W.; but on the 21st, the weather being moderate, she again took us in tow, and kept us so until the 24th, when being in latitude $33^{\circ} 11' N.$, and longitude $14^{\circ} 51' W.$, the captain of the *Espoir*, considering himself near the land, cast us off, with orders to stand for it.

We did not however see it until 8 A. M. on Saturday the 28th, when it appeared as three islands, bearing W.N.W. the largest of which we made all sail for, on the supposition of its being Madeira, and the two smaller ones being the Desertas.

It happened very unfortunately, that there was not a person on board in the least acquainted with Madeira, nor was there any chart or sketch of it to be found. By 3 P. M. we were sufficiently near the island we were standing for, to perceive that it was totally uncultivated, and apparently uninhabited; and about the same time we saw the island of Madeira in the N.W. quarter, that which we had taken for it being the largest of the three Desertas.

About six in the evening we hove to off the town of Machico, and made the signal for a pilot, which was immediately answered, by a boat coming off with three gentlemen and four rowers, who left us one of the boat's crew to conduct us to Funchal.

On the morning of this day we caught five bonettas, being the only fish taken since leaving England, excepting several flying fish, which at times flew aboard during the night, in their endeavours to escape from their pursuers, the bonettas and dolphins, whose principal food they constitute.

Both these sorts of fish have been too often described, to require any thing farther on that head being said here; but it has perhaps never been mentioned, that the flying fish is by far the most delicate eating of any that are to be found in the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans (the turtle excepted); but unfortunately there is no method of obtaining them hitherto discovered, except by the chance above-mentioned, which renders them equally scarce as good.

Light airs, calms, and strong westerly currents, prevented our getting into Funchal Roads before Tuesday, the 1st of

October, at noon, when we anchored in 45 fathoms water, and found laying here his majesty's ships Diadem, Reasonable, Belliqueux, Diomedé, Malabar, Narcissus, Leda, Dart, Espoir, Dolphin, Chichester, and the Encounter (the latter having only arrived the same morning), with a numerous fleet of East and West Indiamen, and transports filled with stores and troops.

CHAP. II.

Account of Madeira—Discovered by the English—Present State of the Island.

THE narrative of Robert à Machin is of considerable importance, as it records the first discovery of Madeira by an Englishman. The attention paid to it by Alcaforado, equerry to prince Henry, duke of Viseo, gives it every authority that can be wished; but yet considerable difficulties arise, respecting the exact date when this event took place. The reign of Edward III. extends from 1327 to 1377. Galvano, who is not always correct, dates the discovery, on the authority of the Chronicles of Castile, about 1344; Herbert places it in 1328: both these dates give a longer imprisonment to Morales than is consistent with history. Probably the exact year was never recorded: even the relation of Alcaforado is full of subsequent interpolations, many of which are pointed out by Mr. Green (Astley's Collection, vol. i. p. 571). The reign of Edward III. might have been thus inserted, to give a greater authority to the adventures of our countrymen.

It was in the glorious reign of Edward III. of England, that Robert à Machin, a gentleman of the second degree of nobility, whose genius was only equalled by his gallantry and courage, beheld and loved the beautiful Anna D'Arfet: their attachment was mutual; but the pleasing indulgence of ardent hope, gratified and betrayed their passion.

Some writers have preferred the name of Dorset, which a foreign orthography might turn into D'Orset, and thence to D'Arfet. The pride of the illustrious family of D'Arfet rendered them insensible to the happiness of their daughter;

they preferred the indulgence of ambition to the voice of duty and love. The feudal tyranny of the age was friendly to their cruel design, and a warrant from the king seemed to justify the vanity of a parent. The consolation of an ingenuous mind supported Machin in confinement; its energy, thus compressed, sought only for redress; nor did it yield to despondency, when, on being delivered from prison, he found that the innocent cause of his persecution had been forced to marry a nobleman, who had carried her to his castle near Bristol. The friends of Machin made his misfortune their own, and one of them had the address to be introduced, under the character of a groom, to the service of the afflicted Anna. The prospect of the ocean, which, during their rides, extended before them, suggested or matured the plan of escape; and the probability of a secure asylum, was opposed to the dangers of a passage to the coast of France.

Under pretence of receiving benefit from sea air, the victim of parental ambition was enabled, without delay, to elude suspicion; whilst Machin, in the successful completion of his anxious design, was equally insensible to the particular season of the year, or the portentous appearance of weather, which in calmer moments he would have duly observed.

The gradual rising of a gale of wind rendered the astonished fugitives sensible of their rashness: as the tempest approached, the thick darkness of the night completed the horror of the scene. In their confusion the intended port was missed, or could not be reached; their vessel drove at the mercy of the winds; and in the morning they found themselves in the midst of an unknown ocean, without the skill that could determine their situation, or the experience that could direct their course. The dawn of twelve mornings returned without the sight of land: when at length, after a night of increased anxiety, as they eagerly watched the earliest streaks of day, an object loomed in the horizon: continual disappointment produced a querulous despondency; whilst they alternately believed and doubted, the thick grey haze was dispersed by the rising sun, and a general burst of joy welcomed the certainty of land. A luxuriance of trees was soon visible, to whose appearance they were utter strangers; and the beautiful plumage of unknown birds, who came in flocks from the island, gave at first the semblance of a dream to their astonishing deliverance.

The boat being hoisted out to examine the coast, returned with a favourable account, Machin and his friends accom-

panied their trembling charge, leaving the rest to secure the vessel. The wilderness of the adjacent country possessed additional charms to men escaped from destruction; and the rich scenery of Madeira was again beheld, after a lapse of many centuries, by the eyes of Europeans.

It was not only visited by the Romans, but probably also by the Normans, those skilful navigators, of whose discoveries we know so little; who preceded the Portuguese, and followed the Arabians, in nautical skill.

An opening in the extensive woods, that was encircled with laurels and flowering shrubs, presented a delightful retreat; a venerable tree, the growth of ages, offered, on an adjoining eminence, its welcome shade; and the first moments of liberty were employed in forming a romantic residence, with the abundant materials supplied by nature.

Curiosity to explore their new discovery was increased by the novelty of every object they beheld: this varied occupation continued for three days, until the survey was interrupted by an alarming hurricane, that came on during the night, and rendered them extremely anxious for their companions who were on board. The ensuing morning destroyed every prospect of happiness: they in vain sought for the vessel, which had drove from her moorings, and was wrecked on the coast of Morocco; where, as it afterwards appeared, all on board were immediately seized as slaves, and sent to prison.

The afflicted Machin found this last trial too severe for his disconsolate companion; her tender mind, overcome by the scenes she had endured, needed the conscious sense of strict discharge of duty to renew its strength. From the moment it was reported that the vessel could not be found, she became dumb with grief, expired after a few days of silent despair, and was soon followed by her inconsolable lover.

The companions of Machin, forgetting their own situation, were entirely occupied in watching over their emaciated friend; but all attempts to administer consolation were fruitless. On the fifth day they received his parting breath, and earnest injunction, that they would place his body in the same grave under the venerable tree, which, amidst an agony of tears, they had so lately made for the unfortunate victim of his temerity: where the altar had been raised to celebrate their deliverance, would now mark their untimely tomb. This painful duty being performed, they fixed a large wooden cross over the grave, with the inscription

which Machin had composed to record their melancholy adventures, and to request that if any Christian should hereafter visit the spot, they would in the same place build a church, and dedicate it to Christ ;—

“ But never human eye
 “ Had mark’d the spot, or gaz’d upon the grave
 “ Of the unfortunate ; but for the voice
 “ Of enterprise that spoke from Sagre’s towers ;
 “ Through ocean’s perils, storms, and unknown wastes,
 “ Speed we to Asia !”

Having thus obeyed the dictates of friendship, they fitted out the boat, which from their first landing had been kept ashore. Their intention was to return, if possible, to England ; but either owing to want of skill, to the currents, or unfavourable weather, they were driven on the same coast with their shipmates, and joined them in their Moorish prison.

The island is of a triangular form, and about forty leagues in circumference : it was taken possession of by the Portuguese in the year 1437.

They set fire to the forests, which burned for a considerable time, and gave the soil that degree of fertility which it boasts of at present ; indeed, were it properly cultivated, Madeira might be termed the garden of the world. The scorching heat of summer, and the icy chill of winter, are here equally unknown ; but spring and autumn reign together, and produce flowers and fruit throughout the year. It abounds in every kind of tropical and European fruits, as oranges, lemons of a prodigious size, bananas, citrons, peaches, figs, plums, and strawberries, that grow wild in the mountains, with astonishing profusion ; grapes which are as large as our common plums, and remarkable for their peculiar flavour. The oranges are of a sanguine red : this species is produced from the common orange bud, engrafted on the pomegranate stock. There is likewise a kind of pear found here, not bigger than a walnut, and very crisp. The sugar-cane also is cultivated with success, though not in any considerable quantity. The cedar tree is found in great abundance : it is extremely beautiful ; most of the ceilings and furniture at Madeira are made of that wood, which yields a very fragrant smell. The dragon tree is a native of this island. Flowers nursed in the English green-houses, grow wild here in the fields ; the hedges are mostly formed of myrtles, roses, jessamine, and honeysuckle, in everlast-

ing blossom ; while the larkspur, the fleur-de-lis, the lupin, &c. spring up spontaneously in the meadows. There are very few reptiles to be seen in the island ; the lizard is the most common.

Canary birds and goldfinches are found in the mountains ; of the former, numbers are sent every year to England. But Madeira is principally celebrated for its wine, which it produces in great quantities, and which keeps best in the hottest climate, under the torrid zone ; for this reason the inhabitants of the West India islands that can afford it, drink little else ; and the Madeira wine that is brought to England, is thought to be worth little, unless it has been a voyage to the East or West Indies. This island is well watered and peopled, and the inhabitants are good-natured, but great voluptuaries.

Funchal, the capital of the island, is situated round a bay, on the gentle ascent of the first hill, in form of an amphitheatre. Its public and private buildings, are in general, entirely white. On the sea side are several batteries. An old castle, which commands the road, stands on the top of a steep black rock, surrounded by the sea at high water, and called by the English, Loo Rock.

On a neighbouring eminence above the town is another, called St. John's castle. The hills beyond the town are conveyed with vineyards, enclosures, plantations, and groves, interspersed with country houses and churches. The streets are narrow, ill paved, and dirty ; the houses are built of freestone or brick, but they are dark ; and only a few of the best, belonging to the English merchants or the principal inhabitants, are provided with glass windows : all the others have a kind of lattice-work in their stead, which hangs on hinges, and may be lifted up occasionally.

The best anchorage in Funchal Roads is with the following bearings : The Western Point W. by N. ; the Loo Rock N. by W. ; the Brazen Head E. by S. ; the Desertas, from E. to S. E., about nine leagues distant.

CHAP. III.

Leave Madeira—A Seaman drowned—A Ship runs a-board of us—Cross the Equator—Ludicrous Ceremony on that Occasion.

WE remained here until the 3d at day-light, when we weighed in company with the whole fleet ; but in working out of the roads with a light air, we drifted on board one of the transports, owing to the westerly current before mentioned ; but the boats of the fleet coming to our assistance, we were soon towed clear of her, without sustaining any damage.

Owing perhaps to the very large fleet assembled here, we found stock of every description uncommonly scarce and dear ; even fruit not excepted.

On the 4th the commodore hoisted his broad pendant, on which occasion he was saluted by all the men of war with thirteen guns each, and cheered by the greater part of the merchantmen.

On Sunday the 6th, performed divine service ; and in the evening the fleet for the West Indies, under convoy of the Malabar and Dart, parted company.

On the 9th, served out fishing-hooks and lines to the ship's company, but since leaving Madeira caught nothing except a few flying-fish.

Nothing material occurred until the 13th at two in the morning, when James Turner, one of the best men and best seamen in the brig, in reaching at a flying-fish in the fore chains, lost his balance, fell overboard, and was unfortunately drowned ; the ship then running six miles per hour, and the darkness of the night, rendering every exertion to save him abortive.

This day performed divine service. At eight A. M. on the morning of the 25th, being on a wind upon the starboard tack, under courses, topsails, and jib, and going about four miles an hour, the Britannia East Indiaman being then upon the larboard tack, under the same sail, and on our larboard bow, persisted in keeping his wind, and in endeavouring to weather us, although we repeatedly hailed and waved to him, desiring him to bear up and put his helm a-port, which finding that he would not do, we were compelled to put our helm a-starboard, and bear up, con-

trary to all rules of the service, in order to avoid the imminent danger of being run down; but before we could clear his lee-quarter by so doing, our bowsprit was carried away by his mizen chains.

It were superfluous to add a single remark upon this transaction, as every seaman can, and will, make the proper comment.

Our distress was immediately observed by the commodore, who sent the *Raisable* to our assistance, and by two in the afternoon we were ready to make sail again, having rigged out a spare topmast as a jury bowsprit, and set the jib upon it, which was found to answer very well, and that we could keep company with the fleet, although the fore-top-gallant mast was down, and we were always obliged to keep a reef in the fore-topsail for the security of the foremast.

On Sunday the 27th, performed divine service.

On Thursday the 31st of October, we crossed the Equator, in longitude $33^{\circ} 26'$ W. from London, and on this occasion the ancient custom of ducking and shaving was duly observed, there being no fewer than thirty-five persons on board, out of forty-six, who had never been upon the line before.

The mode of performing this ceremony, is by a grotesque Neptune and Amphitrite, with their attendants, placing the novice on a plank, laid across a large tub filled with water; his face is then lather'd with a mixture of tar, paint, grease, and filth; and after a few rough scrapes with a piece of iron hoop, the plank is withdrawn, he falls into the tub, and is soused with about twenty buckets full of water thrown over him.

CHAP. IV.

Discover a Dangerous Shoal—Its Situation described—Make the Coast of Brazil—Remarks on the prevailing Currents—Singular Fishing Boats—Appearance of the Land.

AT noon, on Saturday the 2d of November, we discovered a sand bank from the mast-head, bearing S. by W.

about three leagues distant; it appeared to be very level, but considerably above the surface of the sea, and the dry part apparently about half a mile in length: the sea broke only on the eastern end of the bank, and in that direction the breakers extended to the verge of the horizon.

A black spot was visible on the north side of the bank, but whether it was a small rock, or whether the wreck of some unfortunate vessel, we were not near enough to distinguish with any degree of certainty.

Our making this shoal in the day time was truly providential; as from the number of the fleet, and other circumstances, had we fell in with it in the night time, many of them must have been totally lost upon it.

Deduced from the observation at noon, this shoal lays in latitude $3^{\circ} 51' S.$ and longitude $24^{\circ} 09' W.$ from London.

The above shoal is very accurately laid down in a general chart of the Atlantic and Southern Oceans, published by Laurie and Whittle, Fleet Street, London, and therein named "Roccas;" the nearest to it being called a shoal "from Peintel;" which is laid down in latitude $4^{\circ} 35' S.$ and longitude $38^{\circ} 10' W.$ from London, and which differs so very materially in position from the former, as to prevent their being ever confounded.

The following day being Sunday, we performed divine service, and in the afternoon bent the cables, on account of our approach to the Brazilian coast. On Monday the 4th, at 7 A. M. saw the land from the mast-head, and at noon it extended from S. W. by W. to N. W. by W. distant between five or six leagues, very uneven and hilly, interspersed with many sandy cliffs and openings; latitude at noon $5^{\circ} 57' S.$

Many albicores and bonettas were now seen about the ship, but to our mortification we took none.

We have already had occasion to mention the effects of a westerly current at the Island of Madeira, and now think it proper to add, for the benefit of future navigators, that this current is more extensive in its limits, and runs with greater velocity than is generally supposed or allowed for.

From the Cape of Good Hope, it runs in a N. W. direction towards Cape Augustine in South America, and then runs still more westerly, according to the direction of the coast, towards the Carribbean Sea, the Bay of Honduras, and the Gulph of Mexico; from which it finds a passage through the Gulph of Florida.

A daily allowance is therefore necessary to be made for it,

and no opportunity of trying its rate should be neglected; to enforce the necessity of which, it need only be noticed, that from the want of such opportunity when we made the land, the longitude by dead reckoning was no less than $3^{\circ} 30'$ a-stern of the ship; a difference which, had there been no means of correcting it by celestial observations, might have produced the most fatal consequences.

On the 5th, we were surprized at the appearance of three very singular boats, resembling rafts, with three men on each, seemingly fishing, and at least six leagues distant from the shore; but we were not near enough to speak them.

At noon, the land bore from S.W. to W. N.W. distant five or six leagues, hilly and uneven, with large trees and many openings, latitude $6^{\circ} 16''$ S.

On Wednesday the 6th, at noon, the land bore from S.W. by S. to N.W. by W. distant about six leagues, having much the same appearance as yesterday, with a large column of smoke in one part. The latitude at noon $7^{\circ} 04''$ S. with light breezes from the S. E.; our progress being much retarded by falling in with the land so far to the northward, and being obliged to turn to windward against the trade wind, to enable us to weather Cape St. Augustine.

CHAP. V.

Arrival at the Bay of All Saints; and Description of the City of Salvador.

ON Thursday the 7th, in the morning, we passed the town of Pernambuco, and at noon were in latitude $8^{\circ} 16''$ S. The wind veered round to the N. E. on Friday the 8th, and at noon there was no land in sight. Steered S.W. latitude $10^{\circ} 8''$ S.

On Sunday the 10th, at day-light, we were off Cape Antonio, which forms the N. E. point of the Bay of All Saints, and lays in latitude $12^{\circ} 56''$ S. and longitude $38^{\circ} 47'$ W. from London: the commodore and three of the convoy being the only ships in sight, we stood into the bay by his order, and brought out a pilot for him; then stood in again

in company with him, and at noon came to an anchor in seven fathoms, and moored, Cape Antonis bearing S. by W. the fort E. by S., and the western point of the bay S. W. by S.

The appearance of the Bay of All Saints and the City of Salvador from the anchorage is very beautiful, and though certainly inferior to the Bay of Naples, is perhaps not far short of the view of Constantinople from the harbour, and in several respects resembles it on a smaller scale.

The moment a person lands, however, the deception vanishes, for there never was a place of equal extent and importance, so dirty, miserable, and disgusting, in every sense of the word.

The house inhabited by the governor (and dignified with the name of a palace), forms one side of a small square; the other being occupied by the common jail, which, with the wretches immured in it, must of course meet his eye fifty times in a day: so much for prospect and situation. In the streets you meet none except soldiers and slaves, with here and there a solitary friar, or a Portuguese gentleman borne in his palanquin, for as to the ladies without the walls of their houses, they are absolutely invisible.

The Portuguese, with their accustomed avarice, on the arrival of the fleet trebled the price of every article in their markets, from an orange to a pipe of wine; and not satisfied with this extortion, they unanimously refused to receive any government bills whatever, unless at the enormous discount of 20 per cent. though payable ten days after sight; and at this rate, including the repairs, stores, and provisions, for the men of war and troops, with private purchases, they must have received at the lowest estimate, 150,000*l.* sterling.

In the Bay of All Saints, which is very safe and capacious, we observed a regular and considerable tide, which at the spring tides, runs nearly three miles per hour.

Within four days after our arrival, the remainder of the convoy came in, excepting the Britannia East India ship, the King George artillery transport, and the Jack brig.

The two former were unfortunately wrecked upon the shoal seen on the 2d of this month; having with the other Indiamen been detached from the fleet, under convoy of the Leda; but the crews of both ships were saved, with the exception of general Yorke and one seaman.

The following particulars relative to this very melancholy event, were collected from the survivors, and from the officers of the Leda frigate, which narrowly escaped sharing the same fate.

CHAP. VI.

Dangerous Situation of the Leda Frigate—Interesting Particulars of the Loss of the Britannia East Indiaman, and the King George Transport, upon the Roccas—Death of General Yorke.

AT half past three in the morning of the 1st of November, 1805, the officer of the watch on board the Leda, who had been previously cautioned by the captain to look well out for rocks, &c. went down, and acquainted him that breakers were seen a-head. On the captain going on deck, and perceiving the ship among breakers, he ordered her to be put about, and as she had entered S. W., to stand out N. E.; but no sooner had she got round, than a man on the fore-castle cried out, "Land a-head, high and dry!" The helm was instantly put up—the frigate fortunately wore quick, and cleared the dangers; but the boats over the stern, in veering the ship, actually hung over the rocks. The signal gun for the convoy to tack, was fired, and afterwards several others, to warn the convoy of the danger. The quarter-master, when trying the soundings, found only five fathoms, but had the presence of mind to sing out "Seven!" The safety of the Leda was evidently owing to the temperate and collected conduct of the captain, officers, and crew. Signal guns were also heard in the Leda from other ships in the convoy; and when the day dawned, their fears for the safety of others were unhappily realized, by finding that one ship (the King George) had got among the rocks; and the Britannia East India ship, when on the point of tacking, having heard the Leda's guns, was run foul of by a large East Indiaman (the Streatham): the bowsprit and fore-topmast of the Britannia were carried away, and her bows partly stove in, when she became unmanageable, and drifted almost instantly on a rock, where she hung by the stern. The mizen-mast being cut away, she in a quarter of an hour cleared herself from the rock, with the loss of her rudder, and a serious leak; which, however, the captain of the Britannia was in such hopes to keep under, that he was in the act of sending off his boats to the relief of the King George, when the water was found to gain fast and irresistibly. A signal was then made by the ensign (union reversed), of distress. The Europe, Comet, and Veruna

(Indiamen), being then near, sent their boats, and brought off all her crew, and the East India recruits on board, being nearly 400 persons, except one man, who would not be saved, either from madness or inebriety. This man had got a cutlass, by which he prevented any person from forcing him away, and as he flourished it, swaggered over the treasure which had been got upon the quarter-deck, and swore vehemently, that as he had been all his life a poor man, he would now go out of the world gloriously rich ! loading himself at the same time with dollars from the chests that had been broken open. Out of one hundred and sixty chests of dollars, only twelve could be brought away ; so suddenly did the ship go down after the leak increased. The Britannia had drifted about seven miles from the rocks, and sunk in deep water.

The Leda frigate was employed during this time in sending her boats to the rocks, to save the people they discovered on a sandy island among those rocks, and so completely surrounded by them, that they could only find one opening, or small cove, for the boats to approach. From this they took off the crew of the King George transport, and the artillery troops that had been embarked therein, except general Yorke, of the Royal Artillery, who was the only person drowned in attempting to get on shore, and one artilleryman, who had been seen safe on shore after the ship struck, and was supposed to have found some spirits, got drunk, and fell from the rocks, as he could no where be found on them.

The King George run on shore almost instantly, as some person called out, " Breakers a-head !" a little before four o'clock in the morning, after the moon had set. The darkness, and the spray of the breakers, prevented their seeing any spot on which they could place a hope of safety.

They, however, as soon as they could get the first gun off, which had got its charge somewhat wet or damp, fired several guns of distress, hoisted their boats out under the lee, and sent them off from the ship, to discover if there was any chance of a place to save themselves, waiting with good order for day. At dawn they discovered at some little distance, one place larger than the other rocks, high and dry. The boats, except the jolly-boat, whose crew had secured their own safety by pulling to another ship, returning about the same time, and stating, that if all hands quitted the ship (which must soon go to pieces), and get on the small rocks nearly under the spritsail yard, the boats could take them from thence to the larger one ; which was immediately

set about, sending the women and children among the first, by slinging them under the arms with a rope, and another rope to haul them to the rock. The general, being the oldest man on board, they wished to do the same with him, which he indignantly refused: he therefore went to the sprit-sail yard, to get on the rock like others, and most probably he found this, to a landsman, a task of more difficulty than he was aware of; and one of the gunners of his corps, perceiving his situation, again expressed a wish to sling him with a rope, to ensure his safety, which, however, he would not suffer: he some time after remained on the yard, unresolved to venture down, which obliged the few remaining behind him to let themselves down from the jib-boom; and at last the general either let himself down, or lost his hold, fell just within the surf, had not strength to hold by the rock against the returning wave, and disappeared under the ship's bow for ever!

The loss of the general seems the more unfortunate, as being the only individual who perished; even a woman, who had been delivered of a child not more than three or four hours, was removed from her bed with her infant, and were both taken on board the *Leda* in safety, notwithstanding her apparent danger.

A man also who had broken his leg two days before, was got safe on shore, without injuring the new-set limb. About 8 A. M. or soon after, the ship went to pieces, and neither the officers, or any other person, could save any effects. Some casks were washed on shore after the ship broke up. On the shore were three anchors laid across each other, without stocks, and near them part of the wreck of a large ship; both of which appeared as if they had been there a very long time: they also saw the skeleton of a large turtle; found no water; but saw several spots of coarse rushes growing on the low parts of the sandy island.

CHAP. VII.

Sail for Rio Janeiro—Arrival there—Description of that City and the Environs—Particular Account of the Diamond Mines.

HAVING completed our water and provisions, and got in a new bowsprit, we sailed on Monday the 25th of November, with dispatches for Rio Janeiro, leaving all the fleet nearly ready for sea.

Nothing worthy of remark occurred on the passage until Sunday the 1st of December, when we made Cape Frio; but being deceived by their great similarity, were nearly embayed in consequence of mistaking the island of Danco-ran for the above cape. On Monday the 2d, we were in latitude $23^{\circ} 32''$ South, the high land over Rio Janeiro bearing N.W. by W. about ten or twelve leagues distant.

On Tuesday the 3d, at five in the afternoon, we entered the harbour of Rio Janeiro, and were hailed from the fort of Santa Cruz, desiring us to anchor under the guns of the fort, which mandate, about ten minutes after, was enforced by a gun. We came to in twelve fathoms, with the following bearings: Santa Cruz S. S. E.; Sugar Loaf S. S. W.; Isle of Cobras N. W.

Rio de Janeiro, a city of South America, capital of a jurisdiction, and the present capital of Brazil, situated on a river of the same name, lies in latitude $22^{\circ} 54'$ South, and longitude $42^{\circ} 43'$ West from Greenwich.

Rio de Janeiro, or the River of Januarius, was probably so called from its having been discovered on the feast of that saint; and the town, which is the capital of the Portuguese dominions in America, derives its name from the river, which, indeed, is rather an arm of the sea, for it does not appear to receive any considerable stream of fresh water: it stands on a plain, close to the shore, on the west side of the bay, at the foot of several high mountains. It is tolerably well designed and built: the houses in general are of stone, and two stories high, every house having, after the manner of the Portuguese, a verandah. Its circuit, captain Cook estimated at about three miles; for it appears to be equal in size to the largest county towns in England. The streets are straight, and of a convenient breadth, intersecting each

other at right angles; the greater part, however, lie in a line with the citadel, called St. Sebastian, which stands on the top of a hill that commands the town. It is supplied with water from the neighbouring hills, by an aqueduct, which is raised upon two stories of arches, and is said in some places to be at a great height from the ground, from which the water is conveyed by pipes into a fountain in the great square that exactly fronts the viceroy's palace. The water at this fountain, however, is so bad, that captain Cook's company, who had been two months at sea confined to that in casks, which was almost always foul, could not drink it with pleasure. Water of a better quality is laid into some other parts of the town. The churches are very fine; and there is more religious parade in this place, than in any of the popish countries in Europe; there is a procession of some parish every day, with various insignia, all splendid and costly in the highest degree. They beg money, and say prayers in great form at the corner of every street. The government here, as to its form, is mixed; it is notwithstanding very despotic in fact; it consists of the viceroy, the governor of the town, and a council. Without the consent of this council, in which the viceroy has a casting vote, no judicial act should be performed, yet both the viceroy and governor frequently commit persons to prison at their own pleasure, and sometimes send them to Lisbon, without acquainting their friends or family with what is laid to their charge, or where they may be found. To restrain the people from travelling into the country, and getting into any district where gold and diamonds may be found, of both which there is much more than the government can otherwise secure, certain bounds are prescribed them at the discretion of the viceroy, sometimes at a few, and sometimes at many miles distance from the city. The inhabitants, who are very numerous, consist of Portuguese, negroes, and Indians, the original natives of the country. The township of Rio, which is but a small part of the capitanea or province, is said to contain 37,000 white persons, and 629,000 blacks, many of whom are free, making together 666,000. The military establishment here consists of twelve regiments of regular troops, six of which are Portuguese, and six creoles, and twelve other regiments of provincial militia. It is generally allowed, that the women, both of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in South America, make less scruple of granting personal favours, than those of any other civilized country in the world.

Murders are frequently committed here; but the churches afford an asylum to the criminal. The country round the town is beautiful in the highest degree, the wildest spots being varied with a greater luxuriance of flowers, both as to number and beauty, than the best gardens in England. Upon the trees and bushes sit an almost endless variety of birds, especially small ones, many of them covered with the most elegant plumage, among which was the humming bird. Of insects too there was a great variety, and some of them very beautiful; but they were much more nimble than those of Europe, especially the butterflies, most of which flew near the tops of the trees, and were therefore very difficult to be caught, except when the sea breeze blew fresh, which kept them nearer to the ground.

There is the appearance of but little cultivation, the greater part of the land is wholly uncultivated, and very little care and labour seem to have been bestowed upon the rest; there are, indeed, little patches of gardens, in which many kinds of European garden-stuff are produced, particularly cabbages, pease, beans, kidney-beans, turnips, and white radishes, but all much inferior to our own: water-melons and pine apples are also produced in these spots, and they are the only fruits we saw cultivated, though the country produces musk-melons, oranges, lemons, sweet lemons, citrons, plantains, bananas, mangos, mamane apples, acajou or cashou apples, and nuts, jamboira of two kinds, one of which bears a small black fruit, cocoa nuts, palm nuts of two kinds, one long, the other round, and palm berries; of these fruits the water-melons and oranges are the best in their kind: the pine apples are much inferior to those in England, they are indeed more juicy and sweet, but have no flavour. The melons are mealy and insipid, but the water-melons are excellent; they have a flavour, at least a degree of acidity, which the English have not: there are also several species of the prickly-pear, and some European fruits, particularly the apple and peach, both which were mealy and insipid. In these gardens also grow yams and manioc, which in the West Indies is called cassada or cassava. The soil, though it produces tobacco and sugar, will not produce bread corn; so that the people here have no wheat-flour but what is brought from Portugal, and sold at the rate of 1s. a pound, though it is generally spoiled by being heated in its passage. As to manufactures, captain Cook neither saw nor heard of any, except that of cotton hammocks, in which people are carried about here as they

are with us in sedan chairs; and these are principally, if not wholly, fabricated by the Indians: The riches of the place consist chiefly in the mines, which lie far up the country. Much gold is certainly brought from these mines, but at an expence of life that must strike every man to whom custom has not made it familiar with horror: no less than 40,000 negroes are annually imported on the king's account, to work the mines. The mines which are called General, are nearest to the city, being about 225 miles distant. They annually bring unto the king for his fifth part at least 112 arrobas of gold; in 1762 they brought in 119. Under the government of the General Mines, are comprehended those of Rio das Mortes, of Sabara, and of Sero Frio. The last place, besides gold, produces all the diamonds that come from the Brazils: they are in the bed of a river, which is led aside, in order afterwards to separate the diamonds, topazes, chrysolites, and other stones of inferior goodness, from the pebbles among which they lie. All these stones, diamonds excepted, are not contraband, they belong to the possessors of the mines; but they are obliged to give a very exact account of the diamonds they find, and to put them into the hands of a surveyor whom the king appoints for this purpose: the surveyor immediately deposits them in a little casket covered with plates of iron, and locked up by three locks; he has one of the keys, the viceroy another, and the provador de hazienda reale, the third. This casket is enclosed in another, on which are the seals of the three persons above mentioned, and which contains the three keys to the first. The viceroy is not allowed to view its contents; he only places the whole in a third coffer, which he sends to Lisbon, after putting his seal on it. It is opened in the king's presence, he chooses the diamonds which he likes out of it, and pays their price to the possessors of the mines, according to a tariff settled in their charter. The possessors of the mines pay the value of a Spanish piastre or dollar per day, to his most faithful majesty for every slave sent out to seek diamonds: the number of these slaves amounts to eight hundred. Of all the contraband trades, that of diamonds is most severely punished. If the smuggler is poor, he loses his life; if his riches are sufficient to satisfy what the law exacts, besides the confiscation of the diamonds he is condemned to pay double their value, to be imprisoned for one year, and then exiled for life to the coast of Africa. Notwithstanding this severity, the smuggling trade with diamonds, even of the most beautiful kind, is very extensive, so great is the hope and facility

of hiding them, on account of the little room they take up. All the gold which is got out of the mines cannot be sent to Rio Janeiro, without being previously brought into the houses established in each district where the part belonging to the crown is taken. What belongs to private persons is returned to them in wedges, with their weight, their number, and the king's arms stamped upon them. All this gold is assayed by a person appointed for that purpose; and on each wedge or ingot the alloy of the gold is marked, that it may afterwards be easy to bring them all to the same alloy for the coinage. These ingots belonging to private persons are registered in the office of Prayburia, ninety miles from Rio Janeiro.

At this place is a captain, a lieutenant, and fifty men; there the tax of one-fifth part is paid, and further, a poll-tax of a real and a half per head of men, cattle, and beasts of burden. One half of the produce of this tax goes to the king, and the other is divided among the detachment, according to their rank. As it is impossible to come back from the mines without passing by this station, the soldiers always stop the passengers, and search them with the utmost rigour.

The private people are then obliged to bring all the ingots of gold which fall to their share, to the mines at Rio Janeiro, where they get the value of it in cash; this commonly consists of demi-doubloons, worth eight Spanish dollars. Upon each demi-doubloon the king gets a piastre or dollar for the alloy, and for the coinage. The mint at Rio Janeiro is one of the finest buildings existing: it is furnished with all the conveniences necessary towards working with the greatest expedition. As the gold comes from the mines at the time that the fleets come from Portugal, the coinage must be accelerated, and indeed they coin there with amazing quickness. The arrival of these fleets, especially of that from Lisbon, renders the commerce flourishing: the fleet from Oporto is laden only with wines, brandy, vinegar, victuals, and some coarse cloth, manufactured in and about that town.

As soon as the fleets arrive, all the goods they bring are conveyed to the custom-house, where they pay a duty of ten per cent. to the king. It must be observed, that the communication between the colony of Saint Sacramento and Buenos Ayres, being entirely cut off at present, that duty must be considerably lessened; for the greatest part of the most precious merchandizes which arrived from Europe, was

sent from Rio Janeiro to that colony, from whence they were smuggled through Buenos Ayres to Peru and Chili; and this contraband trade was worth a million and a half of piastres annually to the Portuguese: in short, the mines of the Brazils produce no silver, and all that the Portuguese got came from the smuggling trade. The negro trade was another immense object.

The loss which the almost entire suppression of this branch of contraband trade occasions, cannot be calculated: this branch alone employed at least thirty coasting vessels between the Brazils and the river La Plata. All the expences of the king of Portugal at Rio Janeiro, for the payment of the troops and civil officers, the carrying on of the mines, keeping the public buildings in repair, and refitting of ships, amount to about 600,000 piastres; not mentioning the expence he must be at in constructing ships of the line and frigates, lately begun here. The amount of the king's revenue, taken at a medium, may be the fifth of 150 arrobas of gold, 1,125,000 dollars; duty on diamonds, 240,000; duty on coinage, 400,000; ten per cent. customs, 350,000; two and a half per cent. free gift, 87,000; poll-tax, sale of offices, and other products of the mines, 225,000; duty on negroes, 110,000; duty on train oil, salt, soap, and the tenth on provisions, 130,000: in the whole 2,667,000 dollars. From which, if you deduct the expences, the whole of the king of Portugal's revenues from Rio Janeiro, amount to about 450,000*l.* sterling. The harbour of Rio Janeiro is situated West by North eighteen leagues from Cape Frio, and maybe known by a remarkable hill, in the form of a sugar loaf, at the west point of the bay; but as all the coast is very high, and rises in many peaks, the entrance of this harbour may be more certainly distinguished by the islands that lie before it; one of which, called Rodonda, is high and round, like a haystack, and lies at the distance of seven miles from the entrance of the bay, in the direction of South by West; but the first islands which are met with coming from the east of Cape Frio, are two that have rocky appearances, lying near to each other, and at the distance of about four miles from the shore. There are also, at the distance of nine miles to the westward of these, two other islands which lie near to each other, a little without the bay on the east side, and very near the shore. This harbour is certainly a good one, the entrance, indeed, is not wide, but the sea breeze, which blows every day from ten or twelve o'clock till sunset, makes it easy for any ship to go in before the wind, and

it grows wider as the town is approached, so that abreast of it there is room for the largest fleet, in five or six fathoms water, with an oozy bottom. At the narrow part, the entrance is defended by two forts. The river, and indeed the whole coast, abounds with a great variety of fish. Though the climate is hot, the situation of this place is certainly wholesome. "Upon the whole," says captain Cook, "Rio de Janeiro is a very good place for ships to put in at that want refreshment; the harbour is safe and commodious; and provisions, except wheaten-bread and flour, may be easily procured: as a succedaneum for bread, there are yams and casada in plenty; beef both fresh and jerked, may be bought at about two-pence farthing a pound, though it is very lean. Mutton is scarcely to be procured, and hogs and poultry are dear: of garden-stuff and fruit there is abundance, of which however, none can be preserved at sea but the pumpkin. Rum, sugar, and molasses, all excellent in their kind, may be had at a reasonable price; tobacco also is cheap, but it is not good.

Here is a yard for building shipping, and a small hulk to heave down by, for, as the tide never rises above six or seven feet, there is no other way of coming at a ship's bottom.

CHAP. VIII.

Leave Rio Janeiro—An unexpected Rencontre with a Whale—Account of that Fish, and the various Modes of catching it—Rise and Progress of the Fishery—Fall in with the Wreck of a Ship.

THE commander immediately waited on the viceroy, and having completed our water, we sailed again the following day. On Thursday the 5th, caught a fine dolphin. Until Saturday the 21st nothing remarkable happened; but being then in latitude $36^{\circ} 38'$ South, and longitude $20^{\circ} 14'$ West from London, about 3 P. M. every person on board was alarmed by a sudden and violent shock, which was almost immediately followed by a second. A man who was then looking out on the fore-castle called out, "a rock under the bows!"

This rock, however, very fortunately for all of us, proved to be a large whale, who was probably asleep on the surface when the brig struck him; and so much stunned from the effects of the first blow, that he could not disengage himself before he received a second stroke. As he passed astern, and to leeward, he raised himself partly out of the water, making a noise similar to an elephant, when enraged. Whales and porpoises were now seen daily.

Having had occasion to mention a very singular instance of the strength and magnitude of a fish not generally known; it is hoped that the following account of it, and the mode of catching it, may afford information to some readers, and entertainment to many.

The whale is said sometimes to grow to the length of a hundred feet; though it is commonly found from forty to seventy. The eyes are remarkably small; but the head is of a prodigious size, forming nearly one-third of the animal; and when the jaws are extended, the creature exposes a most enormous and terrific cavity; in which is placed a tongue eighteen or twenty feet in length; and capable of yielding five or six barrels of oil. A double pipe is situated on the head, through which the whale spouts water to a great height in the air.

It is supposed to feed upon the different kinds of marine worms, and likewise on sea-weeds. For the purpose of collecting these different sorts of nourishment, there is in the upper jaw, a number of horned laminae, split into small divisions, which is that strong and pliant substance commonly known by the name of whalebone. There are about three hundred and fifty of these laminae on each side of the jaw; five hundred of which are long enough for use.

These animals, though all of them are inoffensive, and one species of them absolutely toothless, have, notwithstanding, their enemies; for independent of man, who excited by avarice, ventures his life in the pursuit, they have a terrible foe to contend with in the sword-fish, which torments them without mercy. Mr. Anderson assures us, that at the sight of this little animal the whale seems agitated in an extraordinary manner, leaping from the water as if with affright; wherever it appears the whale perceives it at a distance, and flies from it in the opposite direction.

“I have been myself,” says Mr. Anderson, “a spectator of their terrible encounter. The whale has no instrument of defence, except the tail: with that it endeavours to strike the enemy; and a single blow taking place would effectually de-

stroy its adversary ; but the sword-fish is as active as the other is strong, and easily avoids the stroke : then bounding into the air, it falls upon its great subjacent enemy, and endeavours to pierce it with its pointed beak.

“The surrounding sea is seen dyed with blood, proceeding from the wounds of the whale, while the enormous animal vainly endeavours to reach its invader, and strikes with its tail against the surface of the water, making a report at each blow louder than the noise of a cannon.”

The tail is of an amazing size, and of a semilunar shape ; the animal uses it with great effect in accelerating the motion of its enormous body ; which notwithstanding its bulk, passes through the water with great rapidity, and leaves behind it a track like that made by a large ship.

A strong instance of the affection of these creatures for each other, is related by Anderson. A party of whale-fishers having harpooned one of two whales, (a male and female, that were in company together), the wounded fish made a long and terrible resistance ; it struck down a boat with three men in it, with a single blow of the tail, by which all went to the bottom. The other still attended his companion, and lent it every assistance, till at last, the fish that was struck sunk under the number of its wounds ; while its faithful associate, disdaining to survive the loss, with great bellowing, stretched itself upon the dead fish, and shared his fate. After the female whale has gone with young nine or ten months, she produces her cub, which is of a black colour, and about ten feet long : she is said to grow fat towards the end of her pregnancy, and occasionally brings forth two at a time, but never more ; she suckles her offspring at her breast, for which purpose she inclines on one side, while the young one fastens to the teat ; the breasts are filled with a large quantity of milk, like those of land animals ; she shews the greatest tenderness and affection for her young, and carries it with her at all times, supporting it between her fins when closely pursued, and plunging with it to the bottom, in order to avoid the danger : even when wounded, she continues her attachment, and clasps her young one till she is no longer able to support it : during the time the young continues at the breast, which is about a twelvemonth, the sailors call them short-heads ; when two years old, they are termed stunts, and from that time forward skull-fish. The short-heads are extremely fat, and will sometimes yield 50 barrels of blubber ; but after they become stunts, their fat diminishes, and they scarcely yield 24 barrels.

When the Greenlanders proceed to catch a whale, they

are careful to dress themselves in their best apparel, from a ridiculous notion, that the whale detests a slovenly person, and would immediately avoid them if they were not neatly clad. In this manner a number of men and women, sometimes amounting to more than 50, set out together in one of their large boats; the women upon these occasions, carry with them their sewing implements, which are equally employed to mend their husbands' clothes, if they should be torn, or to repair the boat, if it should receive any damage in the seams.

When a whale makes its appearance on the water, the most vigorous fisherman strikes into it a harpoon, which is a sort of javelin, well steeled at one extremity, and five or six feet long; to this are fastened lines or straps, made of seal's skin, two or three fathoms in length, and having at the end a bag of whole seal's skin blown up: this tends in some measure to prevent the whale from sinking, and almost compels it to keep near the surface of the water; where it is constantly attacked by the people in the boat, till it is killed.

As soon as the animal is dead, they put on their spring jackets, made all in one piece, of a dressed seal's skin; with their boots, gloves, and caps, which are fitted so tightly to each other, that no water can penetrate them: in this garb they plunge into the sea, and begin to slice off the fat all round the whale's body, even from those parts that are under water; this they can do by the help of their spring jackets, which being full of air, prevents their sinking under water, and at the same time enable them to keep themselves upright in the sea. These men are sometimes daring enough to mount on the back of a whale before he is quite dead, and begin to cut him in pieces.

The manner in which the whale fishery is carried on by the Europeans is thus described: when the ships employed in this business, are arrived at the place where the whales are expected to pass, they always keep their sails set, and a sailor is placed at the mast-head, to give the information when he sees a whale. As soon as one is discovered, the whole crew are instantly in employment: they fit out their boats, and row away to the spot where the whale was seen; the harpooner, who is to strike the fish, stands at the prow of the boat, with one of these instruments in his hand, which is about six feet long, and pointed with steel, like the barb of an arrow, of a triangular shape. Besides the harpooner, each boat has one man at the rudder, another to manage the line, and four seamen as rowers.

They are likewise provided with several lances, and six lines, each 120 fathoms long, fastened together.

When the man at the prow strikes his harpoon into the animal, it immediately darts towards the bottom, and carries off the harpoon with such rapidity, that were the lines to receive the least check in its passage, the boat would infallibly be upset; to prevent this, it is coiled up with the greatest care, and a man is stationed expressly to attend to the line, that it may pass without interruption. Another precaution is likewise highly necessary; the rope is made to run over a swivel at the edge of the boat, and the friction occasioned by its swift motion is so great, that the wood would soon take fire, if a person did not constantly keep it wetted. When the whale returns to the surface, he is again attacked, and once more retreats in the same manner; this is continued till he becomes faint with the loss of blood, when they venture to row close alongside, and plunge a lance into his breast, and through his intestines, which soon decides his fate, and the enormous animal expires. As soon as the carcass begins to float, it is towed to the ship by ropes, passed through holes cut for that purpose, in the fins and tail.

When the body has been properly secured to the side of the ship, they proceed to take out the blubber and whale-bone, after cutting off the tail, which is hoisted upon deck. It is proper to observe, that the persons who are employed in this operation, are furnished with a sort of iron spurs, to prevent their slipping from off the animal. After the tail is separated, they cut out square pieces of blubber, weighing two or three thousand pounds each, which are likewise hoisted on board, where they are divided into smaller pieces, and thrown into the hold to drain; in this manner they proceed, till all the blubber is secured; after which they suffer what remains of the carcass to float away, having previously cut out the two upper jaw bones, which are considered as the captain's perquisite, and accordingly are fastened to the shrouds, where they discharge a considerable quantity of oil, which is caught in tubs placed under them for that purpose.

When the blubber has been three or four days in the hold, they chop it in small pieces, and put it into the casks through the bung-holes. A whale will yield from 30 to 70 butts of blubber, and will be worth from 400*l.* to a 1000*l.* What induces the men to exert themselves in the capture of these animals, is the premiums which their employers give, from the captain down to the men who row the boats, on every whale that is taken.

The fishery begins in May, and ends in August, when they must return at all events, on account of the ice, which would otherwise hem them in. When they have made a prosperous voyage, they return in June or July; and a ship of 300 tons burthen, when full of blubber, will produce more than 5000%.

It appears from Mr. Anderson's account, that the Dutch, during the space of forty-six years previous to the year 1721, had employed 5886 ships in this fishery, and caught 32,907 whales; which, valued on an average at 500% each, will amount to above 16,000,000% sterling.

The flesh and fat of the whale are eaten by many of the northern nations, and considered as a delicacy. However, we are not much inclined to agree with them, but rather abide by the opinion of Frederick Martens, who in his voyage to Spitsbergen, says that it is as coarse and hard as the flesh of a bull. It is intermixed with many sinews, and is very dry and lean when boiled, as the fat is only to be found between the flesh and the skin. The flesh about the tail is preferred for boiling, not being quite so dry as the rest of the body.

"When we have a mind to eat of a whale," says Martens, "we cut great pieces off before the tail, where it is four feet square, and boil it like other meat. Good beef I prefer far before it; yet rather than be starved, I advise to eat whale's flesh; for none of our men died of it, and the Frenchmen did eat it almost daily, flinging it on the tops of their tubs, and letting it lie till it was black, and yet eating it in that condition."

Among the Kamtschatkans, the fat of the whale was considered as a first-rate delicacy, and forced down the throat of the visitor with a savage officiousness that would not admit of a refusal.

This beastly hospitality is now become obsolete. Formerly, as a mark of respect to a guest, the host set before him as much food as would serve ten people. Both were stripped naked. The host refused politely to touch a bit, but compelled his friend to devour what was set before him, till he was quite gorged, and at the same time heated the place by incessantly pouring water on hot stones till it became insupportable. When the guest was crammed up to the throat, the generous landlord, on his knees, stuffed into his mouth a great slice of whale's fat, cut off what hung out, and cried in a surly tone, "Thana!" or "There!" by which he fully discharged his duty; and, between heat-

ing and cramming, obliged the poor guest to cry for mercy, and a release from the danger of being choked by the suffocating welcome which he derived from savage hospitality.

The first account of the whale fishery is in the voyages of Outher, a Norwegian, A. D. 871, whose progress, preserved by Alfred, appears to have been along the coast of Lapland to the White Sea, where Archangel now stands. From his relation we learn, that the northern people were accustomed to catch whales and seals (unquestionably for their oil), of the skins of which they made ropes of all sizes; and also horse whales, whose skins they applied to the same purpose. In 1390, this fishery was practised by the people of Biscay. In 1593, it is observed by Hakluyt, that some English ships made a voyage to Cape Breton, the entrance of the bay of St. Lawrence, which is the first time that place is mentioned as a fishing station; and although they found no whales there, they discovered on the island 800 whale fins, part of the cargo of a Biscay ship lost three years before. This is also the first time that whale fins or whale-bone is mentioned by the English. In the northern seas we became, about this period, acquainted with the whale fishery, in consequence of hunting for morses, as they were then termed. In the year 1597, the English having, in pursuit of their voyages of discovery, become acquainted with those boisterous latitudes, some of the Russian company commenced a fishery for whales near Spitsbergen, which was at first attended with success, but in a few years declined, so that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, only one ship was employed in it. In the year 1669 we find the trade a little revived, in consequence of the adventurous voyage of captain Jonas Poole, who sailed as far north as $78^{\circ}43'$, in the hope of finding a N. W. passage; but though he missed that, he found whales in abundance, which turned out a much more profitable speculation.

Antecedent to the year 1615, the whale fishery, by means of Biscayan whalers, was prosecuted by the English East India Company, and the disputes betwixt the English and Dutch on this ground, or rather on this water, have been amply recorded. In the year 1669, the fishery of the latter was much increased by the abolition of a monopolizing company. It was then found that we had stood in our own light, therefore in 1672 the strictness of the Navigation Act was relaxed, and a company established in London in favour of the fishery. This company, though exempt from duty, was so unsuccessful, that by the year 1696 they had annihilated.

lated their capital; the fishery was therefore thrown open by parliament, and as it was found both in a commercial and political point of view, of the utmost national importance, it was through the last century fostered and encouraged by judicious bounties, and put in possession of every advantage that government could bestow upon it; the consequence of this has been, that it has increased, and with it have increased the comfort and security of the inhabitants of this united kingdom, insomuch, that from the Greenland fishery is derived the light that guides our steps, and the marine strength that guards our coast, and renders the cool intrepidity of our sailors at once proverbial in this country, and terrific to the rest of the world.

On Monday the 23d, we were in latitude $36^{\circ} 41'$ S. longitude, 14° W., and being near the island of Tristan de Acunha, kept a good look out for it, but the weather was uncommonly foggy and hazy, night and day. This morning at nine we passed a very large wreck, being apparently part of the topsides and timbers of some ill-fated ship, the whole of whose crew were in all probability engulfed in the unfathomable deep, or else sinking under the accumulated horrors of hunger, thirst, and cold, on the bleak and barren rocks of Tristan de Acunha, an island as desolate in reality as in appearance.

On Saturday the 28th, we were in $3^{\circ} 18'$ W. by lunar observation.

CHAP. IX.

Arrive at the Cape of Good Hope—Transactions there—Account of the Cape Town and its Vicinity—Climate—Country of the Hottentots—Its natural Productions—Manners and Customs of the Natives.

ON Saturday the 4th of January, 1806, at 5 P.M. we had the satisfaction of seeing the Cape of Good Hope, bearing E. by N. distant about 14 leagues.

The following day it blew very hard from the westward, with a heavy sea, and we stood to the northward; the Table Land bearing at noon E. S. E. 10 leagues distant.

On Monday morning, at daylight, the weather being moderate, we made sail, and stood in to reconnoitre the Table Bay. At eight, being within signal distance from the Sugar Loaf, and Lion's Rump, we hoisted American colours. At nine saw a strange sail bearing west, and gave chase, finding that no signals were made to us from the shore. At twenty minutes past nine, saw several ships at anchor under the Blue Hills, near Lospord's Bay. At thirty minutes past nine, observed some of them to weigh, and stand along shore, in different directions. At forty-two minutes past nine, the ships under weigh began a cannonade, seemingly directed against the beach. We immediately wore and stood in to reconnoitre them, under all sail; at the same time clearing for action. At ten, the firing ceased. At thirty minutes past ten, could distinguish them to be the squadron we had left at Salvador, with the exception of the *Diomede* and *Espoir*, which had been detached to cover the landing of the light horse, and a large body of infantry, in Saldanha Bay, and the *Narcissus* frigate, which had not yet joined the fleet. At eleven, showed our number, and at noon spoke the commodore.

From this period until the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope to the British forces on the 8th of January, 1806, the proceedings of the Protector became so immediately connected with those of the squadron (which are published) as to render any further detail unnecessary.

It therefore only remains to give a short description of the Cape Town and the adjacent country, its most remarkable productions, and of the manners and customs of that singular race, the Hottentots.

The Cape Town, situated in Table Bay, is neat, clean, and well built, rising in the midst of a desert, surrounded by black and dreary mountains; or, in other words, the picture of successful industry. The store-houses of the Dutch East India Company are situated next the water, and the private buildings lie beyond them, on a gentle ascent. The principal fort which commands the road is on the east side; and another strong fort called Amsterdam Fort, has been built on the west side. The streets are broad and regular, intersecting each other at right angles. The houses in general are built of stone, and whitewashed. There are two churches, one for the Calvinists, the established religion, the other for the Lutherans. The religion of the slaves is as little regarded here as in the colonies of other European states. In other respects, however, they are treated with humanity, and are

lodged and boarded in a spacious house, where they are likewise kept at work. These slaves, a few Hottentots excepted, were all originally brought from the East Indies, and principally from Malacca. Another great building serves as an hospital for the sailors belonging to the Dutch East India ships which touch here. It is situated close to the Company's gardens. It is an honour to that commercial body, and an ornament to the town. The convalescents have free access to these gardens, where they enjoy the benefit of a pure wholesome air, perfumed by the fragrance of a great number of rich fruit trees, aromatic shrubs, and odoriferous plants and flowers: they have likewise the use of every production in it. The inhabitants are fond of gardens, which they keep in excellent order. Though stout and athletic, they have not all that phlegm about them which is the characteristic of the Dutch in general. The ladies are lively, good natured, familiar, and gay. The heavy draught-work about the Cape is chiefly performed by oxen, which are here brought to an uncommon degree of docility and usefulness. The inhabitants, in general, travel in a kind of covered wag-gons, drawn by oxen, which better suits the roughness of the country than more elegant vehicles; but the governor, and some of the principal people keep coaches, which are much in the English style, and are drawn by six horses. The ground behind the town gradually rises on all sides toward the mountains, called the Table Mountain, (which is the highest;) the Sugar Loaf, so named from its form; the Lion's Head; Charles Mount, and James Mount, or the Lion's Rump. From these mountains descend several rivulets which fall into the different bays, as Table Bay, False Bay, &c. The view from the Table Mountain is very extensive and picturesque; and among the vallies and rivulets throughout these mountains, are a great number of delightful plantations.

The adjacent country is inhabited by the Hottentots, extending North and by West, along the coast, from the Cape of Good Hope, beyond the mouth of Orange River, and from that Cape in an E. N. E. direction, to the mouth of the Great Fish River, which parts it from Caffraria. The Hottentots are as tall as most Europeans; but as they are more stinted in their food, they are more slender. Dr. Sparrman was the first that observed a characteristic mark of this nation, namely, the smallness of their hands and feet compared with the other parts of the body. Their skin is of a yellowish brown hue, resembling that of an European who has the jaundice in a high degree; but this colour is not at all

observed in the whites of the eyes. There are not such thick lips among the Hottentots as among their neighbours the Negroes, the Caffres, and the Mozambiques. Their mouth is of the middling size; and they have in general, the finest set of teeth imaginable. Their heads are covered with hair, more woolly if possible, than that of the Negroes. In fine, with respect to their shape, carriage, and every motion, their whole appearance indicates health and content. In their mien, moreover, a degree of carelessness is observable, that evinces marks of alacrity and resolution; qualities which upon occasion, they certainly can exhibit. Not only the men but the women also are clothed with sheep-skins; the wool being worn outward in summer, and inward during the winter. They wear one skin over their shoulders, the ends of it crossing each other before, and leaving their neck bare. Another skin is fastened round their middle, and reaches down to their knees.

They besmear their bodies all over, very copiously, with fat, in which there is mixed up a little soot, and this is never wiped off. They likewise perfume themselves with powder of herbs, with which they powder both the head and body, rubbing it all over them, when they besmear themselves. The odour of this powder much resembles poppy mixed with spices. Such of the women, moreover, as are ambitious to please, adorn themselves with necklaces of shells: "for even in this country, says the abbé de la Caille, "the sex have their charms, which they endeavour to heighten by such arts as are peculiar to themselves, and would meet with little success elsewhere. To this end, they not only grease all the naked parts of their body to make them shine, but they braid or plait their hair as an additional elegance. A Hottentot lady, thus bedizened, has exhausted all the arts of her toilet; and however unfavourable nature may have been to her, with regard to shape and stature, her pride is wonderfully flattered, while the splendour of her appearance gives her the highest degree of satisfaction. But with all this vanity, they are not devoid of a sense of modesty. "Among the Hottentots," says Dr. Sparrman, "as well as, in all probability, among the rest of mankind dispersed over the whole globe, we must acknowledge the fair sex to be the most modest; for the females of this nation cover themselves much more scrupulously than the men. They seldom content themselves with one covering, but almost always have two, and very often three. These are made of a prepared and well-greased skin, and are fastened about their bodies with a thong, almost like

the aprons of our ladies. The outermost is always the largest, measuring from about six inches to a foot, over. This is likewise generally, the finest and most showy, and frequently adorned with glass-beads strung in different figures, in a manner that shows, even among the unpolished Hottentots, the superior neatness of the fair sex in works of ornament, as well as their powers of invention; and their disposition to set off their persons to the best advantage." Both the men and women generally go bare-headed. Neither their ears nor nose are adorned with any pendent ornaments, as they are among other savages. The nose, however, is sometimes, by way of greater state, marked with a black streak of soot, or with a large spot of red lead; of which latter, on high days and holidays, they likewise put a little on their cheeks. Both sexes wear rings on their arms and legs; most of these are made of thick leather straps, cut in a circular shape, and these have given rise to the almost universally received notion, that the Hottentots wrap guts about their legs, in order to eat them occasionally. Rings of iron, copper, or brass, of the size of a goose-quill, are considered as more genteel than those of leather; but the girls are not allowed to use any rings till they are marriageable.

The Hottentots seldom wear any shoes. What they do wear, are made of undressed leather, with the hairy side outward: they are rendered soft and pliable, by being beat and moistened, and are very light and cool. Their habitations are adapted to their wandering pastoral life. They are merely huts, some of them of a circular, and some of an oblong shape, resembling a round bee-hive or a vault. The ground plot is from eighteen to twenty-four feet in diameter. The highest of them are so low, that it is scarcely possible for a middle-sized man to stand upright. But neither the lowness of the hut, nor that of the door, which is barely three feet high, can be considered as any inconvenience to a Hottentot, who finds no difficulty in stooping and crawling on all fours, and who is at any time more inclined to lie down than stand. The fire-place is in the middle, and they sit or lie round it in a circle. The low door is the only place that admits the light, and at the same time, the only outlet that is left for the smoke. The Hottentot, inured to it from his infancy, sees it hover round him, without feeling the least inconvenience arising from it to his eyes; while rolled up like a hedge-hog, and wrapped up in his skin, he lies at the bottom of his hut quite at his ease in the midst of this cloud, except that he is now and then obliged to peep out

from beneath his sheep-skin, in order to stir the fire, or perhaps to light his pipe, or else, sometimes to turn the steak he is broiling over the coal. The order of these huts in a craal, or clan, is most frequently in the form of a circle, with the doors inward; by which means a kind of yard is formed, where the cattle are kept at night. The milk, as soon as it is taken from the cow, is put to other milk, which is curdled, and is kept in a leather sack, the hairy side of which, being considered as the cleanest, is turned inward; so that the milk is never drank while it is sweet. Such are Hottentots in the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope.

Lieutenant Paterson, in 1778, visited a Hottentot village in the small Nimiqua Land, in the N.W. part of the country; it consisted of 19 huts, and about 150 inhabitants. The ensign of authority worn by their chief, was a cane with a brass top, given to him by the Dutch East India Company. The Hottentots amused them part of the night, with their music and dancing; their visitors in return, treated them with tobacco and daeka, or hemp leaves, which they prefer even to tobacco. Their music was produced from flutes, made of the bark of trees of different sizes. The men form themselves into a circle, with their flutes, and the women dance round them: in this manner they dance in parties the whole night, being relieved every two hours. Among other tribes of Hottentots are the Boshmans, who inhabit the mountains, in the interior part of the country; N. E. of the Cape of Good Hope: they are sworn enemies to the pastoral life: some of their maxims are to live on hunting and plunder, and never to keep any animal alive for the space of one night. On this account, they themselves are pursued and exterminated, like the wild beasts whose manners they have assumed. Some of them when taken are kept alive, and made slaves of. Their weapons are poisoned arrows, which, shot from a small bow, will hit a mark, with a tolerable degree of certainty, at the distance of 100 paces. From this distance they can with stealth, as it were, convey death to the game they hunt for food, as well as to their foes, and even to such a tremendous beast as the lion. Safe in his ambush, the Hottentot is certain of the operation of his poison, which is so virulent, that it is said he has only to wait a few minutes to see the beast expire. Their habitations are not more agreeable than their manners and maxims; like the wild beasts, bushes, and clefts in rocks, serve them by turns for dwellings. Many of them are entirely naked; but some of them cover their body with the skin of any sort of animal, great or small, from the shoulder downward as

far as it will reach, wearing it till it fall off their back in rags. As ignorant of agriculture as apes or monkies, they are obliged, like them, to wander over hills and dales after certain wild roots, berries, and plants, which they eat raw. Their table, however, is composed of several other dishes, among which are the larvæ of insects (the caterpillars, from which butterflies are produced), the terenites or white ants, grasshoppers, snakes and spiders. With all these changes of diet, the Boshman is, nevertheless, frequently in want, and to such a degree, as to waste almost to a shadow. When captured as a slave, he exchanges his meagre fare for the luxury of buttermilk, frumerty, or basty pudding, which makes him fat in a few weeks. This good living, however, is soon embittered by the grumbling of his master and mistress. The words "T'guzeri!" and "T'gumatsi!" which perhaps, are best translated by those of young sorcerer, and imp, he must frequently bear, with perhaps a few curses or blows, for neglect and indolence. Detesting, indeed, all manner of labour, and from his corpulency, become still more slothful, he now sensibly regrets his former untroubled and wandering life, which he generally endeavours to regain by escaping; but what is wonderful, whenever one of them effects his escape, he never takes any thing away that does not belong to him.

Another tribe of Hottentots, near the mouth of Orange River, were observed by lieutenant Paterson, in his journey to the N.W. in 1779. Their huts were superior to those of the generality of Hottentots; they were loftier, and thatched with grass; and were furnished with stools made of the back-bones of the grampus. Their mode of living is in the highest degree wretched, and they are apparently the most dirty of all the Hottentot tribes. Their dress is composed of the skins of seals and jackals, the flesh of which they eat. When a grampus is cast ashore, they remove their huts to the place, and subsist upon it as long as any part of it remains; and in this manner, it sometimes affords them sustenance for half a year, though in a great measure decayed and putrified by the sun. They smear their skins with oil, the odour of which is so powerful, that their approach may be perceived some time before they present themselves to view. They carry their water in the shells of ostrich eggs, and the bladders of seals, which they shoot with arrows, the same as the other Hottentots. With respect to the Hottentots in general, none of them seem to have any religion: on being questioned on the subject of a Creator and governor of the universe, they

answer, that they know nothing of the matter; nor do they appear willing to receive any instruction. All of them, however, have the firmest opinion in the power of magic; whence it might be inferred, that they believe in an evil being, analogous to what we call the devil; but they pay no religious worship to him, though from the source they derive all the evils that happen; and among these evils, they reckon cold, rain, and thunder. So monstrously ignorant are they, that many of the colonists assured Dr. Sparrman, that the Boshmans would abuse the thunder with many opprobrious epithets, and threaten to assault the lightning with old shoes, or any thing that comes to hand. Even the most intelligent of them could not be convinced, by all the arguments the doctor could use, that rain was not always an evil, and that it would be an happy circumstance, were it never to rain. They seem, however, to have some idea of a future state, as they reproach their friends when dead, with leaving them so soon, admonishing them to behave henceforth more properly, by which they mean, that their deceased friends should not come back again and haunt them, nor allow themselves to be made use of by wizards, to bring any mischief on those that survive. Some old authors have said, that the Hottentots sleep promiscuously in the same hut, and are neither acquainted with the difference of age, nor with that invincible horror which separates beings connected by blood. M. Vaillant, after observing that this circumstance had led some to the most infamous suspicions, exclaims, "Yes! the whole family inhabit the same hut; the father lies by the side of his daughter, and the mother by the son, but on the return of Aurora, each rises with a pure heart, and without having occasion to blush before the Author of all Beings, or any of the creatures that he has marked with the seal of his resemblance."

The country possessed by the Dutch is of pretty considerable extent, comprehending not only the large tract between Table Bay and False Bay, but that which is called Hottentot Holland, extending from False Bay to the Cabo dos Agulhas, or Cape of Needles, and the country farther East beyond St. Christopher's River, called Terra de Natal. The whole of this country is naturally barren and mountainous; but the industrious Dutch have overcome all natural difficulties, and it produces not only a sufficiency of all the necessaries of life for the inhabitants, but also for the refreshment of all the European ships that touch here. The Dutch consider the year as divided into two seasons, which they

term monsoons; the wet monsoon, or winter, and the dry one, or summer; the first begins with our spring in March, the latter with September, when our summer ends. In the bad season, the Cape is much subject to fogs: in June and July it rains almost continually till summer. The weather in winter is cold, raw, and unpleasant; but never more rigorous than autumn in Germany. Water never freezes to above the thickness of half-a-crown, and as soon as the sun appears, the ice is dissolved. The Cape is rarely visited by thunder and lightning, excepting a little near the turn of the season, which never does any hurt.

Among the quadrupeds of this country are antelopes, which go in herds of 200 or 300 each, buffaloes, cameleopardilises, the gemsbock, or chamois, a species of antelope, which has remarkably long sharp horns, and, when attacked by dogs, will set on its hind quarters and defend itself; wild dogs, much larger than the jackal, which travel in herds, and are very destructive to flocks of sheep; elephants, elks, hyænas, the koedo, an animal of a mouse colour, rather larger than our deer, with three white stripes over the back, and the male having very large twisted horns; lions, jackals, tigers, the quacha, a species of the zebra, but more tractable; rhinoceroses, horses, domestic horned cattle, common sheep, and a peculiar species of sheep, which are covered with hair instead of wool. The hippopotamus, or river horse, is frequently seen here. Among the birds, are vultures, ostriches, whose eggs are excellent food, and the loxia, a species of gregarious bird, which builds its curious nest in the mimosa tree, where it forms a kind of thatched house, with a regular street of nests on both sides, at about two inches distance from each other, and containing under its roof, in one that lieutenant Patterson saw, from 800 to 1000 birds. The termites, or white ants, which do no injury to the wood, as in the East Indies, but to the grass, the destruction of which they occasion by raising a number of hills, which impede the progress of vegetation. The Hottentots eat them, and lieutenant Patterson, who tasted this food, found it far from disagreeable. The locusts also are esteemed excellent food by the Boshmans, by whom they are dried and kept for use. The black or rock scorpion is nearly as venomous here as any of the serpent tribe, of which there are numerous kinds. There are six species about the Cape, namely, the horned snake, about eighteen inches long, the most poisonous of them all: the kouseband or garter snake, about the same length, dangerous to travellers on account of resembling the soil so much in colour,

that it is not readily perceived ; the yellow snake, which differs in colour only from the hooded snake of India, and being from four to eight feet in length, their size and bright yellow colour renders it easy to avoid them ; the puff adder, about 40 inches in length, so called from blowing itself up to near a foot in circumference ; the spring adder, very dangerous, but not common, from three to four feet long, and of a jet black, with white spots ; and the night snake, more beautiful than any of the others, about 20 inches long, very thin, belted with black, red, and yellow, and when near, at night has the appearance of fire. This country lies between the tropic of Capricorn and 35° south latitude, and is bounded on the west, south, and east, by the Atlantic, Southern, and Indian Ocean ; and on the north, by regions very little, if at all, explored.

THE END OF KEITH'S VOYAGE.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about 150 years old, and has not yet reached the age of maturity. This is a disadvantage, for it means that the country has not had time to develop a strong and stable government. The second is the fact that the United States is a large country. It covers a vast area of land, and has a large population. This is a disadvantage, for it means that the country has a great deal of territory to govern, and a large number of people to manage. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse country. It has many different races, religions, and languages. This is a disadvantage, for it means that the country has a great deal of internal conflict, and a great deal of difficulty in maintaining a united front.

There are, of course, many other disadvantages to being a young, large, and diverse nation. But these are the three most important. The first is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about 150 years old, and has not yet reached the age of maturity. This is a disadvantage, for it means that the country has not had time to develop a strong and stable government. The second is the fact that the United States is a large country. It covers a vast area of land, and has a large population. This is a disadvantage, for it means that the country has a great deal of territory to govern, and a large number of people to manage. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse country. It has many different races, religions, and languages. This is a disadvantage, for it means that the country has a great deal of internal conflict, and a great deal of difficulty in maintaining a united front.

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TRAVELS
THROUGH
DENMARK,
AND PART OF
SWEDEN,

DURING THE WINTER AND SPRING OF THE YEAR
1809:

CONTAINING
AUTHENTIC PARTICULARS OF THE DOMESTIC CONDITION
OF THOSE COUNTRIES, THE OPINIONS OF THE INHA-
BITANTS, AND THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE.

BY JAMES MACDONALD.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,
BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS,
BY B. McMILLAN, BOW STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1810.

Volume 112, Part 1, 1982

Edited by

Professor

of

University of

London

1982

Published by

Blackwell Scientific Publications

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN a letter to the Publisher, the Author of the following pages informs him, that his desultory Journal was written during a tour in the Spring of 1809, through some Danish and Swedish Provinces; and he cannot but think, that its perusal may draw the attention of our countrymen from the temporary subjects of the moment, to such matters as are connected with the permanent interests of the British Empire.

He observes, that he has not only committed to paper his own opinions, but also, those of persons with whom he conversed in the above-mentioned countries; “and I have done this,” he adds, “with frankness and impartiality; and with the feelings of a man who, in the hour of misfortune, experienced equally from the enemies and the allies of his country, the humanity of Christians and the kindness of friends; and who, after five different journeys through various parts of the continent of Europe, has here written, without the assistance of a single paper, or a single book, the observations made on the spot, upon what he saw and felt during a period peculiarly eventful to the kingdoms to which his Journal refers.

“If my opinions concerning Zeeland should appear extravagant to any one not accustomed to reflect upon the present situation of the Northern Powers, I have only to assure him I am by no means singular in my opinions; but, on the contrary, coincide in every point with the most intelligent British and foreign gentlemen with whom I have lately had the pleasure of conversing.

“I have to add, as another motive for publishing what

to many readers may appear uninteresting, that the treatment experienced from the Danes by myself, and my fellow-sufferers, as well as by the survivors of the crew of his Majesty's late ship the *Crescent*, imposes it upon me as a duty to give all possible publicity to circumstances so honourable to that nation, and which may eventually soften the spirit of mutual hostility, which at present subsists between the two countries, and procure for the Danish prisoners in Britain as kind a treatment as the circumstances of the times permit.

“ I should ill deserve the liberty which their generosity so readily granted me, did I not seize the earliest opportunity of thanking the Danish monarch and nation for their kindness towards me, and that too in the way worthy of both, namely, in the plain language of sincerity and truth.”

The Editor has taken the liberty of altering the monotony of the Author's Journal, by dividing his communications into the more appropriate and agreeable form of Letters; but preserving the dates as he had placed them, and occasionally omitting a few irrelevant passages.

TOUR

THROUGH

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

LETTER I.

*Skagen or Scaw, a Village in North Jutland,
November 24, 1808.*

CONFINED here in a Danish prison, I have abundance of time to commit to writing what I can remember of the last four most unfortunate days of my life. For two days past I have been in a sort of fever, and scarcely able to arrange my ideas, but to-day I am better, and think I can recollect the most essential particulars of my misfortune.

At two in the morning of Sunday the 20th, the man at the helm cried out that he saw a light, and could plainly distinguish land. We all ran in our shirts to ascertain the fact, and, notwithstanding the coldness of the wind, did not dress ourselves for some time, till the whole crew unanimously declared they could see the light, and also the hull of the British ship (the *Fury* bomb), that carried it at her mizen top. I could not perceive any thing like a ship myself, but seeing the light very distinctly, I intreated captain Hutton to beware of the false lights, kindled by the natives of Jutland, as a decoy for English and Swedish vessels. He once more gratified me by going on deck, and even up the shrouds, to be convinced that the light belonged to the *Fury* man of war. The wind was south-east, and he called to the man at the helm, "John, steer close to the stern of the man of war, for I am certain I see her very masts; and she is described in the letter from my owners, received the morning we sailed, as lying six miles off the Scaw reef." Still I could discern no ship, though I can see objects at a great distance; and insisted on appealing once more to the crew.

The night was extremely cold, and they had once more unanimously declared their former opinion, somewhat peevishly, on account of my incredulity, when the ship struck

with a dreadful crash, and, as I thought, carried all her masts by the board. In this, however, I was mistaken. We tried every means to get her off, but in vain. Every wave now dashed her furiously against the bottom, and in five minutes (it was past three in the morning) the cabin was filled with water, and all the pumps choaked. A scene of horrible confusion followed. We heard reports from the shore, which we imagined to be the sound of artillery, but we afterwards learned they were only rifle-guns, fired to assure us that every attempt should be made to save our lives.

I recommended calmness and resignation to the crew, who every moment expected that the ship would go to pieces, and that all hands must perish. A German boy began to cry, and lament his fate; but when I told him I would throw him, or any other person overboard, from whom a single complaint should escape, he became more collected. Soon afterwards, however, he roared out that all was over, and begged me to shoot him through the head, rather than insist on his silence. I smiled at this silly request, and called all hands together to hear a short prayer, as they could now do no more than quietly await the dawn of day, in case the wreck should hold out so long.

The effect produced by the performance of this religious duty was truly astonishing. They recovered their spirits, and even had the presence of mind to dress themselves in their best clothes (a most fortunate circumstance for them), and to conceal what little money they had, as they expected to be plundered the moment their Danish enemies could approach the ship's sides.

Meanwhile the vessel providentially swung, probably on the wreck of a ship formerly sunk there, so that her stern turned towards the shore, and her bow towards the breakers. Captain Hutton lost his recollection a good deal, and was much confused, but he did every thing I requested. I never was more collected in my life; and had a strong presentiment during the whole night, that we should be saved in the morning. At four, one of the crew declared he saw day-light: in this I acquiesced, although I knew there could be no light till half past seven, or eight. The same man soon afterwards said that he saw a privateer moored to the leeward, and ready to take us in the morning. This would have been good news had it been true, but unfortunately it was not so. We passed three hours more in dreadful suspense, the wind occasionally rising and falling, blowing bitterly cold from the south-east, and the ship threatening

every instant to go to pieces. Every wave made a fair breach over us, and the masts, our sole remaining hope, groaned at every swing of the vessel.

Day-break at last appeared, and was succeeded by the only clear morning we had seen for several days. The shore was now covered with natives, and some dragoons were seen riding from place to place, accompanied by some infantry, and a piece of artillery.

It turned out to be the Scaw light which we had mistaken for that of the Fury man of war, and which had proved our ruin. We were within half a mile of the shore, amidst horrible breakers, a furious current, sand-banks, and the remains of wrecked vessels. We hoisted a flag of distress, although we were certain the people on shore dared not venture to approach us. After some time, however, they launched a stout boat, but were forced to make the shore again as speedily as possible. In this state we remained, almost perishing with cold, hunger, and thirst, till four in the afternoon, nearly sunset. I forgot to mention that our cabin had filled so fast, that we saved neither bread, wine, nor any provisions, that were not spoiled by the salt water; and to render our condition still more deplorable, our water-casks on deck were staved, so that we had nothing whatever to support us. Three bottles of porter were accidentally found on deck, and these we divided among our ten people.

At four, the sun having set, and the wind considerably abated, a boat manned with nine sturdy seamen came, in spite of wind and tide, within fifty yards of the ship, and then filled with water, which the crew instantly baled out with three casks, and again returned to their place. Our people were so benumbed with cold, that they could not throw an oar to any distance. I had most fortunately been accustomed to athletic exercises, and, after three trials, succeeded in throwing one with a rope fixed to it, as far as the boat. By this rope three of our crew were conveyed to the boat. The last man so sent was taken up in a lifeless condition by the Danish boatmen, but was soon restored to his senses: one of them now cried to me in German, that they could not save any more at present, but would return, if possible, in the morning. It was now growing dark; the cold and the wind increased, and the waves began to rise higher around the ship; the sky became overcast; and every thing seemed to portend a dreadful storm, and to annihilate all our remaining hopes of assistance from the shore.

I once more imposed silence on the crew, and summoned them to join in prayer, for I now really believed all was lost, and that, should the ship hold out, which was very improbable, we must nevertheless perish before day-break of cold, hunger, thirst and fatigue. We had already passed thirteen hours in this terrible situation. At the expression in my prayer, "Thine arm is not shortened that thou canst not save, for thou canst stay the fury of the storm, and say to the sea, Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther:" the whole crew uttered an ejaculation of blessing on me, which seemed to breathe some kind of hope. After prayer, I directed them to separate, desiring some to go into the fore-top, and others into the main-top: with the captain, his son, and a boy, I climbed into the main-top, and three others got with difficulty into the fore-top. The sea made a breach over me as I was getting into the shrouds, and knocked me down, carrying off my shoes and stick; in a moment afterwards I lost my hat, but was not much hurt by my fall. In the tops we remained the whole of the night, and kept one another awake at my particular request, by pinching every one who seemed inclined to fall asleep. This was an arduous task. We at last became indifferent, and rather wished the masts would go, and end us and our misery together. One of the men wanted to throw himself into the sea, and trust to being washed ashore; but I demonstrated to him the sin and folly of committing suicide, on which he desisted from the rash design. On my observing to captain Hutton that we should soon see the sun rise, the poor man replied, "Oh Sir, the morning sun will rise, but not to us." In answer to this I assured him that I did not despair of being saved before day-light, for the wind was sensibly abating. "God Almighty bless you," said he, "you never lose hope!" He soon fell into a state of insensibility; from which no exertions could rouse him; but, although I believed there was no chance of saving him, I and his son rubbed his hands, knees, and forehead, to prevent, if possible, his being frozen to death.

His son, poor fellow; only nineteen years of age, stripped off his great coat, and put it round his father's shoulders and neck, saying, "Dear father, remember you have a wife and seven small children at home: Oh don't give up hope, but support yourself for their sakes and mine!"

The boy on my left was now cold and breathless. I took him in my arms, to place him in the warmest place next the captain; and in so doing struck my right leg and arm vio-

lently against the topmast. We were in this state till half past six on the morning of Monday, when our old friends, who had saved the three men the preceding day, appeared at the distance of eighty or ninety yards from us, and called to us to throw them an oar as before. I answered that none of us could lay hold of any thing except myself, and that even I could not save any of the crew, unless the boat came alongside, which was by this time practicable. The noble fellows instantly rowed amidst a very dangerous swell alongside, and with much difficulty removed us all into their boat, which was nearly staved when we were all in. At length we got clear away from the ship, and made for the shore. The steersman felt my cheeks, hands, and feet, and instantly took off his hat, gloves, and jacket, into the sleeves of which he thrust my feet; his hat he put on my head, and with one of his gloves, which were of fur, and not divided into fingers, he covered both my hands.

It took us an hour to reach the village, as we were obliged to row round about, to keep clear of the breakers. It froze hard, and blew from the eastward. I could not conceive how the man who clothed me in his own dress could endure the extreme cold of the morning. He insisted on my wearing them, and continually rubbed my face and hands until I found that my blood circulated again; while his companions did the like for the rest of the sufferers. On our arrival we were conducted to an inn, under a guard of eight soldiers and a corporal.

On reaching the inn, our deliverers seemed happy in the service they had rendered us, but neither asked for money nor any thing else. We refreshed ourselves with coffee, bread, eggs, &c. and retired about nine: we occupied all the beds in the house, and the landlord with great humanity gave up his bed, lying on the floor himself, for our accommodation. We were here indeed treated with the greatest kindness. I could not sleep. At eleven I got up, although excessively fatigued, and for the first time felt much dejected; a strange contrast to the state of my companions, who were now in high spirits, after having been for the three preceding days reduced to the brink of despair. From this state of stoical apathy and indifference, I recollect to have been roused at one in the afternoon, by the arrival of the chief magistrate of the place, who came to see us, and to provide us with necessaries. I had the recollection, though his looks were by no means prepossessing, to request him to send the boat again to the ship, to try to recover

some of our clothes, which were left in the highest part of the ship's deck, fastened to the companion; he complied. We conversed in German, but he spoke it so badly, that I soon grew tired of him. He seemed more anxious to know the nature of the cargo, than whether or not we were all saved, and likely to live. The three men we had sent off the preceding day at four in the afternoon, were still fast asleep in the same inn, and promised to do well.

During the remainder of the 21st, till seven at night, I recollect scarcely any thing that happened, except that I dismissed some soldiers from my room, and requested to see their captain who commanded the military in this village. He came, and in the sequel proved a real friend. He is a man of education, speaks good German, and appears humane and obliging. My first conversation was short and desultory. I begged him to call next morning, and in the mean time to remove the guard of twelve men from the house, as they made so much noise, that I was unable to obtain any rest, from the want of which I was suffering very severely. He informed me that it was not in his power to comply with my request, but ordered the soldiers to retire from the chamber in which I slept, and to make as little noise as possible. I was tormented with a raging thirst; the water was bad and brackish; there was no beer, so that I was obliged to drink either rum and water, or wine. The following night I did not close my eyes. I was exceedingly feverish, spoke confusedly, and feared that my intellects were affected. I rose at seven in the morning in a terrible state, sent for captain Westenholtz, who commands here, and requested him to let me have my clothes and papers. "Your papers," replied he, "must all be sent to Copenhagen; your clothes you shall have, and every assistance I can give you." I thanked him gloomily, and wrote four short letters, to be sent off, open, by the post, with his permission. One was to my wife at Mayfield; another was a short representation of my case to the king of Denmark, and a request to be allowed to go on board the *Fury* bomb ship, off Scaw; the third was to general Bardenfleth, commander in chief in North Jutland; and the fourth was to Mr. Duntzvelt, at Copenhagen.

I was so doubtful of my own powers, for I felt that my head was very much confused, that I begged captain Westenholtz to read my letters addressed to the king and general Bardenfleth carefully over, in order to correct any inaccuracies, or remedy any defects. He seemed pleased with

them, and assured me that I exhibited no symptom of a deranged intellect. He remained with me, and behaved very kindly, till ten at night. I went to bed, but could not sleep. I saw my wife and my father wringing their hands, in so lively a manner in my dreams, that when I awoke from what was rather a reverie than sleep, I imagined myself dead, and spoke in the most incoherent manner imaginable to those around me. I had the most terrible head-ache I ever experienced in my life, an unquenchable thirst; and a thundering noise stunned my ears. My arms and legs were all black and blue, and much bruised, by so frequently climbing the rigging, to which I had not been accustomed, and my hands were swelled to more than double their usual size. I had the greatest horror of my own situation, and the more so, as I perceived that I was the only one of the crew who suffered so severely from the consequences of our disaster.

LETTER II.

Aalborg, Jutland, December 8, 1808.

IT being probable that I shall be detained here for some weeks, waiting for the arrival from Copenhagen, of the king's answer to the representation of my case which general Bardenfleth has transmitted to him, I shall try to keep off, as far as lies in my power, all melancholy reflections on my condition, and occupy my time as usefully as my present situation will permit.

On the 29th day of November, the eighth after our shipwreck, the crew of Johns were so far recovered from their bruises and fatigue, that captain Westenholz ordered carts from the neighbouring peasantry in order to convey them towards this place. We were accordingly sent off from Scaw at nine in the morning, two of us and a peasant in each cart, escorted by five foot soldiers and three dragoons on horseback.* The officer at Scaw, had the goodness to

* Prisoners of war are ordered by the king of Denmark to be transported by the peasants from one village to another, on their route, in their common carts, properly cleaned, and at the rate of one Danish mile per hour. They devise many pretexts, however, for not driving according to their orders, and are in general several hours later than they should be, in arriving at their quarters.

appoint as my guard a corporal who spoke German, to assist me in providing myself with necessaries on the road. We travelled at first with no great difficulty along the sea-shore, where, in the space of one Danish, or four English miles and three-quarters, I counted thirty-five wrecks. We soon, however, left the beach, and followed a sort of track, (for there is no road through this sandy desert), which led us from a quarter to three-quarters of an English mile from the shore. The cold was intense, the snow in some places was drifted to the depth of several feet, and the peasants were frequently at a loss for the pathway. We, of course, travelled very slowly, at the rate sometimes of three English miles, sometimes only one and a half, per hour.

In the whole district around us, as far as the eye could reach on a clear day, there was not a tree, or even a bush or blade of grass, to be seen.

Where the snow had been drifted off the ground by the storm, bare sand or short coarse heath appeared. The few scattered cottages that now and then appeared in sight, corresponded with the universal wretchedness of the scene. They are constructed of the wood of shipwrecked vessels, ill compacted, and clumsily put together, and are alike unfit to shelter their inhabitants from the heat of summer, or the frost of winter.

At the distance of about eight miles from Scaw (I shall always calculate by the English statute mile of 1760 yards, or 5280 English feet), we rested for half an hour, and endeavoured to procure some refreshment. Here, as at Scaw, there was no other bread than a coarse mixture of rye, barley, and fish-bones, pounded and mixed together, and baked into loaves of different sizes, of a snuff colour, and scarcely eatable by persons who have not been accustomed to the very worst food. I had not tasted bread for the nine preceding days, and unluckily tried to force some of this kind down my throat, but nearly lost my life in consequence of the experiment. I became so sick, that I could travel only two miles farther, and was obliged to remain all that evening and night in a peasant's hut near the high road. The poor people did all they could for me, and luckily mustered two eggs and four potatoes, which proved the most seasonable and delicious repast I ever made. The rest of our party were obliged to go forward to Fladstrand, the stage appointed them for the night. They reached that village, as I have since learned, at midnight, half dead with cold and hunger, and were kept in the streets, waiting for billets for

quarters, till two in the morning. Nor was this all; some of the carts were upset, and two of the sailors and one of the Danish soldiers were much bruised, by the cart-wheels going over their bodies in the snow.

Here, for the first time since I was shipwrecked, I enjoyed an hour's sound sleep, and accordingly felt my head on awaking more settled, and less annoyed by the sound in my ears, than usual; but still, I was under dreadful apprehensions that my intellects were affected. In this terror I was frequently confirmed by occasional fits of deafness, that rendered me almost unfit for conversation. Such fits I had more than once experienced at Seaw, but they were worse to-day, on account of the violent cold which affected my head and ears.

In this situation, it was fortunate for me to have, besides my worthy corporal (who proved an excellent servant all the way to Aalborg), the company of a young Norwegian merchant, who remained some hours with me, and had, on his way from Fladstrand to Seaw, been accidentally overturned at the door of my hut, where he waited till he got his cart repaired. He was a sensible and intelligent man, as most of the middle ranks in Norway are, and did all he could to be of use to me. He had some wheaten bread and a piece of cold pork with his baggage, which he forced me to accept of, and which I, though no lover of pork, devoured with no little gratitude and relish. This young man, after an hour's conversation in German and English (the former he spoke fluently), assured me that my hearing would be re-established by a few days rest at Aalborg*; and that as to any confusion in my ideas, he solemnly assured me, that I had no occasion to be apprehensive on that subject, because my conversation with him, and the expression of my eyes and features, were a complete evidence, that my head was no otherwise injured, than by extreme suffering from cold, hunger, and anxiety. The blow I had received against the top-mast, in saving the cabin-boy the night we were rescued, he also assured me would have no serious consequences; for he himself had been four days deranged in mind from a similar accident, but soon recovered the perfect use of his faculties. It is impossible to convey in words, the gratitude I felt towards this young Norwegian;

* He guessed right in both cases, and I must confess, that his assurances were of great benefit to me at the moment, and conduced to the effect which he had predicted.

and welcome as his bread and pork were to a man half-starved, I felt more benefit from his words than from that very seasonable gift.

On the following day, the 30th of November, I proceeded to Fladstrand; and in spite of the cold weather, deep snows, bad roads, and slow-driving, found myself more comfortable, or rather less horribly miserable, than I had done since I was cast on the Jutland shore. About two in the afternoon I reached Fladstrand, a town of little importance, possessing some ships, with a bad harbour, and protected by a battery on the sea-side. The commandant-major, V. Blöte, and lieutenant Henne, of the Danish navy, treated me with all possible kindness, and provided me with as good accommodation for two days as the place afforded. They advised me, on the 2d of December, to set off for Aalborg, as the crew of the *Johns* must have reached that city on the 1st; and the commander in chief, general Bardenfleth, would expect me along with them. I accordingly left Fladstrand on the evening of the 1st, and got that night very late to a sea-port town, or village, called Sæbye. There, notwithstanding a letter from lieutenant Henne, and one from the commandant of Fladstrand; which were, however, of essential use, I was a considerable time detained in the streets, before the burgomaster procured me a lodging. It turned out a most unpleasant one; for, as I was eating my miserable supper of bad fish and four greasy potatoes, in came, without any ceremony, six masters of Danish privateers, half drunk, together with their mates and some comrades belonging to the place, and sat down at the same table with me. It was no time for quarrelling with these people, or insisting upon having the room to myself; there was no other *warmed* room in the house; and if there had been twenty, I dare say I should have obtained none of them. I therefore made a merit of necessity, and behaved to those dangerous associates with all the calm politeness I could assume. They were each armed with a brace of pistols and a cutlass, clad in furred jackets, and wore long mustaches and whiskers. Their total number was about twenty, apparently desperate and daring ruffians. On learning that I was from their enemies' country, they looked alternately at me and at each other, and evidently suspected that I was a spy. I was anxious to remove this idea, lest they should dispatch me in self-defence, and accordingly acquainted them with my situation, and history for the preceding ten days, taking care to add, that I had letters from Fladstrand

to the magistrate of Sæbye, and expected a visit from him every moment. This information seemed to surprise them; and they asked if I knew any thing of the English frigate that chased them that day near the island of Lessøe. On my answering in the negative, they were more calm and respectful, and helped me the first in company to every thing our coarse table afforded.

The landlord and landlady were a silly pair, and intoxicated with brandy into the bargain. I could look for no assistance from them in case of accidents. My corporal had gone to look for horses and a cart for next day, and I was left alone in the midst of a score of enemies, whose constant occupation is violence, and whose fortunes depend upon blood and rapine. I requested one of them to accompany me for a few minutes to the magistrate's house, as I did not know the way to it; and he, pleased with this mark of confidence, immediately agreed. On our arrival, the official gentleman happened to be in bad humour at the moment, having, as he said, received orders for fifty carts to be sent on his royal master's account the very same way I was to travel on the following day; and he gave me to understand that, in all probability, it would be two days before he could accommodate me. In my situation, this was as bad news as he could have communicated. I requested him to go with me to my lodging, and honour me with his company to a glass of wine. He at length complied, and we sat up till twelve at night, in a cold room, by ourselves, adjoining to that in which my former companions were drinking brandy, and singing. By this time the landlord and his spouse had gone dead drunk to rest, a thing rather unusual in this country; and I discovered that the door of my bed-chamber had no lock, nor did there appear any possibility of securing it against intrusion in the night. My servant, overcome with fatigue, was snoring on a chair; I could not think of venturing to bed while the house continued in the confusion created by the riotous ruffians in the next room; and my anxiety was not removed when I heard, about half past twelve, a whispering in the room next to mine, and also adjoining to that of the privateer men. The words signifying "*d—d English, spies, fine writing-desk, gold, baggage, sleep, unarmed, cutlass,*" and some others not more pleasant, I could make out distinctly, and their application was not doubtful. I took a candle, and instantly went into the room occupied by the captains, and found that they were all there, but that some of the men I had seen with them be-

fore had disappeared. I asked in an easy, indifferent tone, what persons were in the room next to mine, towards the stable-yard? They said they knew nothing about them. I then requested one of them to send me the corporal who accompanied me as a guard from Scaw. They said he had gone to a neighbouring farm three miles off, an hour before, as "there was no room for him in the house, and surely the poor fellow must have his night's rest," &c. &c. I observed a bitterness of tone in the words now used, but was equally surprised and gratified to remark that none of them was much more intoxicated than two hours before, and that they still seemed to feel a kind of respect for me when I entered their room. I therefore remained with them for a quarter of an hour, and on parting told them, that as a stranger, and a man who had wanted sleep for several nights past, I hoped they would allow no intrusion into my room, which was next to them and quite open, and that I placed myself, and the little luggage I had saved from shipwreck, under their protection. The man who had accompanied me to the magistrate's house, and spoke good German, answered, that I might depend upon not being disturbed that night, for he and his companions were to remain where they were till seven in the morning; and no man in Sæbye would dare use me ill while they were my friends. I then thanked them, and went to my room. It was impossible to sleep after the whispering I had formerly heard; but as I was entirely at their mercy, I thought it prudent to betray no suspicion of their honesty, and therefore put off my clothes and went to bed. I kept the candles, however, lighted on my table, and listened attentively to every noise in the house.

At two in the morning, my door was opened, and to my surprise, instead of a sailor with a pistol and sword to murder me, in came the landlord, almost perfectly sober, begging me to extinguish my candles, because the police did not permit any lights to be kept in after midnight. "Well," said I, "put them out, but remember that if any thing happens to any part of my baggage in your house, both you and your lodgers shall be broken on the wheel, for my name and journey are already known at Aalborg and Copenhagen, and you shall be made responsible for any thing that may happen." I did not choose to state to him my fears of personal violence, nor the reasons of those fears. The solemn assurance of the privateer captain, who had a good face and agreeable voice, had given me some hopes that he

would protect me from the whispering villains in the next room.

About an hour after the candles were put out, I heard a violent altercation in the street, and it soon came to the adjoining apartment. I fancied I heard my privateer friend's voice, but could not be certain. I hastily put on my clothes, and went to the door to listen, but the voices died insensibly away; at three o'clock, and a few minutes afterwards, the whole house was as silent as the grave. I had an hour's sleep between six and seven, and got up when my corporal arrived, with a cart and horses, at half past seven. I scolded him for leaving me in such company. "Lord Jesus!" said he, "I was mad with fatigue and cold, and those fellows were so noisy, that I got a violent head-ache, and was obliged to leave the house." I requested him to remember that I was his prisoner, and that if he forsook me again, I would make my escape, in which case he would stand a chance of a severe flogging, or, perhaps, of a bullet through the head. Thus passed a most unpleasant night, and I got off without any further loss than that of some hours' sleep.

On the 3d, we had a dreadful day of snow, sleet, and frost, so bitterly cold, that I frequently lost all feeling in my ears, chin, and nose, and kept them from being frost-bitten by rubbing them with snow. I took up my lodging at a small inn, within twelve miles of Aalborg. This was the first day I ever travelled on sledges in a cart, and it was not very propitious. I was twice overturned in snow, and once in two or three feet water, in the middle of a river. No sooner did I get out of the water, after escaping a very serious danger, than all my clothes froze round my body, even to my neckcloth, which had on its surface a crust of ice an inch thick. In the inn where I stopped, I found poor captain Hutton's dog, which I had saved from the shipwrecked *Johns*, and which his master had left here rather than suffer him to perish on the road. The creature knew me, and I have kept honest *Chance* ever since.

The following day we arrived here to dinner. General Bardenfleth had had the goodness to engage a comfortable lodging for me beforehand.

The arm of the sea called Liimfiord, which forms the harbour of Aalborg, is not above three-quarters of a mile broad here, but it spreads greatly as it enters Jutland further to the westward, and pierces the peninsula for one hundred miles. Vessels of two hundred tons can come to the

town, but the navigation is intricate and precarious. The harbour is now full of vessels, most of them loaded with corn for Norway, and about twenty are prizes taken from us and from Sweden, and brought in here by the Danish privateers. There are twenty-six privateers fitted out from this town; and many more are to be added next season, if the war continue.

It would not be easy to take or destroy the vessels in the harbour, for besides the bar at the mouth of the Liimfiord, sixteen miles below the town, and which has scarcely nine feet water when the wind is calm or moderate, our ships would have a battery to oppose them, and that within a quarter of a mile of the deepest part of the channel. The battery in question is about ten miles below Aalborg, and consists of twelve or fourteen pieces of cannon of large calibre. This, however, I have from report, for I have not myself had an opportunity of seeing the battery.

The site of Aalborg is by no means disagreeable, although it lies rather too low, and the adjacent country is too bare and destitute of hedges. The town takes its name from a small river, the Aal (pronounced Ol), which runs through it, and means Eel, vast quantities of those fish being annually caught and sold here. The town is old, and ill built for the capital of a considerable province; but there are some good dwellings, and very spacious warehouses in it. Its trade was once considerable, but is now destroyed in consequence of the present war, excepting what depends upon the precarious resources of privateering. The population is very near six thousand souls, of whom one-tenth are Jews: some of these are considerable merchants.

The commander in chief, and the bishop of the province, as well as the district judges, reside here. The language commonly spoken is Danish, but the people of rank and education, and indeed all the middling classes, speak German; a few understand English or French. I am quartered in a widow's house, whose husband was a German, and whose children speak that language: it is singular that she herself does not know a word of it, though in other respects she seems to be sufficiently acute.

It is reported in this town to-day that, on the fifth instant, a large English frigate was cast on shore near Rob'snout, on the western coast of this peninsula. The report appears to have some foundation, as a troop of light dragoons are now shipping off for the north of Liimfiord, in order to escort the English prisoners hither.

It is a comfort to recollect, amidst these disastrous rumours, that the Danes have a custom of calling every armed English ship *a large frigate*: and that they delight in spreading every possible bad report of the British navy.

LETTER III.

Aalborg, December 9, 1808.

YESTERDAY's report is, alas! but too fatally confirmed. The Crescent frigate, of thirty-six guns, and two hundred and seventy-four men, was lost on the night of the fifth of this month off Lönstrup, thirty or forty miles to the north-west of this town, and the captain, Mr. Temple, three lieutenants, eight midshipmen, and the second lieutenant of marines, with two hundred and twenty men and six women, have perished. The first lieutenant of marines, the master, four midshipmen, the boatswain, and about fifty sailors and marines, have arrived here in the most deplorable condition imaginable. Were a stranger to form his opinion of British soldiers and sailors from seeing them marched as prisoners through an enemy's country, he would have a very erroneous notion of their appearance at home. Never was there a more wretched set of human beings seen than the poor remains of the Crescent's gallant crew. Some of the men had neither hats on their heads, nor shoes on their feet. Some had one boot, and some one shoe; some jackets of their own, and some Danish jackets or great coats, lent them in charity by the peasants or soldiers. They all looked meagre, shrivelled, and diminutive. A person would have imagined that one of their present guards was as bulky as four of them, and that half a dozen Danes would have driven the whole fifty men into the sea. I must confess I felt mortified as well as grieved at their appearance. The whole population of Aalborg was in the streets when they passed, and to their honour be it said, never uttered a single harsh word or an illiberal reflexion. This redounds the more to their credit, because they are very much exasperated against us since the bombardment of Copenhagen and the capture of their fleet; and because

their government does all in its power to cherish and increase the national hatred. The men were sent under a guard to a large house now used as a prison, and the officers were billeted in three houses in the town, with a soldier as a guard at the door of their apartments. Two midshipmen were quartered in this house, because, as the landlady's son told me, he could, by my assistance in the German tongue, be of use to the poor fellows.

From these two young men I received a most melancholy account of the shipwreck. They left Yarmouth with a fair wind the evening of the 29th of November, and had, like the unlucky Johns, a constant storm and dark weather for four days successively, and never saw the sun, moon, or stars, during the voyage. They, however, saw the land near the Naze of Norway on the morning of the 4th, and then stood away for the coast of Jutland, and tried to double the Scaw. On the evening of the 5th they, by the advice of the pilots, brought the ship to on the Juttish shore, in soundings, which, by the way, ought never to be done, but in cases of extreme necessity. The consequence was, that she struck, at ten at night, within two miles of the coast, while the pilots insisted, from the soundings, that she must be at least ten miles from any land : they perished with the ship.

Every endeavour was made to get her off, by throwing her guns, cargo of clothing and slops for our Baltic fleet, overboard, and by cutting away her masts, &c. At three in the afternoon of the 5th, the seventeenth hour after she had struck, her only remaining cable gave way, and no hopes remained of saving any thing of the ship, or even any considerable proportion of the crew. Captain Temple would not hear of parting with her while a man could live upon her deck, and accordingly sacrificed himself to his duty. Two boats had left the ship before the cable parted, in order to carry an anchor to the windward, (the wind was right on shore), but they were drifted by the current to the leeward, and only one of them regained the wreck. The captain ordered as many of them as it could safely carry to go on board that boat, and try to reach the shore. Twenty-two rushed into it, and three times that number threw themselves into the sea in the hopes of being admitted with their comrades. The latter were obliged, in self-defence, to push them from her into the sea, and to see them drowned before their eyes. Some of the stoutest, and who were expert swimmers, got to the boat's side before she could clear the wreck, and

with their half-frozen hands laid hold of her sides and stern, and that in such numbers that she must soon have sunk if they had not quitted their deadly grasp.

This was the most horrid scene of all. The people in the boat cut off the hands and fingers of their unfortunate shipmates with their knives; and one of them saw his father and brother served in this manner. He offered his place in the boat to his father, and wished to die for him, but it was too late; the latter sunk in his sight, to rise no more.

Several then tried to get ashore upon spars, planks, and other pieces of the wreck, but the sea and current ran so furiously that they all perished.

The only resource now remaining was a boat called the captain's gig, and spars, of which, as it was obvious that they could singly be of no avail, it was proposed to form a raft, which might perhaps drift ashore with a few of the crew. When the raft was completed and launched, it looked so ill, that few would venture upon it, and some of those who did venture were only prevented by force from returning again to the wreck of the ship. Five or six were washed off alongside, and seen to perish; and a woman died upon it through cold and fear. It was at last pushed off from the side, and the twenty-eight men upon it gave three cheers as they bade adieu to the wreck.

Twenty-two of the twenty-eight got alive to the shore, but one of them died as they were carrying him in their arms from the raft to the beach. They praise, in the most grateful terms, the conduct of the natives towards them after they reached the shore; and name a Mr. Brandt, and a Mr. Jeremin, minister of Osterbrandersler, as having treated them with all the kindness of humanity and friendship. All whom they left on board the ship perished. They suppose that the captain's gig was stove in pieces soon after they left her, and that the persons put on board a second raft, which they saw half finished, were washed off, or frozen to death, between the Crescent and the land.

One of my fellow-lodgers has lost his brother, a boy of fourteen years of age, who was a midshipman on board the ship, and who could not be prevailed on to venture upon the raft. Many affecting incidents, connected with this melancholy affair, have been related by the survivors. Among others, they mention a charming young woman, who had a beautiful child in her arms, whom she entrusted to one of the officers with these words: "O Sir, God bless you! I am now quite happy, as you will save my child; for

my own life is nothing, if my dear child is saved: pray keep it as warm as you can." She then gave him her cloak and what clothes she could convey to him. The poor woman was washed off the deck along with her husband, and perished while in the act of parental tenderness, and the officer and child soon found the same watery grave.

The loss of the *Crescent* will, I fear, prove a most serious one to our country; for the ships in the Baltic and Cattegat are, by all accounts, in great distress for want of the articles she had on board; and it is likely that her fate cannot be known in England early enough for preventing the most ruinous consequences to many of our ships during this dreadful winter.

The harbour here has been completely frozen since the 3d instant, and the people tell me that it is the same all along the coasts of Norway, Sweden, and the Danish dominions. The frost has set in five weeks earlier than usual, and that with a degree of severity unparalleled during the last hundred years. Reaumur's thermometer stood in this house twelve degrees below the freezing point at two this morning, and sixteen degrees in the northern exposure on the outside of the house. The ice is already in many places from eight to fourteen inches thick, and on this arm of the sea, with a *strong current* and *salt water*, loaded carts are going in all directions. The cold is much more intense than I ever experienced in the British isles.

Twelve at Night of the 9th.

I have just returned from supper with a large company, of whom general Bardenfleth and his staff formed a part. They all behaved and talked with great kindness. The fate of the *Crescent*, and the disposal of the surviving part of her crew, were the principal topics of conversation. Her officers and men are to have what clothes and money they stand in need of, and to be exchanged the very first opportunity.

Seventy or eighty bodies have been cast ashore from the wreck at Lönstrup, and decently interred by the inhabitants, who have, by all accounts, behaved with great propriety on this melancholy occasion.

The *Crescent* has gone entirely to pieces, and a very small part of what constituted her cargo has reached the land; that part, small as it is, is claimed by the king of Denmark.

It was reported, two days before the crew arrived here;

that the frigate was one of those taken from Copenhagen in September, 1807; and the patriotic Aalborgers declared, that Divine vengeance was manifested against our robbery and violence, by casting their own ship, with British seamen, ashore upon their injured coast; but they are not so violent since they have learned all the distressing particulars of her fate.

I have now several invitations from different gentlemen of this town, and shall have some opportunity of hearing the national opinions and prejudices.

LETTER IV.

Aalborg, December 16, 1808.

I AM still detained here, waiting for his Danish majesty's answer to my representation and petition sent from Scaw. The papers have, by some unaccountable accident, been mislaid by the clerks in the chancery office for the home department, and Heaven knows when I shall receive them, if ever.

I have this day, by general Bardenfleth's advice, written a second letter to Copenhagen, requesting that my papers, for the security of which I have captain Westenholz's word of honour, may be restored to me, and myself allowed to go, by any channel his majesty may think proper, to Sweden or England.

Although I cannot in any respect complain of my treatment from the king, or any individual whom I have hitherto met in Denmark, yet the delays and mistakes are vexations, and the more peculiarly so, because time is to me so precious, and the season for returning home is in all probability lost.

The common necessities of life are more than double their usual price: there is very little difference between the prices here and those of London; and if we compare the real value of the articles, the Aalborg prices are unquestionably higher than those of the British metropolis. Meat is from sixpence to ninepence per pound, of eighteen ounces and a half; bread is certainly dearer than in London, but I cannot state precisely how much; a goose costs seven shillings

and sixpence; a fowl, a very scarce article, and bad at the best, two shillings and fourpence; and a small fishy-tasted duck one shilling and tenpence. Cloths, linens, paper, books, leather, stuffs of all kinds, for whatever species of apparel, male or female, are at least eighty per cent. dearer than in London, supposing that they could be procured equally good here, which is far, very far from being the case. It is, therefore, truly laughable to hear some people, who ought to know better, maintain that Denmark will speedily manufacture for herself, and thrive as well without any connection with Great Britain as she has hitherto done with it. With regard to the comparative state, power, and resources of their own country and England, I know no men more violent than the unthinking part of the Danes, and those are too frequently of the higher orders. They have the vanity to fancy that their participation in the war against us will greatly conduce to diminish our resources, and annihilate our means of defence against France; and pretend to be incredulous and half angry when they are told that they injure themselves a hundred times more than us by joining our enemies, and forfeiting the advantages derived from our commercial and friendly relations.

I chanced to say in joke to a gentleman here, who perpetually annoys me with harangues on the bravery and power of the Danish nation, and is sometimes absolutely rude in his comparisons of his countrymen with the British, that no serious analogy could be drawn between the two states, for they were as wide of one another in political existence, as the fly is from the elephant or the whale in the animal kingdom; and, to my regret and astonishment, the man had the folly to take it up seriously, to complain to some of my acquaintance, that I abused this nation, and loudly expressed my hatred and contempt of it. His silly indiscretion ultimately recoiled upon himself, but it occasioned me some moments of uneasiness, and taught me more caution for the future, in venturing to joke with people who have neither delicacy to spare the feelings of others, nor sense to moderate their own. I must, however, do the Danish officers here the justice to say, that in no instance have they deserved this reproach; but that, on the contrary, they have uniformly behaved, since I came among them, with the greatest civility and politeness.

I have been at two balls and evening entertainments, and upon the whole was tolerably well amused. There is a want of female conversation, it is true, and consequently of one

of the great charms of polished society; but the Aalborg ladies, although neither so elegant nor so handsome as the English, nor so well acquainted with their own or with other languages as their countrywomen in Zeeland, or the German and Swedish ladies, are good-humoured and obliging, and pay great attention to their family affairs. There is not that attention paid to their education that there is in many other countries of the north, and consequently they want that elegant and easy mode of address, which so conspicuously adorns the fair sex in England, Sweden, Germany, and France.

The dress of the lower classes of females is as unbecoming as can well be imagined, and seems to have been invented for rendering their charms as harmless and unattractive as possible. They are not only wrapped up, but literally screwed or twisted in, from the hips to the nose, in innumerable volumes of cloth and linen; and below the waist, they are of such a tremendous bulk, that at a distance they look like moving hogsheads. The most fascinating points of the female form, the eyes, lips, chin, and neck, are carefully concealed; and the last-mentioned is so oppressed with stiff bandages, drawn tight below the arms from the period of childhood to that of old age, that the consequences of the scriptural intimation can never occur in Jutland—"Whoever looketh at a woman, &c." How the infants are nourished and nursed, I cannot conceive; for the pressure on the parts in question, must certainly impede the circulation and secretion of the fluids, which are so essentially necessary to the health both of mother and child.

The men dress pretty well: wooden shoes, indeed, of a clumsy and incommodious form, are too generally worn, and cannot suit a dry and sandy soil like Jutland so well as leathern shoes.

It is a threadbare common-place remark, that the peculiar customs, implements, and dresses of the various countries of our globe are founded upon solid reasons of expediency, which will appear evident to the enlightened traveller, who investigates with candour the various circumstances of the case; but I must confess, that as far as my own experience extends, I am of a contrary opinion. It is not reason, but accident or caprice, that usually gives the first impulse to districtal peculiarity, and that peculiarity is afterwards retained from habit. I could name many instances of irrational and even pernicious singularities of this nature in Europe. For example, for what purpose are the immensely

heavy and costly turbans of the people of Greece and European Turkey, which weigh down the head, and bow the neck and shoulders under a scorching sun? How infinitely more convenient are the light broad brimmed hats of the Spaniards and the Chinese? What a poor defence against the storms and rains of his turbulent climate are his little bonnet and philibeg to the Scotch highlander? And, not to go further than this peninsula, or even this town, what a waste of animal force must the clumsy clogs (at least six pounds weight) used here for shoes, occasion? To all my objections on this head, the universal answer was, "They are warm and cheap." Now, as to their warmth, I found, by trial and enquiry, that this property is not inherent, but is merely the effect of the great exertion of carrying them; an exertion so terrible, that even the most active boys cannot walk three miles an hour, nor make a journey of twenty miles a day in them. They have also given the natives such a drawling, hobbling, duck-like walk, that officers whose business it is to drill the North Jutland regiments of infantry complain bitterly of the difficulty of their task. Even after their men get shoes and boots of the common kinds from government, they still retain their old habits of dragging their feet transversely, and they must be drilled for years before they can decently be exhibited and reviewed with other troops.

With regard to cheapness, the clogs cost upwards of two shillings a pair, often break the first day or two that they are worn, and rarely last half a year: but granting that they are cheaper than leather, which is probably the case, how great is the loss of time, strength, activity, and labour which attends the use of them. To them, in a great measure, may be attributed the general sluggishness perceptible in all the operations of this people. Were I king of Denmark, I would lay a heavy tax on them, and give a bounty for leather^{*} tanned with the bark of the wood, which is so abominably wasted in the manufacture of them.

There are no manufactures of any consequence in this place, excepting that of coarse hats and gloves. A gentleman, who has been for some years in England, has established a stocking manufactory near the town, which seems to promise well, though he complains of the dearness of labour and the general sluggishness and apathy of his work-

* Leather for soles costs one dollar one-third per pound, and thin leather thirty-eight stivers, or three shillings and twopence sterling.

men. I would name this gentleman, had I previously obtained his permission, because he has shewn much kindness to, and conferred substantial benefits on, the survivors of the Crescent frigate since they arrived here; and because he affords one remarkable instance of what we delight to contemplate, patriotism exerted in a foreign land, active and modest benevolence, and these too in the most disinterested shape. He furnished the gentlemen alluded to with various articles of apparel, and would accept of no remuneration whatever, though he has no prospect of ever seeing them again. When we are prisoners in an enemy's country we feel the full value of such characters; and, indeed, acquaintance with them diminishes the regret which always attends the consciousness of misfortune, and makes lighter even the deprivation of liberty.

I was much gratified by an expression of one of our midshipmen to-day, when talking of this gentleman. "I have," said he, "been going to leeward of late, but begin to think that my new rigging from Mr. G*** will bring me to windward again." This young man had been formerly shipwrecked on the coast of Cornwall, in an English frigate, was one of twenty that were saved out of three hundred men, and had lost all his clothes and little property three times over in the space of four years. He had been twice washed off the raft, and got upon it again, on the evening of the 6th, and came ashore with his life only, and a seven shilling piece in his pocket.

Considerable quantities of corn, chiefly rye and oats, are exported to the Danish isles and to Norway from this harbour, from which about five or six hundred vessels clear out annually. This is the staple trade of the place. A week ago some vessels, loaded with corn, were with great difficulty cut out of the ice in the port, and dispatched for Norway, but more than one half of them were taken by our cruisers off the Scaw, and sent into Gothenburg. This news has spread consternation and distress through the town, for most of the vessels were not insured, and the few that were, only to half of their value. Yet this circumstance makes no difference in the humane treatment experienced by the British prisoners; nor do they even mention the unpleasant occurrence, excepting when some questions are asked about it. This, it is true, is but reasonable and fair; yet there are countries where the public opinion would not remain so quiet.

LETTER V.

Aalborg, December 21, 1808.

I AM at length prevailed on by my friend general Bardenfleth to go to Nijborg, in Funen Island, there to await my answer from Copenhagen, in order to be nearer the only passage to Sweden at this season of the year, viz. the Sound between Elsinour and Helsingborg. To-morrow is fixed for my departure; and the general recommends me to keep company with the officers of the Crescent, not one of whom understands any language but English, that I may both be of service to them on their long and arduous journey, and also save his Danish majesty and myself the trouble of an additional escort. To this I cheerfully agreed, and have packed up the few scattered articles I saved from the Johns.

Walking round the town this morning, I met with a farmer much superior in equipage and dress to the common peasantry of this country, and entered into conversation with him. He had the Banffshire accent as strong as if he had yesterday left Cullen. I therefore addressed him in Lowland Scotch, in which he answered me with evident satisfaction. His father came to this country forty years ago, and remained in Jutland until he acquired an independency, part of which he left to his son here, and with the rest he has removed to Zeeland, and become a great farmer and proprietor of land.

This man has married a Jutland woman, and seems to be doing extremely well. His farm is three miles and a half from Aalborg, towards the south east; and although it displays no great agricultural excellence, yet it is worth seeing. In his neighbourhood, a gentleman has endeavoured to introduce Scotch farming and Scotch servants, and with some success. He has even erected a thrashing machine; but both he and the Banffshire man, Mr. Ogilvy, complain much of the stupidity and inveterate prejudices of their neighbours.

Green crops are not cultivated to any extent, except potatoes, which are deservedly and fortunately gaining ground every year; nor, indeed, can any be prosecuted with success while the land continues, as at present, unenclosed, and liable to common pasturage the moment the crop is removed.

from the fields. Draining and irrigation, which might both be used with immense benefit, are almost unknown.

The common practice, instead of a rotation of culiniferous and leguminous crops, and of fallow, is to force one rye, barley, oat, or potatoe crop after another, from the land, as long as it has strength to produce two returns for seed thinly scattered over an indefinite space, and until it becomes a mere *caput mortuum*, when it is left lea for years, to recruit in the best way it can. A little lime (which abounds in Jutland) is used now and then for manure, but the soil is in general too light, warm, and sandy, for the application of that stimulating medium. Composts of moss, lime, and dung, are the only symptom of improved agriculture that occurred on my way to Mr. Ogilvy's farm; and of these I reckoned only twelve, though the whole three miles and a half shew a cultivated and populous country. The great deficiency, and that without which nothing essential can ever be done for the advantage of husbandry, is the absolute want of enclosures.

The species of potatoe common in this country is the small round or oblong Dutch, which is a dry and sweet kind, but not so fruitful nor prolific as our Spanish and Irish sorts. Comparing the measures of this country (for every thing immediately springing from the ground is sold by measure, and not by weight) with our measure in Scotland, and making allowance for Mr. Ogilvy's patriotic ardour, I believe I am near the truth when I fix the produce of a Scotch acre of potatoes here, in a good season, at sixteen bolls; of barley at six bolls; of oats at five bolls; and of rye at from four to seven bolls.

Although some pease and beans are reared in Jutland, and in some districts, as I am informed, in considerable quantities, yet I can learn nothing of the manner in which they are managed, of the quantities grown per acre, or, indeed, any thing at all about them.

The land is, comparatively, of little value; the main object, therefore, is to have a considerable extent sown with great economy in point of seed.

The usual denomination by which landed tenures are held and expressed is, so many tons (a kind of barrel measure) of hard corn. By this is meant a quantity of ground, in which the specified number of barrels of rye-seed may be sown according to use and custom in the country. It is an indefinite and confused standard, and accordingly land sells at prices as various as 1, 1000. The taxes are laid on land,

and the various privileges or duties of the landed proprietors and the nobility, are appreciated in proportion to these tons of hard corn; and so are the corvées, carriages, and other public burdens incumbent upon the peasantry of every class.

A fine good regulation is observed throughout Jutland; viz. that which enjoins the prevention of sand-drift. Bent grass, *Arundo arenaria*, Lin. is not only never allowed to be destroyed, but is cultivated with great care, both by sowing and planting, in all the sandy districts. Other grasses are also encouraged to grow; and no sheep or cow-folds, so destructive in the Scottish Hebrides, are permitted to be built on such ground.

An improvement adopted of late years over all the royal domain lands, which are of great extent in this peninsula, is the sub-division of the peasants' possessions, and the building of farm-houses and offices in each of them. Formerly they dwelt in villages, and the portions of land cultivated were managed in run-rig, or alternate and accidental possession, by all the peasants of the village. On many estates this is still the case: but the advantages of giving every man his separate farm are so great and obvious, that, in spite of old prejudices, the new arrangement is cheerfully adopted.

There is a general appearance of ease and comfort among the peasants: an unequivocal proof of which is the fatness of their children, and the plumpness and sleekness of their horses. With regard to the latter, great attention is paid by the magistrates and persons in office, to prevent the intrusion of small or bad stallions, which is, indeed, a matter of royal edict, and of ancient regulation. Since I came to Jutland, I have not seen what could fairly be called a bad horse. The common size is from thirteen and a half to fifteen hands high, and they are firm, well knit, hardy creatures, exceedingly powerful in draught, and fit for every useful work, although better adapted for the cart than the saddle. They are in shape very like the valuable Suffolk breed, commonly called Suffolk punches: and the cost of each is from eighteen to thirty pounds sterling. So much care does the government take to enforce the salutary regulations about stallions, that I have not, either in this town, or in the whole of my journey of seventy miles from Scaw, seen one horse of a bad form, or less than thirteen hands high, although I daily see many hundred peasants' carts, each drawn by two horses, coming with corn, to be shipped for Norway on government account.

The agricultural implements are so infinitely below the

British, and especially those of the Scotch and northern English, that they deserve no mention. Every cart in Denmark has four wheels: its body is a narrow box, about from seven to nine feet long, and three feet broad at top, and fifteen or sixteen inches broad at bottom; each of them contains about half as much as a one-horse English cart. When the load is so heavy, that two horses cannot conveniently trot (they always trot, and sometimes gallop, whether they are loaded or not), the carter yokes three or four horses a-breast, and squeezes them through the narrow roads as well as he can. This is, by the way, an ancient custom of yoking horses, and holds to this day in many parts of Europe and the east. It furnishes a proof, if any proof were wanting, of what I have already remarked, that many habits, however generally followed and obstinately retained, are neither founded in utility, reason, nor expediency. To a man accustomed to see the improved British mode of applying the power of draught cattle, nothing can be more distressing, than to witness the laborious tugging, opposite pulling, and ill-directed exertions of these generous and abused animals. Should he, however, attempt to explain to the Jutlander or the Brandenburger the absurdity of condemning a horse to draw side-ways, when he might be made to draw lengthways, with at least one-third more power, he must expect either to be laughed at, or to hear the old jargon, "You have one way, we have another as our fathers had, and we think it the best."

"True; but your fathers erred, like other men, in many things, and you should improve what they left you. You are not enemies to all changes. You increase your fortunes; you change the course of your rivulets; and you get Spanish sheep, because they have better wool, and bring more money than your own."

"No, sir," they reply, "we never tried our horses one before the other, or two before two; they would not go so; nor are we so foolish as to wish to try such ridiculous experiments."

If you complain to the gentlemen, under the idea that they might have an influence upon the peasants' treatment of their horses, or might themselves set a better example with their own cattle, they answer in as childish a style as the boors. They tell you that they have a thousand times told the peasants how foolishly they acted in yoking their horses four or six a-breast, but that the obstinate rascals would take no advice; nor could they prevail on even

their own servants to drive in the British and rational manner.

I have accidentally mentioned Spanish sheep. They are introduced, in small flocks, into different parts of this province, but it appears to me that they have degenerated in consequence of bad keeping; for the wool of those which I examined to-day is much coarser than any Merino wool I have hitherto seen, and the animals themselves are diminutive and ugly. The common price is four dollars, or fifteen shillings sterling, for ewes, and two dollars for lambs of six weeks old. Their fleeces do not seem to be turned to good account in this part of the monarchy, for cloth is very bad, and extravagantly dear.

Having lost my clothes on board the ship in which I was cast ashore, I was under the necessity of buying a few articles of dress here. Granting that I was somewhat imposed upon, as is always the case with strangers in every town over the continent, nay, making all allowances for such imposition, yet the price was most enormous. A cloth that would not find a buyer in any town or village of England, cost me at the rate of twenty shillings per yard; and the tailor charged one-third more for his wretched work, than I ever paid in Bond-street, or St. James's, to excellent London tailors.

The sheep indigenous in Jutland are a small hardy breed, like the white-faced Scottish. The sandy nature of the soil, and the poor fare on which they subsist, unquestionably affect their flesh and wool. These are both of a coarse nature. Their common price is from ten to fourteen shillings sterling.

The cows are in general excellent milkers, and might be introduced with advantage, and indeed are introduced, into the adjacent countries. They are almost all branded; and in more than one respect resemble our Lancashire breed. No attention is paid to the horns, or, as far as I can learn, to the race or figure of the bulls. Both cows and sheep are fed all winter on a little barley and chopped straw, mixed with some meadow hay. A fat cow in winter is a rarity in the north of Jutland, which, during that season is scantily supplied with beef from Sleswig and Holstein.

Butter is well made, and extremely well tasted; but the cheese is beyond comparison the worst I have ever seen. The price of English and Dutch cheese is, therefore, very high, in proportion to the other articles of family consumption.

The peasants manufacture coarse cloths for their families. They are fond, like our Highlanders and Welsh, of gaudy,

striped, various-coloured stuffs, and more particularly of blue, red, and yellow. The military all wear red uniforms, except the cavalry, which, as in other countries, have different kinds of dresses.

I hear many complaints of the number of peasants whom the present war forces* into the army from the labours of agriculture, and other useful occupations; but the people are quiet and resigned. They all have the idea that the war with England could not have been avoided, and firmly believe that we began it merely to obtain possession of their fleet, and keep to ourselves the Danish ships and property which have been sold, or are detained in our ports. Hence they all, without exception, look upon us as robbers, and frequently made no ceremony of calling us so, without any notion of our taking such a compliment amiss.

The salaries of officers in the army, and of persons employed by government, in civil capacities, are wholly inadequate to their subsistence, or to the maintenance of the rank which they formerly enjoyed in the state. This is at present more distressing to them than ever. Within the last fourteen months, the prices of every article requisite for household economy are doubled, while the dollar, the standard which regulates prices and payments, has fallen to nearly one-half of its former value. An ensign's pay is nine dollars per month, or, according to the real value in English money, and the Hamburgh course of exchange, thirty shillings sterling, *i. e.* one shilling per day, in a country where a decent dinner will cost him half-a-crown, and a bottle of port wine three shillings and sixpence. The pay of a lieutenant is fourteen dollars per month, and of a captain about sixty; that of a common soldier is five-pence per day in time of war, and a loaf of bread every fifth day, worth about a shilling. In time of peace their pay is only two-pence halfpenny sterling over and above the loaf. The last they commonly barter for brandy.

This smallness of pay must produce discontent among the military, who know that their equals in other countries are much better paid; and it has the further pernicious tendency of making commissions in the army of very little value, and consequently liable to be granted without discrimination to men from the inferior orders of society. In fact, I have been told that, since the beginning of the pre-

* I shall state my sentiments on the military arrangements of Denmark when I come to Zealand, and after I shall have conversed with some intelligent men, in the course of my travels through the kingdom to the metropolis.

sent war, the general run of officers, both in the Danish army and navy, and especially in the militia regiments, has much degenerated. This is, beyond all comparison, more disadvantageous to an unlimited, despotic, continental monarchy, than to a country like Great Britain. In the former, the nobility and landed proprietors, who are generally very numerous, can apply to no profession but the army or the church. Commerce is looked upon as degrading to a family of rank, and to all its connections. No mode of employment, therefore, remains for the younger sons of such families, when they are prevented from entering the army, on account of the intermixture of plebeians by which it is now disgraced. Among us, on the contrary, the younger sons of noble or affluent families have not only military, naval, ecclesiastical, and medical preferments to look to, but they may also, without reproach, enter into trade, or even live as farmers and manufacturers.

Many enlightened Frenchmen have declared, that the ruin of the French monarchy was accelerated by the evil to which I allude; and at this moment we see its baneful effects in Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Denmark.

The money of Jutland is the common Danish currency, universal over the provinces, except in the duchy of Holstein. I shall have occasion to mention something on this subject hereafter; and, therefore, notice it there merely as a matter of curiosity. You cannot procure any coin in Aalborg; all is grey paper dollars; and if you go into a shop to buy a pennyworth of bread, or a glass of brandy, you must either leave a paper dollar in deposit, or purchase at different times, or of other things, what will amount to its value. The inconvenience resulting from this want of metallic currency is prodigious; it is one of the most prominent causes of public complaint; and, unfortunately, it cannot be easily removed.

Engaged as Denmark is, with allies and enemies equally dangerous, and, whatever may be the issue of the war between France and Britain, compelled to submit to multifarious sacrifices or to inevitable destruction, it cannot be expected that the people will place much confidence in their government. A man who can lay his hands upon hard silver dollars will not give them in exchange for paper, which is to-day lower than it was yesterday, and may tomorrow be of no value at all. The peasants accordingly hoard up all the silver and copper they can seize upon, and never part with them as long as they have paper or credit.

The value of the Danish dollar in 1804 was four shillings and sixpence, and is at present two shillings and four-pence!

The price of labour is very high. Common workmen earn two shillings per day, and tradesmen frequently four or five shillings sterling, and carpenters even six shillings or six shillings and sixpence. This is the more surprising, when we consider that, excepting the few Germans who are settled here, the common people do not perform two-thirds of what an English labourer would do with perfect ease.

The Jutlanders are not a handsome race, but the men are tall and tolerably good-looking, though in general in-kneed, and slender in the limbs. The fair sex (as they may certainly be called, on account of their hair and complexion, which are white even to insipidity) are not so handsome in proportion as the men. Young girls, middle-aged, and old women, use the same kind of dress, so that it requires some more attention than, perhaps, an uncomplaisant stranger will give himself the trouble of paying, to distinguish between a woman of sixteen and sixty.

After what I have said of them, it is but just and candid to add, that I found them uncommonly good-humoured and obliging. Not one instance of a tendency to scolding, anger, or ill-nature, came under my observation; and if they have not the external and personal attractions for which the dear sex is generally conspicuous, they appear to possess what is more substantially valuable, true feminine softness of manners, and sweetness of disposition.

LETTER V.

Aalborg, Dec. 7, in the Morning.

I CANNOT leave this place without acknowledging my obligations to many of its worthy inhabitants. That general Bardenfleth and his staff should conduct themselves with humanity towards unfortunate men, cast by stress of weather on their coasts, was to be expected; for it was their duty, in which to have failed would have been disgraceful. But they did not content themselves with the bare performance

of their duty. They seized every opportunity to make the period of our confinement as agreeable to us as possible, and exerted all their influence to shorten that period. There is the more merit in this conduct, because their government is by no means leniently disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain. It is, however, far from my wish to pay those excellent men a compliment at the expence of their duty to their country, which, as military men, essentially consist in faithfully acting up to the intentions, and executing the plans of their court. Such a compliment would be regarded by them as an odious contrast, committing them with their king, by the folly and indiscretion of the very man whom they had so much obliged. I must, therefore, do them the justice to add, that in all the kindness and attention shewn to myself and my countrymen, they uniformly declared that they discharged their duty to their sovereign in the manner which they knew would be most acceptable to him; for that no man in the nation possessed more active benevolence than himself.

The principal merchants and citizens of Aalborg followed the example set them by these liberal-minded officers. They frequently invited us to their houses, and tried every species of amusement to make our misfortunes bear as lightly as possible upon us.

I visited the prison where the sailors and marines of the *Crescent*, together with some other English and Swedish prisoners were confined; and am happy to say that their condition was as comfortable as could reasonably be expected. They were allowed warm rooms; decent, clean beds; and the liberty of walking out occasionally under a proper escort. The daily pay of each common man was eight-pence sterling, and of each master of a vessel, or petty officer of a man of war, three times that sum.

I was sorry to find injurious, and, as I am convinced, false reports universally spread among the Danes, concerning the treatment of their countrymen who are prisoners in Britain and Sweden. They believe them to be starved, and by means of threats forced into our service. Many letters to that purport are said to have arrived from some of the captives, but nobody would shew me such letters. When I complained of their injustice in refusing to produce the letters which were asserted to contain the proof of facts that reflected so much dishonour on my country, they excused themselves by the subterfuge, "that their friends who wrote them begged not to be named, and even wrote on the express

condition that nothing should be said about them to the British or Swedes, as the prisoners might in consequence be exposed to still worse treatment."

All the indignation I expressed at hearing such abominable calumnies against two of the most magnanimous nations in the world, produced not the slightest effect. The Danes actually believe the very worst that they hear of our nations; and especially of Sweden; of which country their hatred seems to be deep-rooted and implacable.

We are to set off in a quarter of an hour for Zeeland, and are to halt this night at a village called Hobre, six and a half Danish, or about thirty and one-third English miles from Aalborg.

Our conveyance is the common open carts of the country, which in summer would answer well enough, but are excessively cold during the present severe weather. Our escort is composed of a captain, two serjeants and four soldiers, who are to accompany us to Nijborg in Funen. The captain speaks German, and is a man of excellent character.

Notwithstanding we have before us a cold, long journey of nine days, we are all in high spirits. Such is the charm which ever accompanies the prospect of freedom; and so exhilarating is the hope of speedily seeing our friends in the dear green isle of the brave.

We arrived at Hobroe at five in the evening of the 22d, but owing to the want of proper previous arrangements, were detained a long time in the streets waiting for billets, and should have been kept much longer, had not our guards and captain exerted themselves with extraordinary activity. We are eight British and two servants, besides our escort. This little village, improperly styled a town, and enjoying the privileges of one, contains only 488 inhabitants, who seem to be completely borne down by a constant succession of calls to provide quarters for soldiers, and carriages on government account. We travelled slowly by reason of the snow, and generally through a poor ill cultivated country.

Not suspecting that we should be unable to procure food in the villages which are marked on the map of the district; through which we have passed, we neglected to provide ourselves with any articles at Aalborg, and were, in consequence, obliged to fast from the time of leaving that place. Experience will teach us more wisdom in future. It seems likely, from the appearance of my landlady, that I shall get nothing till ten; and even at that late hour, I am promised only a bit of cold veal re-warmed, and some rye bread, the

universal food of the peninsula. It is impossible to conceive the apathy and frozen indifference of a Danish landlady, in a country village.

The cold has been almost intolerable. Some of the convoy, or as they call us, *transport*, were frequently obliged to get down from the carts, and walk on foot through the snow, in order to prevent the effects of the frost on their feet, which were frequently benumbed into insensibility. Accordingly we all dread the journey before us much more than we did when we left Aalborg, this morning. For my own part, however, I think it a pleasant jaunt in comparison with the journey from Scaw, and resolve to be thankful that it is not worse.

We got in safety to Randers on the evening of the 24th, and with more comfort than any of our company had expected. It is about twenty English miles from Hobroe; but we drove that distance with unusual speed, as we were less than six hours on the road.

Our accommodation is good, but the bill is enormously high. For the supper of eight persons, including three bottles of weak wine; and for a cup of coffee, and a bit of biscuit, which was the breakfast of each of us, we are charged twenty dollars!! Had they fixed it at eight, it would still be dear, but not exorbitant, at least so our escort told us this morning; but we must pay, and therefore it is useless to complain. Every bill we have had has been shameful.

Randers is a neat little town, containing 4600 inhabitants, who carry on some woollen manufacture, and a little trade. They catch and cure considerable quantities of salmon, which are exported to the isles and the southern parts of the peninsula, and they have also the advantage of possessing a military storehouse in the town.

This produces a degree of bustle and activity very unusual in other parts of Jutland, and gives lucrative employment to all the industrious natives. Yet they complain as much as the people of Aalborg, and wish for a speedy return of peace.

We are just informed that we are not to travel by Aarhus, (pronounced Arhoos) but must turn off the great road, to the right. The reason is, that at Aarhus, which is a considerable sea-port town, containing 4300 souls, there is a battery, and they are afraid forsooth, that we should take the battery, or at least make some dangerous discoveries.

Aarhus is the scat of a bishop, and a place of some trade.

In the cathedral is buried one Christian Drackenbergh, a Norwegian, who died at the age of 146 years.

There is a packet boat, which in time of peace, sails regularly from Aarhus to Callundborg in Zeeland, a distance of about fifty-five miles.

The main Jutland road passes through Aarhus to Horsens, a fine little town, with 2400 inhabitants, distinguished by their industry and cleanliness. We go to Skanderborg, a village, but called a town, the population of which is marked in my list at 480 souls.

The country is sandy, and in general, naked. Some lakes skirted with wood, now and then diversify the scene, and must in summer render this rather a pleasant country; but its surface is at present covered with snow and ice, so that it is impossible to form a correct judgment as to its soil, fertility, or management. In almost the whole of Jutland, the traveller is struck with the number of earthen tumuli, or hillocks, which obtrude themselves constantly on his view. They have evidently been constructed by art, and are frequently of a large size; some of them being upwards of twenty feet high, and three hundred in circumference at the base. They appear indiscriminately in the midst of barren heaths, and of the richest fields; of sequestered solitudes, and of populous districts, and are exactly similar to those which we have in Dorsetshire, and other parts of the south of England.

The Danes have no answer when asked about them, but that they were made long, long ago, perhaps at the creation. Their position relatively to each other, to rivers, lakes, and the points of the compass, does not seem to have been regulated on any studied principle. Some have been levelled of late years, for they consist of the best part of the soil, the surface stratum, and it is said that arms and ancient coins have been found in them, and likewise human skeletons in stone coffins; but by a singular fatality in inquiry, I have not been able with all my patience and activity, to meet one person who has actually seen these objects. Nor are any arms or skeletons so discovered, preserved in any cabinets of curiosities, or in any other repository of which I can hear. It is, however, highly probable that these tumuli were erected in honour of persons of note in Jutland, in the same manner as similar ones were reared by the Greeks and Trojans in the Troad, and as cairns of stones were piled over the remains of heroes in the Highlands and isles of Scotland.

The immense number of them, as well as their size, are the only circumstances which stagger our belief in their being the work of men's hands; but every doubt is removed by their form, and the thinness of the soil in their immediate vicinity. They convey a high idea of the population and power of this country in ancient times.

Veile, a neat sea-port town, in which, when I left Leith, I little expected to spend my Christmas Day, lies in one of the loveliest situations that can be imagined. It is surrounded by wooden eminences, and by some beautiful expanses of water. It would be reckoned romantic in Upper Austria or Switzerland, and that is no trifling compliment to any place.

Here we overtook the English prisoners from Aalborg and Viborg, who had been sent off a week before us; and this naturally occasioned some delay and confusion in procuring lodgings for so many, we being upwards of eighty in number. But the persons to whom we were entrusted, did their best, and we are tolerably comfortable. The captain who accompanies the prisoners from Viborg, told me yesterday evening, that, during the second night of the bombardment of Copenhagen, his wife, twenty-six years of age, who was pregnant, and his eldest boy, three years old, were killed by a shell, which burst in his bed-room; and himself, and his only remaining child were badly wounded.

LETTER VI.

*Middelfahrt, in the Island of Funen, (pronounced Feeyn),
26th December, 1808.*

WE arrived here yesterday about four in the afternoon, after a cold, but not uninteresting drive of twenty-one miles and two-thirds in five hours. The country is very picturesque. As we advanced towards the Belt, the farm houses and villages improved, and agriculture, as far as I could judge from the direction of the ridges, and a few enclosures, is better understood here than in North Jutland.

Not having for a month past seen a watery surface, the first sight of the Little Belt, which separates the island of

Fünen from the main land of Jutland and Sleswig, was a real luxury. It was a great relief from the perpetual snow and ice to which we have of late been condemned. Our sailors accordingly cried out, with all the joy of the ten thousand Greeks under Xenophon, "the sea, the sea!"—"By G—d," added my facetious midshipman, "we see our own property at last, none of their shoal coasts can take our sea as they do our frigates from us; that's one good thing," &c.

At Snoghoj, on the southern side of the Belt, there is a shady solitary inn, or rather alehouse, in which persons detained from Middelfahrt, by contrary winds, must make themselves as easy as they can, for the good people of the house will not give themselves much trouble about them.

It was on embarking here for the other side, and gently objecting to the great number of people, carts, &c. put into the vessel, that I experienced, from the man who has the charge of the packet boat, the first instance of downright intentional rudeness, since I came to Denmark. The stream was rapid, the vessel aukward, and the wind strong and squally. The man himself was not to embark. He crammed us in, like so many pigs, and was rough and boisterous to those who did not squeeze themselves closer together than they conveniently could. I told him that we were accustomed to the sea, and would make no unreasonable opposition to his arrangements, being as desirous of crossing as he possibly could be of sending us; but that really the boat was too much lumbered, and that accidents might happen, as had last week happened, on this very passage, where three people were drowned from similar carelessness. Upon this temperate remonstrance, he flew into a violent fury, and swore that I should not be permitted to make any objections, reasonable or unreasonable; that he knew his duty, and would perform it, in spite of all the arrogant English in the universe; that I ought to recollect I was not now in England, but in Denmark; and that I should do well to remember my situation, and not put on any bullying airs. I calmly answered, for now the attention of upwards of one hundred persons was turned upon our dispute, that my present situation was brought sufficiently to my recollection by his spirited and very courageous speech; that I did indeed feel the difference between being in Denmark and in England, in the latter of which countries, if a man wearing the king's uniform, used ungentlemanly language to a prisoner, he would be ruined in his character, and scorned by every one

as a coward, who availed himself of his accidental power to add insult to misfortune, and to threaten those in his own country whom he would not elsewhere venture to look in the face. I expected he would draw his sword or do something violent, and was prepared to defend myself in the best way I could; but his own countrymen intimidated him by their general disapprobation of what he had said, and he ran on shore with horrid imprecations against myself and my *murderous* countrymen. I called after him to give me his name, but he flew off without returning any answer.

We contrived to effect our passage safely, and during the thirty-eight minutes it lasted (the distance is not above a mile and a half), my honest countrymen betrayed signs of our national spirit. Every thing done on board by the Danish sailors was "slow, clumsy, and fresh-water like, their sails were ill-set,—the vessel sailed like a tub,—the fellows trimmed her like land-lubbers," with many other observations of the same kind.

Arrived at length here, we were, in the course of the next hour, quartered on the citizens, and have no reason to complain of our treatment. My landlord tells me that, about six months ago, he had eighty-three French soldiers constantly in his house, and living entirely at his expence. Rather than await a second visit of the French here, he would to-morrow, he assured me, gladly sell his possessions in this town, which are considerable, could he procure half their value for them, and remove to any other country. The same sentiment is general throughout the place. The utmost terror is expressed of a return of their Gallic allies, and of the melancholy consequences which must result from the present connection between Denmark and France.

My worthy host complained also of the impertinent demands which the French officers, quartered upon him, perpetually made, of better wines and food than he could procure for them; and he declared to me, upon his honour, that they frequently insulted his wife and daughter before his face, with gross and indecent language. The expences to which he was put for their subsistence, during the stay of the French army in Flöden, he estimated at six thousand dollars, or upwards of one thousand pounds sterling, which he says, is one eighth of his fortune.

The Spaniards, commanded by the marquis de la Romana, behaved infinitely better. They were in general satisfied with what they received, never behaved arrogantly or im-

properly towards females, and cheerfully paid for whatever they desired to have beyond the ordinary allowance.

This honourable distinction between the two nations, I have found to be universally allowed since I came to Aalborg, and by every person with whom, during my journey, I conversed on the subject.

Middelfahrt is a neat little town, with a bad harbour, but as the Belt is so narrow, it supplies necessities, without any difficulty, to those vessels that pass through.

The population is about one thousand; apparently tradesmen, inn-keepers and sea-faring people. There is no striking difference between the country, or the people, and those of the opposite mainland coast.

Fünen, however, seems to be more carefully cultivated and better enclosed. We shall set off to-morrow for Odensee, the capital of Fünen, and the seat of a bishop, and of a general officer for the island.

LETTER VII.

Odensee, in Fünen, 27th Dec. 1808.

WE arrived two hours ago in this insular capital, after a journey of twenty-eight miles and a half, from Middelfahrt, through a pretty rich level country, tolerably well enclosed, and containing fewer neglected spots than the Jutland districts. The land is subdivided into separate farms. Sand prevails too much in the soil, but it is the gravelly sand, mixed with a portion of clay and loam, which constitutes a sharp and productive mould. The roads are excellent at present, for the snow is hardened upon them in quantities sufficient to consolidate the sand, and make the surface as hard as stone. We accordingly travel very quick, sometimes six or seven miles an hour, and rarely less than five.

As we advanced from Middelfahrt, the island improved in its appearance. What I have heard, however, of the great fertility and excellent farming of this district, seems to me an exaggeration.

The Danes indeed, are not a little addicted to such patriotic hyperboles regarding their country. Fünen, as far as

I have had an opportunity of judging, both now and five years ago, is not by any means to be compared, either in fertility of soil, or in skilful management, with some parts of Holstein, and the higher German principalities, and still less with the general run of English counties.

As a proof of this, I need only mention the general cultivation of rye; a species of grain the culture of which it would perhaps be adviseable to forbid in every country where any thing else will grow. Of all crops, it is the most exhasting to the soil, and it is precarious and capricious with regard to the seasons and the weather.

I am informed here, that I have missed the finest part of this isle, viz. the southern and south western extremities. This may, perhaps, be true, but I am apt to suspect that this observation also was dictated by the same ardour of patriotism, to which I have already alluded; and that the high name of Fünen, as the granary and agricultural model of the Danish states, rests merely upon its superiority to Zeeland, and the most of the smaller isles.

The hedges are constructed of willow-twigg wicker-work, like those of Dorsetshire. Very few living thorn hedges, if any, are reared; and what is surprising, in a cold dry country, which abounds with detached blocks of granite, of very commodious sizes, scarcely any stone dykes are to be seen. The ridges are rather straighter than in Jutland, but much still remains to be done both in straightening and leveling them.

I saw two or three drains, but they are miserably ill made. Instead of our mode of forming a passage for the water, by building the bottom and sides carefully with stones, and securing the roof of the drain from falling in, or even from admitting any earth or sand into the channel, the Fünen drains are rumbling syvers only about eight inches below the surface of the ground, and cannot be expected to remain unchoked above one or two years.

The cattle and horses resemble those of Jutland, but the latter being harder worked, are in general smaller and leaner. The peasants complain bitterly of providing carriages and services on government account.

When I left Middelfahrt, in a cart drawn by two miserable little animals, the most unsightly I had yet seen in Denmark, I little thought that I was to have no fresh horses until I should arrive here, a distance of twenty-eight miles and a half; and still less could I have imagined, that they would accomplish the journey. Yet they have not only

accomplished it, but have also appeared rather to gain than to lose vigour on the road. It is indeed wonderful how the poor creatures hold out so well. The postillions are extremely obliging and easy to deal with, and the attention of the government to render the posting establishment as perfect as possible for the accommodation of passengers, is highly laudable.

The hour and minute of the traveller's arrival and setting off are noted down in a book kept at every post-house; and the law enjoins the driver not to keep his employer waiting above half-an hour, and to travel at the rate of one Danish mile per hour. If he fail in any respect, the traveller marks his complaint in the billet which the driver must give his master on his return home with his horses.

It is a convincing proof that this check upon the post-boys is not an empty form, that I have often seen them exhibit considerable fear and anxiety when a stranger found fault with them, or used any threat. How different from the mulish Saxon and the brutal Prussian postillions!

The approach to Odensee is striking on account of the extraordinary straightness of the road. For four English miles, it is as straight as an arrow. The traveller at that distance sees the church steeple arise as it were from the middle of the road, and has the same view until he enters the town.

Odensee, or Odense, the capital of Fünen, the seat of a bishop, and of the military commander of the island, is a straggling town, containing 5400 inhabitants, exclusively of two regiments of infantry, and eight squadrons of cavalry, who are here at present. There are some good houses, but the general aspect of the place is not wealthy.

The site of Odensee, a mile or two from the sea, where it might have had the advantage of a good harbour, strikes a stranger as injudicious; and the more so, because the neighbourhood is a dead level, and the situation of the town has no visible superiority over any other part of the district.

The only manufacture of consequence carried on in Odensee, is that of leather, and especially of gloves. They are very far inferior to the English; but yet, compared with those of other countries, they are not despicable. In proportion to their value they are dearer than the English; and the same is the case with every thing here.

The cathedral contains a variety of monuments, some of which are of marble, and not intelligible. It has likewise an altar piece, with gilded ornaments of much labour and

little ingenuity. There is nothing else in the place worthy of particular notice.

There is no nation that I know of, which spends so much money in tomb-stones as the Danish. The churches are all full of them, and many, even in obscure villages, must have cost several hundred dollars each. Is this a proof of affection for the deceased, or of vanity in the living? Perhaps both causes have united in this country, with the constitutional melancholy of the people, to produce the effect in question.

General Bardenfleth had mentioned my name to his son, a captain of dragoons, on the staff here, who, like his excellent father, has been very kind and attentive to me. At his house I met a Spanish officer. He is here a prisoner of war, since the departure of the marquis de la Romana.

We felt for each other the kindness of fellow-citizens who meet in a foreign land, embarked in the same cause, and incurring the same dangers. He had not heard from Spain since the month of April last. Any little intelligence of the late occurrences in Spain, which I could communicate from memory, was, therefore, very welcome; and we spent several hours in a most interesting conversation. The conduct of the Danes towards him, he praises as exceedingly humane and delicate, and especially that of young Bardenfleth and his amiable lady.

My quarters here promised at first very little comfort; for when I arrived, there was nobody in the house who spoke any other language than common *peasant* Danish. In this predicament, I, as usual, had recourse to the mistress of the dwelling.

It is always ten to one but what you succeed in making a woman understand you, if you have a quarter of an hour's time, and a little portion of patience to explain yourself.

I do not, in a case of this kind, remember one instance of a rude answer from a woman; but I have had fifty such answers, or perhaps no answer at all, from men. To the young landlady, therefore, I went, and we had not been five minutes together before she completely understood all my wants. Her Danish, and my German mixed with Danish, were mutually intelligible. I got an excellent dinner, good wine, and a clean room; and, in short, fared like a prince. She introduced me to her husband, who was also civil, but his nature had not in it the amiable friendliness of his better half. It was a real pleasure to me to have it in my power to make some return for this lady's goodness, by carrying

a letter from her to her brother, who was a prisoner in Sweden.

Beech is the species of timber most common in Fünen, as in all the Danish isles. Oak and elder, as well as birch, ash, and willows, now and then appear, but neither in great numbers, nor of considerable size.

Fünen is certainly not sufficiently sheltered by wood; though I had been told in Jutland, that it had rather too much than too little timber. None good for shipbuilding has as yet been found; and I doubt if there be much in this country.

In the southern divisions of the island, I am told that green crops, pease and beans, are raised, but along the road which I have travelled, no symptoms of such husbandry were seen. The general appearance of Fünen resembles that of the worst part of Wiltshire, or of Champagne Poulleuse in France.

Fünen is stated to have a population of 150,000 souls, which is nearly that of the second rate counties in England and Ireland. It contains several noblemen's estates and family seats, but I have seen none distinguished for size or elegance.

LETTER VIII.

Nijborg, Nyburg, or Nyelborg, Dec. 28th and 29th.

WE arrived here about two yesterday afternoon, after a three hours' drive; but as the town is a kind of fortress, and the government is uncommonly timid and cautious, we are not allowed to go about the place, or to make any visits. A guard attends every one of us who leaves his room; and though the guard is good humoured and civil, indeed uncommonly so, the restraint is unpleasant.

Nijborg is a pleasant little town, containing eighteen hundred souls, besides military, and has the appearance of being wealthy. This may in some measure be owing to the newness of the houses, the greatest part of which have been built since the year 1804, when a terrible fire destroyed nearly the whole of the place.

The situation of Nijborg, on a finely wooded bay upon

the Great Belt, which divides Fünen from Zeeland, is advantageous as well as beautiful. At this season every place appears in dishabille; the rivers and lakes are frozen over; the ships are locked up in ice, and make a contemptible figure; the fields look bare and barren; the trees leafless, melancholy, and shrivelled; and, to crown all, the animal world corresponds with the inanimate creation, and man sympathizes so strongly with the gloomy phenomena which he beholds, that his heart is shut against pleasurable impressions, and recognizes nothing of nature but her mysterious sublimity, and the terrors of her power.

Such were my feelings as I approached a town, which, in point of situation, I am convinced is in summer delightful. The commandant was polite and attentive, and, to my great gratification, praised some British officers he has corresponded with since the beginning of this war, and especially admiral Keates, with whom he had to arrange the difficult affair of providing transports for general Romana's army.

We are ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to be ferried to Zeeland to-morrow morning at two; a cold and unpromising business.

To our great disappointment, we have learned, that, three days ago, the ice compelled all the British men of war to leave the Belts; so that it is likely we shall have some difficulty and danger in our passage.

The name of this island is scarcely by any two persons spelt alike.

After one of the most teasing and fatiguing day's work that can well be conceived, we accomplished our passage of about nineteen or twenty English miles from Nijborg to this wretched place; and though it is now ten at night of the 29th, and we have been in motion since two in the morning, we are ordered to march immediately two mortal Danish miles to a place called Slagelse.

The weather is cold to excess; and it is very likely that at the place just named, we shall have no lodgings prepared for us, although there being none here, is the pretext urged by the commanding officer for our removal.

A prisoner, travelling in winter over Danish ferries, ought to be well supplied with patience and philosophy.

LETTER IX.

Ringsted, or Ringstad, in Zealand, Dec. 30, 1808.

IT was a very wise resolution of the Grecian sage, never to go by water any journey practicable by land. If the distance be small, it costs more time, more preparation, and, generally speaking, more money than if you go on dry ground; if the distance be great, you may expect to have an hundred inconveniences and privations to suffer, and these aggravated, probably, by sea-sickness, contrary winds, cheating boatmen, squalling children, squeaking pigs, filth and abominations innumerable; and, perhaps, as was our hard fortune, all of these miseries, combined with hunger, thirst, cold, and want of sleep.

On a frosty, snowy morning, the 29th of December, we were kept sitting in uncovered carts, in the open streets of Nijborg from two o'clock till six; and were then slowly marched in the aforesaid carts for an hour, in the face of a bitter north-east-wind, which threatened to freeze our very blood and marrow.

When we arrived at the place of embarkation, which was nearly three English miles from the town of Nijborg, our baggage and our persons were huddled, in the greatest disorder, on board three large sloops, already stuffed with goods, horses, cows, pigs, &c. passing from Fiinen to Zealand. A guard of a corporal and six soldiers was posted in each sloop.

About eight in the morning, with infinite noise, but with all the sluggishness of so many torpedos, they at last set sail. The wind was as contrary, and the day as disagreeable, as our worst enemies could have desired. Fortunately for me, I had been careful enough to think of carrying some provisions and a little brandy with me from Nijborg; and was thus enabled to make a tolerable meal along with some of my fellow passengers. I soon, however, felt all my folly, in having entrusted the smallest trifle to the precautionary prudence of English or Danish sailors.

Alas! after dining on salted beef, ham, and bread, there was not a drop of water to be found on board. The shock which this discovery gave us may be easily conceived by any one who considers that each vessel contained nearly eighty persons, and that we had the prospect of being all

day, or perhaps two days, on the passage. I had only the poor consolation left me of scolding the sailors. They bore my ill-humour very well, and endeavoured to excuse their carelessness, by alleging that it would be impossible to keep water on board without freezing. They had themselves neither meat nor drink, excepting a bottle of Danish whiskey or gin; which they drank, as they called it, *dry*, i. e. without any mixture. My brandy was now useless to me, as I cannot drink any unless diluted with water, and I was consequently compelled to endure all the horrors of thirst during the nine hours of our painful voyage.

Our vessels had a crust, or rather a solid hoop, of ice two feet high, and a foot thick, all round their hulls, where the waves broke on them. The sea, luckily for us, was very calm, otherwise we should have been dreadfully annoyed by its spray dashing upon the decks, and being instantly converted into ice.

The coast of Fünen, Zeeland, Langeland, Sprøe, and of all the land in sight, is rather tame than bold; but the trees, windmills, and church spires, which, in every direction, seem to bound the horizon, give some variety and beauty to the scene. There was no ice, excepting a few floating pieces, not above three or four inches thick, and a few square yards in dimensions, which we met with when we had left the shore half an English mile.

There is a pretty strong current; and, what makes these currents in the Baltic and the Cattegat worse than those of our British seas, however stronger the latter may be, is, that they depend upon the winds, and not, like our British currents, upon any steady and known principle. Of their strength and continuance, the sailors have very little knowledge; much less indeed than from their influence upon a voyage, and the usual information which the dullest of mankind derive from daily experience, we should be led to expect.

The master of the sloop described to me the usual mode of sending post letters and passengers over this Belt in severe winters. The description is enough to make one shudder with horror.

The distance across the narrowest part of the Great Belt is so considerable, it being betwixt eighteen and nineteen miles, that very few instances occur in history of a passage being effected over the ice by persons on foot. The ferrymen, therefore, are supplied with what they call ice-boats, or good stout common built boats, well fastened with iron, and furnished with iron keels, or at least keels strongly armed

with that metal. These boats are dragged by the men, like any other sledge, over those parts of the strait which are completely frozen, and where the ice is of the requisite smoothness and strength. These spots are, however, comparatively few. In consequence of currents, eddies, or strong winds, and greater depth of water in some places than in others, the boatmen frequently sink down into large holes in the ice, and are hauled into the boat by means of ropes, which are fastened round their shoulders. But it sometimes happens that this cannot be easily done, and that two or more pieces of ice are driven with such force against each other, by the current and winds, that the unfortunate boatmen are squeezed to death, or drowned, before they have time to regain the boat. In other parts, large sheets of ice, several yards in extent, and often ten or twelve feet high, raised edgeways by strong winds, oppose a dreadful barrier to all further progress. The boat must now be raised in the best way they can, by means of ice-poles, handspikes, and oars, to the summit of the icy elevation, and precipitated to the opposite side. This is the most dangerous part of the whole operation, because that the large masses of ice are often very insecurely bound together, and have interstices of water, snow, or thin ice, between them. To secure themselves as well as possible against the fatal treachery of the rough, uneven ice, the boatmen use ice-poles, which they drive with all their might into the rough pavement under their feet, to ascertain its strength.

All their precautions are, nevertheless, frequently unavailing. Should a gale, or a north-west wind, start up when they are about mid-way, their fate becomes almost inevitable. Huge fields of ice are then at once detached from the great mass which borders the shores of Fünen and Zeeland, and are tossed against each other with inconceivable fury by the contending currents, until after a struggle of days or weeks, they find their way into the Baltic or Cattegat, according to the direction of the conquering wind. Destruction awaits any ship or boat involved among these enraged combatants: and, accordingly, the number of melancholy accidents that every severe winter produces is prodigious.

The exertion requisite for accomplishing the passage often proves too great, and the boatmen, though they have not met with any unexpected incident peculiarly unfavourable, perish from cold and fatigue. The fare paid them is proportionally high, and varies with the various situations in which they are placed. The ordinary number of boatmen

is eight, but they are frequently obliged to take as many as their boat can carry.

When I asked some of our boatmen, who were accustomed to this hazardous sort of navigation, whether they thought it practicable for an army to cross the Great Belt in a rigorous season, they answered, with seeming earnestness of conviction, "Sir, the wind must be calm for weeks together, and the frost more intense than any of us ever saw, before one hundred men can pass in arms; and as to cavalry and artillery, they are out of the question: nor is this all; for should one hundred men succeed in their attempt to cross, ten men meeting them on the opposite shore could kill them like so many sheep, so fatiguing is the journey, even to the stoutest and most experienced."

How absurd then were the speeches of so many of our politicians, who declared, in the most confident manner, that Zeeland would be untenable by the British army in winter! Nothing could be more puerile and ridiculous than such an idea.

The very great difficulties which, for five or six months in the year, attend the passage between the different Danish provinces and isles, may be considered as one of the principal impediments to agricultural and economical improvements. The situation of this monarchy for trade is so pre-eminently excellent, her coasts are so extensive, her harbours so numerous, and, it must also be acknowledged, her population is so orderly, and her government so mild and patriotic, that we are at a loss to account for the slender advances in internal and external resources, which she has made during the last hundred years.

What renders more striking this pause, or, more correctly speaking, retrograde movement in national prosperity, is, that since the year 1718 she has carried on no war of any consequence.

There must surely, at bottom, be some sore evil connected with her climate, soil, produce, and cultivation, to account for this blighting of Denmark's political tree. May not the cause, perhaps, be traced to the deadly stagnation of the Baltic winter, the disjointed state of the provinces, and the extreme difficulty of intercommunication? What inconveniences would Britain not be subject to, were Middlesex, Kent, and Essex, with the navigation of the Thames (and these form the Zeeland of England) cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the united kingdom for nearly the half of the year? Nay, would not a Little and a Great Belt,

such as I have described, dissevering Yorkshire and Lancashire (the Fünen of England), or Norfolk and the corn counties (our Holstein and Jutland), from the rest of the nation, be followed by most fatal consequences to our general resources!

The island of Sprøe, which is somewhat bolder than the others in sight, is a kind of a half-way house on this wide ferry, and yields to many a miserable passenger a welcome shelter in winter, and during the continuance of contrary winds. We did not land. The information which I received respecting it from the captain of our sloop was by no means favourable. It seems to be a place of such wretched accommodation, though containing a kind of royal inn and hotel, that a residence on it is become a proverbial expression, used as our Highlanders do "*Droch comhail ort*;"—Evil befall you. "May you be detained a day and two nights at Sprogø," is tantamount to wishing a man the speediest road to the gallows.

The island, however, is a relief to the eye on a broad passage; and, though not seemingly above a mile in length, and half as much in breadth, is of great service, on account of its position.

We were politely received at Corsøer, by the person to whom the marine department of that abominable village is entrusted. He promised to procure us lodgings and accommodation for the night; a very comfortable promise to us, as few persons living could stand more in need of them. His promises, however, we quickly found to be of the courtier sort. We waited till nine in the evening before we could procure even a dinner.

My companions, at length, began to grumble at the delay, and at the shameful breach of promise about our lodgings. For my own part, I had, by this time, learned a little philosophy. I begged of them to recollect that we were fortunate in not having died of thirst, and that we ought to be thankful we had not before us the prospect of any more long Danish ferries; that the sooner we were at our journey's end the better; that we had now only eighty miles to go; with other similar topics of consolation. All this had a good effect upon them, as well as upon myself.

At half past ten at night, we set off in twenty-two carts for Slagelse, leaving behind us only one of our number (and a servant with him), who was unable to bear the fatigue of travelling. It was a bitter cold night, but we drove rapidly, and got to our stage by one in the morning. The people of

the village had all gone to bed many hours before our arrival, and it was a long and painful business to get admittance into any house.

I slept pretty comfortably on a chair the remainder of the night, and on waking in the morning, discovered a fresh and pleasing instance of female humanity. The landlady having observed me retire to an adjoining room, from the noise and confusion of the room in which my fellow travellers drank coffee, and not seeing me return, suspected, what was in fact the case, that I had laid me down in the first convenient spot for sleeping. I had taken possession of an arm chair, a valuable property in my situation. She found me fast asleep, and wrapped me carefully up in pillows and cloaks (no blankets are used in Denmark), and put one of her warmest handkerchiefs and a cap on my head. I awoke in the morning in good health, and greatly refreshed, and felt very grateful to the unknown person who had so kindly arrayed me in my grotesque, but comfortable, habiliments. A man, I was convinced, would not have done it. When, in the morning, I discovered and thanked her, she answered, "I only did my duty, sir. Perhaps you have at home a mother, wife, or sister, who, in my situation, would do just the same for a prisoner, and who will wish me well when you tell them that we Danish women have female hearts, like our sex in other countries."

This woman had lost a brother in the action between the Danes and sir Arthur Wellesley's army, near Kioge, in 1807.

Slagelse, like almost all the Danish villages I have lately seen, suffered severely, some years ago, by fire; it is consequently rebuilt in a better, or at least a newer style than the general run of small villages. Its population is between seventeen and eighteen hundred. The place is in other respects insignificant.

Here we were detained this morning from eight, the hour we were ordered to be ready for setting off, till one in the afternoon, merely because the dragoons who escorted us had forgotten their duty. It was very provoking, that the fellows were not punished further than by a very gentle reprimand, accompanied by a sort of request from their officer, not to keep us so long waiting again.

The country is, through the whole of the route, poorer and worse cultivated than Fünen, and the better parts of Jutland over which I have travelled. The enclosures are pitiful, and extremely neglected; the villages are few, small, and composed of huts, miserable indeed, in comparison

with those of Holstein, Jutland, and Sleswig, and the finer parts of Germany; the soil is moorish or sandy; and, upon the whole, is ill-managed; the woods look much better upon a distant than a near inspection, though some good beech-trees, and a few tolerable oaks, now and then appear.

Almost all the peasants' houses are of wood, painted red, green, or yellow, raised on foundations of granite blocks, to the height of a foot and a half from the ground; betwixt which blocks and the wooden parts of the walls the wind has free entrance into three-fourths of the dwelling. The windows are small, and mostly glazed with glass panes of a blueish tinge.

Ringsted, where I now write, lies on a commanding eminence, nineteen miles from Slagelse, and in a central part of the island of Zealand. It is a still poorer place than Slagelse, and scarcely deserves any mention, excepting for the good accommodation which the post-office, near the church, affords. The last-mentioned edifice would, I think, be too large for the village of Ringsted, were all the horses, cows, and pigs of the place, as well as the human population, to become good church-going Lutherans. The magnitude of this church struck me the more forcibly, because the people of this country do not seem very zealous devotees; but, on the contrary, pay at least to the external observances of religion very little attention. They buy and sell, and amuse themselves on Sundays, as on other week days, and very few of them frequent the churches, especially in the towns.

This observation I made some years ago, and have reason to think it well founded, not only in comparison with Britain and Ireland, but also with Germany, Hungary, and France.

I by no means intend any unfavourable reflection on the morality of the Danish people, and still less on the piety and general conduct of their clergy, whom I believe to be an estimable order of men; all I mean is, that too little respect is paid to the Sabbath, and to the edification, which a suitable employment of that sacred day is well calculated to produce.

The Zealand roads are most excellent; far superior indeed to the roads of almost all the countries which I have seen. At the end of every mile, and half mile, there is erected by the road side, a pillar of Norwegian granite, ten or twelve feet in height, with the letters C. VII. (Christian the seventh), and the number of the miles to Copenhagen, engraven upon it; and smaller pillars of the same material, similarly engraved, are placed at the end of the first and third quarters

of a Danish mile, all the way from Corsöer, to Copenhagen and Elsinore.

To keep in order both the high and cross roads, the peasantry are bound to labour on them a certain number of days each season, according to the valuation of their lands, under the inspection of commissioners, appointed by the commandants of the districts, and controuled by the government department entrusted with the post-offices.

That the peasants may be kept strictly to their duty, the portion of road to be repaired by each is measured, and the initials of the peasant's name are engraved upon a piece of stone or of durable wood, and fixed in the ground beside the portion of road thus allotted him. The best proof of the efficacy of this regulation, is the incomparable excellence of all these roads.

LETTER X.

Roskilde, Dec. 31, 1808.

IN this town, which for ages has been the burial place of the Danish royal family, I conclude the year 1808, a prisoner. Little did I expect to pay it such a visit, when, half a dozen years ago, I left this melancholy place, with no intention of ever seeing it again; and little didst thou expect it, my dear, far distant friend, when on the 10th of October last, thou wert pleased to dedicate thy life to the happiness of him who loves and esteems thee.

To one who has not seen Roskilde, it must be interesting on account of what he hears of the wonderful monuments of its cathedral from every one with whom he may chance to talk upon the subject. But, to the same man, the actual inspection will prove a mortifying disappointment.

How different from the works of nature in Switzerland, Salzburgh, Hungary, and Scotland! How infinitely do the latter transcend the language and even the expectations and the glowing fancy of the traveller! How varied, yet how simple are their charms; how contrasted, yet how harmonious their features; and how astonishingly does intimate acquaintance with those charming features introduce into the

soul one grand sentiment of nature, one delicious, heart-felt conviction, that all is the effect of a power, which is at once irresistible, beneficent and sublime!

The cathedral of Roskilde is a large mass of tolerable buildings, nearly as disproportioned to the population of the poor decaying town, as is the church of Ringsted to that place. The monuments of the royal family are, upon the whole, as dull as can easily be conceived. Most of the huge coffins, containing royal personages of every description, are covered with black velvet, which is become in the course of time, so tattered as to look very unroyal and beggarly. The tassels and other ornaments appended to them fall off in rags, year after year; grow green, and in general, may be called really shabby. A considerable number, however, of the coffins are of tolerable workmanship in marble, but not one of the inscriptions deserves particular notice. This is rather mortifying, but it is a literal and not astonishing fact; for the inscriptions are sparingly used, and are very modest and uninteresting.

The marble, which is commonly called white, but is in reality, a dusky yellow, and of a disagreeable and greasy surface, is the kind uniformly used in these monuments. It is nothing like the Italian, or even the Scotch marble, in point of softness of grain, or of what we call fleshiness of colouring, and has no more effect in monuments than common freestone. The fine granite of Norway or Sweden, would have answered infinitely better.

Roskilde seems to have been long on the decline, for the houses are almost antediluvian in form and size, the streets narrow and ill laid out, and the population is scanty.

We are kept strict prisoners here, under the pretext that, as the town is full of soldiers, and a kind of battle took place in it, between the English and natives, in 1807, in which many of the latter were killed, the Danes might probably insult or maltreat any of our men, who should be seen in the streets. The reason is a frivolous and vexatious one. The Danes are not disposed to insult their prisoners, and even if they were so disposed, as the town is so full of soldiers, we might surely be allowed a guard to protect us.

I have had an unpleasant altercation on this subject, with the officer who appointed us our lodgings. In my opinion, he has behaved very improperly, and, to their honour be it said, very differently from those of his Danish brother officers with whom I have hitherto met. As this is a circumstance

likely to be productive of some consequences, I shall hereafter enlarge upon it.

LETTER XI.

Copenhagen, 1st January, 1809.

WHILE I am anxiously waiting for an answer to a petition, which I have just transmitted to the king of Denmark, written some minutes ago, I continue my journal, and take up the narrative from the moment of arriving at Roskilde.

The distance between Ringsted and Roskilde is nineteen miles, which we were three hours and a half travelling in our caris; so that we arrived in the latter town at mid-day.

A promise was at first made us that we should be allowed to proceed, and perhaps get to Elsinore the following night; and thus finish our long and disagreeable journey on Danish land. This promise was not kept. On the contrary, we were now given to understand, that we were not only to remain at Roskilde all that day (the best too for travelling which we had yet seen), but also that twenty-eight of us must lodge, under a guard, in one small ill-aired room, on the floor of which we must sleep at night.

This information was communicated to me by the officer who seemed to take the direction of every thing concerning us; and it was given in rough and insolent language. I asked him if he spoke German? He did fluently.

As a knowledge of that language, is, throughout all the north, a sort of criterion to distinguish persons of education, and as I had hitherto found it very useful, I had no doubt of prevailing upon the officer just mentioned, either to permit us to go forward, or to allow us to walk through the town; or, at least, to have the use of rooms and beds in our prison, where there was an abundance of empty ones.

In all this I was mistaken. He took it highly amiss that I seemed dissatisfied with any thing he chose to do, and asked me, if I suspected him to be ignorant of his duty?

[Here the author relates a serious dispute, which took place between him and the commander, which ended in his being sent prisoner to Copenhagen; from which situation,

however, he was released on petitioning the king of Denmark. In the following letter he gives an interesting account of the state of the Danish capital].

LETTER XII.

Elsinore, January 5, 1809.

AFTER reposing myself in Copenhagen, and comparing its present state with what it was at the period of my last visit in 1804, I came by the way of Hirschholm to this place. The Sound is so full of floating ice, that a passage is impracticable. I have, therefore, leisure for writing what has occurred to me on the present state of Zeeland, Copenhagen, and Denmark. These I shall notice in their order.

I. *Zeeland.*

This island has for many past ages been the most important division of the Danish monarchy. It contains the metropolis, the court, the fleet, and the courts of justice: it is the grand emporium of the trade, shipping, and manufactures of the kingdom; and by its geographical position, it essentially influences the trade of northern Europe.

Zeeland lies between latitude $54^{\circ} 55'$ and $54^{\circ} 52'$ north, and longitude 11 and 13 of Greenwich. It possesses twelve excellent harbours, and an innumerable quantity of smaller bays and creeks, well calculated for promoting its internal trade, its ship-building, and its fisheries and manufactures. The most moderate computation fixes its circumference, following the sea-mark, at eight hundred and fifty miles. Its extreme length is eighty English miles, and the average breadth forty. It is intersected in various places by arms of the sea, so that the solid extent of the island does not exceed eighty miles by thirty-six, or 2880 square miles, equal to 1,440,000 Scottish, or 1,843,200 English acres. Of this extent, nearly equal to our counties of Perth or Northumberland, about one-fourth is covered with wood, or at least allotted to woods; one-fourth is moor; marsh, or barren

heath, and one half is cultivated, pastured, or turned to account in roads, cities, towns, villages, farm-houses, gardens, parks, and other economical purposes. The soil is of middling quality, rather sandy, but susceptible of very great amelioration, by draining, enclosing, trenching, and, above all, by introducing a judicious rotation of crops, and an interchange of the leguminous and culmiferous.

The population of Zeeland varies so much, in consequence of its being liable to the fluctuations occasioned by the presence or absence of the fleets and armies, that it is impossible to state it with precision. It seldom, however, exceeds 260,000 or falls under 220,000; the average may be fixed at 235,000, its army and navy included.

Were we, therefore, to deduct from this number the population of Copenhagen, which, being the metropolis not of Zeeland only, but of the whole monarchy, is accordingly peopled for the most part with Norwegians, Holsteiners, Jutlanders, Swedes, &c. this island would be found to contain no more than about 140,000 souls. The surface affords ten Scotch acres, or twelve and a half English acres to each individual! a proportion disgraceful to the Zeeland farmers, considering the numerous local advantages which they possess.

In a political point of view, this island deserves much attention. It will always be, in the real sense of the expression, the key of the Baltic. It is in vain to urge, that in the hands of Denmark, which now possesses no fleet, this key is useless, or null: our fleets and convoys have lately, to their cost, felt the contrary*. In the possession of Great Britain, however, Zeeland would be complete mistress of the Baltic, of its trade, its powers, its resources, its foreign relations, and of all its political influence.

Convinced as I am of the truth of what I have now advanced, and certain, as I have already stated, that no enemy could drive us out of it by armies marched across the ice; and having, moreover, undoubted information from persons on the spot, that nine-tenths of the lower orders of the natives wish to have us for their fellow-citizens, or if you please,

* One fleet of sixty-three sail had twenty-two valuable vessels taken from it by the Danes of Zeeland a month ago, during a calm, when the ships of war that formed the convoy were not only useless, but ran a great risk of being taken themselves by the enemy's gun and row-boats. The number of prizes carried into Zeeland since we evacuated it, is believed to amount to three hundred and fifty-six; and it will continue to grow more and more formidable as long as the war lasts.

their masters, I am grieved and astonished at our having evacuated this important island, after its conquest in 1807. Our attack on Copenhagen had completely alienated the government, and thrown the resources of the country, and, I may add, its national pride, its feelings of injustice, and thirst for revenge, into the arms of France. All that we could do to ensure the hatred of Denmark and Russia, was done previously to the capitulation of Copenhagen, and the surrender of the fleet. The morality or immorality, the political expediency or folly of the transaction, were decided for ever, and honour or disgrace indelibly attached to the British councils of the day. As their reason for attacking an unsuspecting and defenceless ally, those councils supported their cause by alleging a political necessity, founded upon no less important considerations than the danger or the security of Britain.

Now, if it was necessary for our safety that Zeeland should be taken, and its fleet carried off, I really see no cause why Zeeland should not have been kept, to prevent the creation of future fleets; for the equipment of which she possesses such peculiar facilities and advantages. Have we not by our conduct incurred all the shame of robbery without securing its gains? Have we not risked our reputation, and then rejected the prize; committed the trespass, and wantonly thrown away the object for which it was committed?

Considering the scarcity of fuel, and the consequent dearth of it in Zeeland, a stranger is surprized at the number and extent of the woods. These are guarded by royal edicts, and what is better, by royal and manorial foresters, who manage the timber under strict regulations. The quality of the oak for ship-building is much praised by the natives; but these praises must be received with some allowance for the uncommon self-complacency with which every Dane mentions the productions of his own country. The quantity of oak, however, is considerable, and that of beech, of every size and of all ages, is very great.

A well-informed gentleman, intimately acquainted with the island, estimates the value of the woods in Zeeland, were they now sold by auction, at five millions of dollars, or nearly one million sterling. He thinks that they can afford sufficient quantities of timber for building *four* ships of the line annually, without any serious injury, for fifty years to come.

Granting that this gentleman's patriotism may have misled him so far, as to make him exaggerate one-third in this cal-

culatation, yet still, what an advantage would accrue to us from the possession! In our hands the soil, the horses and cattle, and indeed every thing, would be prodigiously improved in quality, and increased in numbers. The population would not only raise grain enough for its own consumption, but also be able to export to Norway and Sweden. The resources of the island, with the Sound dues, amounting annually to 120,000 pounds sterling, and capable of being fairly raised to 200,000 without any sensible burden on the general commerce connected with it, would not only support an army sufficient for its defence, but also add considerably to our naval and military power.

I do not mention minor considerations, which must be obvious to the silliest cabin-boy who passes the Sound; such as the advantage which will arise to trade from the reduction of the present high rate of insurance, the facility of conveying British commodities into Germany, Prussia, and Russia, and thence over the continent; the additional number of voyages which vessels from Britain would make to the Baltic, had we possession of Zeeland, and the early supply of Baltic productions in spring, by vessels wintering at Copenhagen and Elsinore.

It must, doubtless, be acknowledged, that we have so many points to attack or defend, so many fine islands to take or to keep, from Sicily to Canada, and from Botany Bay to Brazil, that it requires no small degree of patriotic avarice to advise the British government to make any new conquests whatever. It is added by the advocates of the evacuation, that, were we to keep Zeeland, we must expect to encounter the perpetual jealousy, if not the actual hostility, of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and even of the free towns, and of Sweden, our present ally; and that, in the event of future wars with France, we must lay our account with their joint opposition, as well as with the ill-will and rancour of all the commercial world.

To these objections I have no occasion to oppose any labour-ed arguments. Of all the islands which we have ever possessed, beyond the limits of the united kingdom, Zeeland is by much the most important. The possession of it I should, in the present state of Europe, consider not as a matter of option, but of *downright necessity*. Unless we possess it, we cannot possibly carry on our commerce in the north either with dignity or security. As to the enmity and ill-will of other nations, we have one melancholy consolation left us, which is, that they no longer admit of increase. Our prosperity

and power must always draw upon us the jealousy of those nations; and between commercial jealousy and national hatred the distinction is not worth drawing. Candour will also whisper to every enlightened Briton, that his countrymen are at no pains to soften to other nations the consciousness of their inferiority, but, on the contrary, too often display the insolence of power, if not in violent and cruel actions, yet with equal malignancy of effect, by unaccommodating manners; and by using the language of scorn, and contempt. To stand in want of Zeeland, therefore, out of a mere punctilious desire of obtaining European popularity, in 1809, is extremely ludicrous in Mr. John Bull; and, what is worse, nobody will give him credit for any delicate or polite attention to the feelings of others. All the world cries aloud: "He ran away from Zeeland, because he was afraid of being kicked out."

I shall only add on this melancholy subject, that had we kept possession of that queen of Danish isles, the fertile and beautiful adjacent ones of Moen, Falster, and Laaland, must have followed in her train. They contain a population of 25,000 or 30,000 souls, and can furnish four thousand excellent seamen to our fleet.

II. *Copenhagen.*

From my former residence in Copenhagen, and the short stay made in it this week, as well as the many conversations which I have at different periods held about it with natives and foreigners, I can tolerably well answer the ordinary questions put to travellers respecting cities; and yet I do not think, that were I to attempt an elaborate description, a man who had never seen the place would receive any distinct or new idea of it from my words. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that it is, upon the whole, one of the handsomest cities of northern Europe; and, in proportion to its extent, contains fewer houses that can be reckoned mean or paltry than any town in the world. The population, according to the return made in 1806, was 95,000 souls. It has fluctuated between 84 and 100,000 for the last twelve years. At present it is probably under 90,000.

The city is almost all built of bricks, of very good construction. There is not, perhaps, a single house in Copenhagen two hundred years old, and indeed most of them are not fifty. This, and the circumstance above mentioned, of there being few shabby buildings within its walls, arises

from the two dreadful misfortunes which it has suffered, viz. the conflagrations of 1728 and of 1794. In 1728, no less than sixteen hundred and fifty houses were burnt to ashes, besides churches and other public buildings, and a great number of houses were much damaged; and in 1794 between nine hundred and a thousand buildings were completely destroyed, including the stupendously magnificent palace of Christiansburg.

In travelling through Denmark, we are perpetually reminded of the tremendous devastations of fire; and yet we can perceive no particular precautions adopted by government, or by incorporated public bodies, for preventing their recurrence. Not a season passes without several instances of these calamities; and what is deplorable, they become every year more frequent.

Copenhagen is well known to be one of the finest harbours in Europe. Ships of the line are moored in the heart of the city, and have their bowsprits above the windows of the houses. At present, indeed, this peculiarity is wanting. The fleet is gone, and the view is dismal to those who once saw the harbour and arsenal in Denmark's better days.

Most of the houses are spaciouly built, with four complete stories, besides sunk cellars and garrets. The only peculiarity in the mode of building which strikes a stranger, is the new method of turning the corners of rectangular streets. It is a very judicious and convenient one in a crowded capital. Instead of the usual right angles formed by the corners of the houses, at the extremities or divisions of streets, the builders of Copenhagen have squared them off in a semi-octangular form, and thereby secured various advantages. Carriages and horses cannot so frequently run foul of each other, or run down persons on foot at the turnings of the streets; the space gained gives a free circulation of air, and the look of as many handsome squares as there are street-divisions in the city.

There is one street, which, on account of its uncommon grandeur, every stranger should visit, viz. Amalien-Gade, and the square at the west end of it. In this square the king dwells; and three other palaces, with their wings, along with his majesty's palace, form the whole of it. One of the palaces is allotted to the education and lodging of young navy cadets; the other two are usually occupied by different members of the royal family.

This square would be reckoned handsome in any city in the world. In the middle of it is an equestrian statue of

Frederick the Fifth, which, I am informed, cost ten times more than what one would reasonably calculate as its value. But such accounts are always exaggerated in this country, and perhaps in all other countries; and we should, therefore, not be disgusted at the improbability of them. The statue is a public ornament, and that is enough. No matter whether it cost twenty or eighty thousand pounds.

A stranger will naturally ask some unpleasant questions on seeing the marble church, or rather the marble ruins, towards the eastern end of this street. This church was begun many years ago, and large sums of money were expended upon it. The walls, inside and outside, were all to be of polished Norwegian marble, and the whole was to be finished in a style of magnificence becoming the Danish capital and monarchy.

I had the curiosity to measure one of the marble blocks intended as part of a front pillar. It was hewn and polished, and was nine feet in diameter, and twenty-seven in circumference! being part of a Corinthian pillar, the height of that pillar, to make it in due proportion to its diameter, must, pedestal and capital included, have been intended to be about *ninety feet!*

It was natural to ask why those huge blocks, which must have cost immense sums of money before they were brought to their present state, are allowed to lie scattered over the church-yard, and why the church itself is left half, or one-third, unfinished, a disgrace to the metropolis and to the country. I received the same answer as in 1804, "The foundation cannot bear the weight; the ground is deficient!" I suspect this should have been said of the money rather than the ground.

Supposing, however, that this church were finished according to the plan intended, I do not believe that the light grey marble would look better than our common free-stone. How much is a traveller deceived and disappointed by the sound of marble churches and marble houses! He who loves marble may go to Salzburgh, and learn to correct his fancy.

As it is not my plan to attempt a description of Copenhagen, or even of its principal buildings, I shall content myself with mentioning such things as are particularly interesting, and may prove useful to other travellers after me.

Let every traveller, on arriving here, pay his first visit to the observatory.

This grand pile was built by Frederick V. for a disciple of Tycho Brahe. It is a hundred and thirty feet high, and

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about seventy feet in diameter: unquestionably one of the finest cylinders in the world. You can drive up in a carriage to within twenty or twenty-five feet of the top, by the large winding stair-case, or rather road of brick, which runs from the floor to the door of the rooms where the astronomical apparatus is kept. From these rooms you have a most agreeable and extensive prospect. The city of Copenhagen, with its beautiful spires, its numerous canals, vessels, and elegant streets, is spread like a map under your eyes. The isle of Amak, which is the kitchen garden of the city, and was peopled by a Flemish colony in the sixteenth century, who still retain their old dress, and many of their peculiar customs, stretches to the south in all the beauty of industry, and the gaiety of verdure.

To the eastward, may distinctly be discerned the white-washed cottages on the island of Saltholm. Your eye follows the Swedish coast for thirty miles, from Malmoe to Landskrona or Landserona, of which last city, though at the distance of twenty-four miles, you can distinctly see not only the spires and highest houses, but even the doors and windows.

By the help of a glass, you see the remains of Tycho Brahe's hut on the island of Hween. To the northward and westward, you have a rich and charming view of the best part of Zeeland.

For paying an early visit to the observatory, you have in addition to the inducement held out by the finest prospect which it affords, another, and a very great one, in the attention and civility of the gentleman to whom it is intrusted, and in his pleasant and intelligent conversation.

From the observatory, you may go half a mile to the westward in the city, and make an agreeable use of three hours with Mr. Moldenhawer in the royal library, near the palace. The library is said to contain from two hundred and seventy to three hundred thousand volumes. It is indeed the largest I have seen, but still I think the above number an exaggeration.

There is no complete catalogue: there are many duplicates, and triplicates of books and manuscripts; and where there is such room for vagueness and uncertainty, we all know on which side the calculation turns.

The government allows three thousand dollars annually, for making new purchases, a sum which, in the present extravagant state of European book buying, is by no means adequate to the object.

Yet, to the honour of the persons who have in their hands the superintendance and application of the money, I found here many expensive works published very lately in Italy, France, Germany, and Great Britain.

Bodoni's grand edition of Virgil; the *livraisons* that have been printed in Paris, of Humboldt and Bonpland's travels in South America; and various expensive French works on mineralogy and natural history, accompanied with beautiful plates; Heyne's Homer and Virgil; Klopstock's and Wieland's works by Göschen of Leipzig; Griesbach's beautiful new testament; and Baskerville's editions, so well known amongst us, were purchased soon after their first appearance in the market, and are here at the service of the public.

But what will particularly gratify the scholar in this library, is the great number of printed and manuscript editions of the classics. An early one of Cicero de Officiis, was shewn me as remarkable.

I also found the book mentioned by Küttner, and which, too, I had seen in no other library, Salemonis ecclésiæ Constantiensis epiglosse ex illustrissimis collecte auctoribus, &c. It appeared to me to be of the 15th century, but it has neither date nor place of printing inserted.

The first book printed in Denmark, was in 1496, by a German, from Westphalia, and the art seems to have met with very little encouragement here for fifty years after its invention. Copenhagen has, however, lately made a good figure in printing. The large folio work, Flora Danica, and the *Ruris Otia*, would do honour to any country; and the four Evangelists, printed in Greek lately, are fully as beautiful as any thing done by our Foulises or Baskervilles.

Among the manuscripts, a Virgil on parchment is singularly elegant. Of missals and richly decorated religious manuscripts there is no end. A French chronicle is peculiarly distinguished by the accuracy of its figures. The bible used by the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar in India, was shewn me.

By an unaccountable stupidity, they have translated only the Old Testament, leaving in oblivion the divine morality of the Gospel!

There is an extensive collection of manuscripts in the Icelandic tongue, written between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Contrary to my expectation, I found a considerable analogy betwixt that language and the Danish. They

were certainly of the same origin, and were once the language of one and the same people.

It is melancholy to view the decay, and to anticipate the destruction of any people. Iceland, which once contained, as I am credibly informed, half a million of inhabitants, in a high state of civilization and of comfort, is now reduced to a tenth part of that population, who are known to exist in a condition of progressive degradation, both corporeal and intellectual.

Their literature has departed, and that so totally, that the natives do not know of its former existence. The arts and sciences have abandoned their frozen coasts, and left nothing behind, but penury and ignorance, desolation and death.

Copenhagen possesses a variety of well endowed and well managed public establishments, such as an university, infirmaries, barracks, exchange, &c. : but I need not dwell on these, as they have little to distinguish them from similar establishments in other countries.

One of them is, however, conducted with a degree of humanity which reflects honour on the nation. I mean the lying-in hospital. This excellent institution is a school for medical practitioners, as well as a blessing to the country.

Within its walls are annually delivered upwards of one thousand females, of whom the proportion that dies is astonishingly small. Patients of every country, age, character, and denomination, are indiscriminately admitted, without any question being asked. If they can afford to pay for extra attendance and accommodations, they may have them at a moderate price, but what is afforded gratis, is generally deemed sufficient. The mother is received only four or five days before her time, and she may leave her child, if she pleases, in the hospital. This is frequently done by poor women who are delivered of illegitimate children.

The patient, veiled or unveiled, is received at all hours, without delay, or hesitation. Some keep their veils on the whole time of their confinement. This institution has done away completely the barbarous practice of child-murder in the Danish metropolis.

It would require a volume to detail the various public establishments, charitable institutions, and ornamental edifices of Copenhagen; but as these are nearly similar over the whole of northern Europe, they deserve no particular notice.

A pillar of Norwegian granite, erected in honour of the late king, on occasion of his granting in 1792, their freedom

to the peasants occupying the crown-lands, strikes the stranger, as simple and elegant. It stands near the western gate, and has fortunately escaped, though in the line of the fire from the town and the batteries, during the bombardment. On one side is engraved on a marble slab inserted into the granite, the following inscription, For Christian den Syvende de Danskes og Norskes Konge af eenige og taknemmelige Borgere. (To Christian the seventh, king of the Danes and Norwegians, by some grateful citizens): on the opposite side is engraved, Grundsteuen bler lagt of Frederik Kongens Son Folkets Ven, 1792. (The foundation stone was laid by Frederick the king's son, the people's friend, 1792).

I visited the theatre, twice in 1804, and once in 1809, but can say very little of the dramatic amusements of Copenhagen. On asking some of the literati here, whether they possess original tragedies and comedies in the Danish tongue, I had such vague and contradictory answers, that I soon formed my opinion, and suppressed my curiosity. The case is pretty much the same with regard to the performances of this country, in other departments of literature.

They have, it is true, some histories, replete with research and erudition, as that of Suhm, for instance; but their composition is clumsy, and their materials heavily and unskillfully arranged. This I have been told by the most enlightened and candid Danes with whom I have conversed; for I cannot pretend to judge of the literature of the nation, from my own very imperfect acquaintance with the language.

The same reason makes me pass over some names whose works are often mentioned with respect by this people, such as Baggesen the poet, madame Brun, and several others, who have attempted of late to force their language into elegance and popularity.

In the belles lettres, eloquence, and the higher poetry, however, they confess themselves far behind the four European nations.

In ship-building, I find Copenhagen almost equal to any town in England. It possesses indeed, peculiar local advantages, from its admirable harbour and canals; and these are turned to good account. The ship-builders employ heavier and more solid timbers than we do in England, *cæteris paribus*, insomuch that were two vessels of five hundred tons register to be weighed, the one in Copenhagen, and the

other in London, the Danish ship would be found nearly one hundred tons heavier than the English.

I had a long conversation to-day with a Danish gentleman, upon the expediency of his country possessing a fleet of *line of battle ships*. As usual, we finished by each of us remaining more firm in his own opinion than before.

Much, indeed, may be plausibly urged on both sides of the question; but with regard to Copenhagen being the depôt of the whole navy, I think there ought now to be but one opinion. Should this country waste its resources in building another fleet of eighteen or twenty *line of battle ships*, and re-establishing its navy, it will only tend to bring upon this fine city another storm similar to that of 1807.

Now that every idea of political morality, and of a balance of powers by mutual indulgence, or co-operation, is laughed at, it is idle to talk of being strong enough to defend Zealand against Great Britain, or Holstein, and the continental provinces, against the great conterminous states; and it is equally absurd to attempt to maintain a complete independence of the great belligerent kingdoms, by straining those small resources, which, in better times, enabled Denmark to support a considerable figure in the north. She must be dragged along, and the lighter she is, the less damage will she suffer.

The question between the Danish gentleman and myself, I conceive to be reducible to the plainest rules of arithmetic.

The Force proposed by the Dane.

20 ships* of the line, at 70,000 <i>l.</i> each	£1,400,000
12 frigates of 36 to 44 guns, 32,000 <i>l.</i> each	384,000
20 sloops of war, of 12 to 22 guns, 15,000 <i>l.</i> each	300,000
20,000 sailors and marines, at 30 <i>l.</i> per man	600,000
60,000 infantry of the line and militia, at 20 <i>l.</i> per man	1,200,000
12,000 cavalry and artillerymen, at 40 <i>l.</i> per man	480,000
Ordnance and stores for coasts and fortresses	200,000

Grand total, £1,564,000

The expence here stated must be incurred by a country of which the revenue never exceeded 1,200,000*l.* and whose

* The expence of building the ships here mentioned, is the only part of the public military burden which is not permanent, and accordingly, I have stated it at little more than one half the gross sum which such ships cost at the present time. The wear and tear, the repairs, and the immense expensure attending naval arsenal, will bring the sum total fully up to my statement.

present revenue is not one half of that sum; and how dreadfully inadequate must the revenue in question appear, when we extend our view beyond the merely naval and military disbursements of the government? How is the civil administration to be kept up, and the royal family to be supported? But supposing we dismiss the large ships of war, which are in fact not only useless, but pernicious; as a dead weight on the country, and reduce the naval establishment to the force which reason would prompt Denmark to maintain in proportion to her wants, revenue, and population, we shall find her naval and military establishments nearly as follows: viz.

6 stont frigates, of 44 to 50 guns, 40,000 <i>l.</i>	£240,000
10 smaller vessels, of 8 to 20 guns, 12,000 <i>l.</i>	120,000
3000 sailors and marines, at 30 <i>l.</i> per man	90,000
20,000 infantry of the line and militia, at 20 <i>l.</i> per man	400,000
2500 cavalry and artillerymen, at 40 <i>l.</i> per man	100,000
Ordnance and stores for coasts and fortresses	100,000
<hr/>	
Grand total	£1,050,000

Every candid man must acknowledge that this force, however inadequate to contend with Great Britain, Russia, or France, is all that Denmark, with a population of 2,500,000, and a revenue of one million two hundred thousand pounds, can afford to support.

In times of war with Britain, she not only loses her valuable East and West India trade, and colonies, but also by far the most productive branches of her internal commerce.

The excellent province of Norway is a dead weight on Denmark at present. The Sound dues, amounting at an average to one hundred and forty thousand pounds per annum, and very rarely under one hundred thousand pounds, are completely sacrificed; and the exports of fish, iron, and wood, from the numerous ports of the monarchy, usually amounting to three millions of pounds per annum, are now estimated at *one tenth* of that sum!

The deduction into which the gentleman from Cöpenhagen has led me, forms a part of what I purposed to touch upon under the third head of my remarks, viz. Denmark in general.

Denmark, with Norway and Iceland, forms a surface equal to that of the British Isles, about 160,000 square miles, or 102,400,000 square acres. On comparing the works of such

statistical writers as I have been able to procure, namely, Büsching, Thaarup, Catteau, and Bertuch, with the lists which my private friends have drawn up for me, the population of the different provinces and isles appears to be nearly as follows :

Norway with its islands	950,000
Zeeland, including Copenhagen	235,000
Fünen, Langeland, and Samsøe	170,000
Möen, Falster, Laaland, &c. &c.	40,000
Jutland	300,000
Schleswig	265,000
Holstein, including Altona	320,000
Iceland	50,000
Faroe isles	5,000

Grand total 2,335,000
Or 102,400,000 English acres, 43 acres to each individual.

Most writers fix the population in round numbers, at two millions five hundred thousand, and, in consequence of the rapid increase of the Norwegian population, that number may perhaps approach pretty close to the truth. Denmark is to the great European powers, nearly in the following proportion, both in population and resources, viz.

	<i>In Population.</i>	<i>In Resources.</i>
Denmark is to Great Britain	as 1 to 7	as 1 to 35
_____ France	— 1 to 20	— 1 to 30
_____ Russia	— 1 to 15	— 1 to 15
_____ Austria	— 1 to 10	— 1 to 12
_____ Turkey	— 1 to 8	— 1 to 10
_____ Spain	— 1 to 6	— 1 to 10

By resources, I do not mean merely the absolute revenue arising from taxes, contributions, or other means of raising money for the governments of those nations, nor their actual armed force, for these admit of endless modifications, according to the nature of their institutions and privileges, and to the character of their governors in the interim: I mean also in connection with these, the grand total of resources comprehended in the territorial, colonial, and commercial wealth, the manufacturing industry, accumulated capital, and the genius and spirit of the countries to which I have referred.

It is obvious from this comparison, that Denmark cannot possibly maintain, for any length of time, her present establishments. Her credit is already almost annihilated, and all her resources are in a rapid decline.

Her expenditure in 1807 and 1808, exceeded, each year, her income or clear revenue, as I learn from good authority, by nearly twelve millions of dollars, or two millions and a quarter, sterling, and her revenue is daily diminishing; and indeed, must continue to decline during a war with Great Britain.

The exchange upon Hamburgh, usually at par, is now rather more than one hundred per cent. against her, and is daily falling.

The officers of the navy and army, find their pay reduced to one half, by the depreciation of the paper money issued by government, and that at a time when, in consequence of the badness of the seasons and the pressure of a disastrous war, every necessary of life is at double the common price.

The peasantry are disgusted by the burthen of public carriages on government account; the mercantile and manufacturing classes are ruined by the billeting of soldiers upon them; the clergy like other annuitants, are injured by the fall of the real value of money, and by the general distress, which they are peculiarly called upon by their profession to observe, and to alleviate; the other learned professions, chiefly supported by the opulent or litigious, must equally share in the universal calamity. The nobility have, upon the whole, but little influence in Denmark. They too are deprived of two-thirds of their revenues by the change in the value of money, and by the sacrifices which the war demands.

It may appear paradoxical, after this gloomy account of the present state of the Danish monarchy, to assert, that its ruler still possesses advantages, which, in spite of the difficulties that surround his throne, might save himself and his country.

These I now proceed to state, with the candour and love of truth, which, I am conscious, have hitherto guided my pen.

The first and firmest support of a government is the love of the people. In no country in Europe (some parts of the Austrian empire, perhaps excepted), have I seen such active and devoted patriotism, as in Denmark, between 1795 and 1805; and the same temper continues still to prevail, in as far as the king is personally concerned. All the unpopular

measures adopted by the government are imputed to the cabinet ministers; the king is never, for a moment, suspected of having any share in them. The present prince got the credit of all his father's mild and popular regulations, such as the abolition of vassalage, and of many galling services to which the peasantry on the crown-lands were formerly subjected; the introduction of districtal courts of arbitration, which greatly facilitate the decision of law-suits, and prevent or abridge litigation; and the abolition of slavery in the Danish colonies.

Much of the public favour which he acquired as crown prince still remains; and notwithstanding his excessive partiality for his military establishment, to which he is known to sacrifice many important interests of his people, they still feel for his person, the warmest affection and attachment of which they are capable.

It is not, however, merely in the love of his people, that the king of Denmark is to look for the salvation of his throne. The country possesses many great advantages, peculiar to itself.

The public burdens have hitherto been moderate, and the public debt a mere trifle. In point of physical situation, Denmark is peculiarly favoured beyond the conterminous states.

Her coast is extensive beyond all proportion to her territory, that of Norway, the isles and the continental provinces, exclusively of Iceland, being calculated at eight thousand English miles, and that prodigious coast comprehends many hundreds of harbours.

In consequence of its local position, the kingdom has been for ages a considerable maritime and mercantile power, and has possessed the most lucrative species of employment, the carrying and transit trade.

This has given to a considerable portion of the population some wealth, and a propensity for a seafaring life. There are not, perhaps, in Europe, hardier or steadier seamen than the Norwegians and Jutlanders; and indeed, if we except the British, no nation can pretend to surpass Denmark in the capability of making a good figure at sea, in proportion to her population and resources. While she possesses Zealand, and consequently the key of the Baltic, it will always be the interest of the other European and American powers to keep on good terms with her, and as she has, upon the whole, enjoyed, for many years past, a mild, impartial,

and virtuous administration, those powers found it their interest to support her.

The same inducement to preserve her independence and integrity, still exists.

After all that has passed betwixt her and ourselves, it will be difficult perhaps to point out any other power in whose hands we ought to place Norway, Zeeland, and the passage into the Baltic, after taking them from Denmark. What is true of us, holds good as to all the other European powers.

The benefits resulting from the very excellent natural situation of this country for foreign and domestic commerce, must not be thrown into the possession of a preponderating or dangerous power; and on the other hand, they are so great and various of themselves, as to confer importance and dignity upon any country that happens to enjoy them.

In the present unhappy situation of the world, when every bond of political decency and expediency is relaxed or broken; when caprice, passion, or revenge, and a blind fury, seem to dictate to the different governments the conduct which they adopt, in direct opposition to the best interests of their constituents, the motives now started for the preservation of Denmark may have no weight; but this delirium of political fever cannot be of long continuance.

Let the Danish government return to its old habits and connexions, abandon the idea of shining as a military state, renew its amicable relations with Britain, even at the risk of Buonaparte's vengeance, and the temporary deprivation of Jutland and the German provinces; and she may yet retrieve her late misfortunes, and continue to exist as an independent nation.

In possession of Norway, Zeeland, and the Isles, she will be a respectable power, both on account of her commanding natural position, so often mentioned, and likewise of the character of her people.

The Norwegians are unquestionably as virtuous, brave, and worthy a people as any in the world. Their country cannot be attacked with advantage by any enemy; or, in other words, its conquest will cost more than the result of such conquest can benefit the captors.

The natives of Zeeland and the other isles, though not so well liked by us, or perhaps by their neighbours, as the Norwegians, are much the same in point of civilization, activity, and wealth, as the other Northern Europe tribes; but they have in a conspicuous degree the spirit of nation-

ality and patriotism, which is so effectual a support of national independence.

In all these advantages, to which Denmark has a peculiar claim, we perceive a powerful preservative amidst her present alarming symptoms of decay; and every impartial philanthropist must wish that it may prove effectual.

LETTER XIII.

Helsingborg, in Sweden, Jan. 12, 1809.

AFTER a tedious detention of eight days by the drifted ice, which occasionally filled the Sound between Elsinore and this place, I contrived to cross to-day by means of an ice-boat, and by the active aid of six stout Danish seamen. The distance is only three English miles and a half, but it took us six hours to effect the passage. The description which I have already given of the winter passages across the Great Belt, exactly applies to what I have this day experienced. These voyages are, indeed, in the highest degree difficult and precarious.

Being now on Swedish ground, I feel myself at full liberty to write what I please, without any dread of being persecuted for my opinions, or of being deprived of my papers. A ludicrous incident, which occurred yesterday, convinces me of the value of such a privilege.

I had purchased in Aalborg a map of Denmark, published some years ago by Mr. Bertuch of Weimar; and, as I travelled from the capital of north Jutland, wrote down upon the map, my route, the population of the towns through which I passed, and of those in the vicinity; and, on a slip of paper attached to it, any thing relative to them which I considered as interesting. There was nothing more in all this than what most travellers practise. It had always been my custom to do so; and in no country did I ever suffer any inconvenience from it. Not so, however, in Elsinore. One day, when I was gone out of the room to dress, the police officer who accompanied me every step, discovered the map on my table, and watched me carefully with regard to it, until the day before my departure. Yesterday morning, at the usual hour, he came with a grave face into my room,

and begging my pardon with great civility, demanded my map for a few minutes, as the police must, he declared, examine every paper belonging to a prisoner before he could leave Denmark.

It was in vain to urge the absurdity of sending to the police a common map of Denmark, with nothing inserted in it, but what every school-boy could find in his geographical grammar, and what the veriest blockhead traversing the Danish provinces must learn, if he knows any thing of the language. The poor map must march to the police office. In three hours it was sent back to me with an admonition of a very serious kind; but, as I believe the admonitory message not to have been correctly delivered, I shall not repeat it.

Elsinore, which is the second city in Zeeland, usually contains about five thousand seven hundred inhabitants; but at present, perhaps, not above four thousand. It has a good deal of trade in time of peace, and is in summer and autumn one of the most bustling little towns in Europe. The castle of Cronborg is merely an old palace fortified, of no great strength towards the land, and liable to be bombarded from the sea; at least the real castle, to which the steeple and telegraph are attached, is so. The place might be fortified in a manner that would render it impregnable on the sea-side; but to do this would take time, and occasion a considerable expence.

The number of ships that have passed the Sound, commonly called here Oresund, has been, *communibus annis*, during the last twelve or fourteen years, from ten to twelve thousand, and the dues have fluctuated between 100,000*l.* and 150,000*l.* sterling.

The distance from Elsinore point, where the furthest sentry-box and cannon stand, to the nearest spot in Sweden, is three English miles and a quarter; so that there is room enough for vessels to pass through it with a fair wind, in spite of the batteries on both sides. Ships sailing at the rate of five or six knots an hour have little to fear from cannon at the distance of above a mile and a half from them. As the batteries of Elsinore and Helsingborg are nearly opposite to each other, they can only continue to annoy a ship in her passage for a few minutes, provided she have a good breeze. The common depth of the water is from four and a half to seven fathoms; but near Elsinore it is in some places twelve or fourteen. The tide is quite irregular, being entirely dependent upon the winds either of the North Sea or the Baltic, or the collision of both. I am persuaded it never rises above

two or three feet, excepting on extraordinary occasions, when it has sometimes been known to exceed five or six. What renders the navigation of the Baltic particularly difficult and dangerous in stormy weather is, that the winds and currents almost always drive the same way, so that, in a gale of wind, a ship on a lee-shore has not only the wind, but also the current, sometimes running at the rate of three or four knots an hour, to struggle with; and consequently little chance of escaping shipwreck.

I counted eight *gua-boats* in the harbour of Elsinore, and they appeared to me to be more formidable than we generally suppose. They are rowed by twenty-four oars, have heavy cannon, twenty-four pounders, in the bows and sterns, and can carry from fifty to seventy armed men. In Copenhagen there are about sixty of them, which, in calm weather, can always sally out, for the purpose of annoying any convoys that may chance to come nigh the coast.

On the 7th of this month, I was witness to a distressing scene between Cronborg castle and a Swedish man of war brig, which, having stuck fast in a field of ice, was drifted along the Sound towards the north. The castle fired at the ship; and the ship, finding no attention paid to her on striking her colours, returned the fire with much gallantry and coolness. We could see the captain of the Swedish ship, Captain Dryer, walk up and down his quarter-deck, giving orders to his men with as much *sang-froid* as if he had been at a review. At last, the Danes became ashamed of their cruelty, in firing at a ship in distress, and suspended the cannonade from the castle. The *Wenta Litet*, the Swedish brig, instantly ceased firing also, after having thrown seventeen shot into the town and castle; one of these hit the gallows near the town, and two of them struck the roofs of houses close to my lodgings.

The animosity betwixt the two countries is greater than I had conceived possible, considering the long duration of peace between them—a great misfortune to both.

A stranger must be a good deal struck with the difference of appearance which the people, and more especially the military, exhibit on each side of the Sound. The Swedes have, in general, sallow complexions, dark skins, discontented faces, a melancholy drawling accent, are fond of yellow and blue colours, and are a tall, athletic-looking race of men. The soldiers have all great coats of blue cloth, with yellow facings, and long necks, which hang down to the small of their backs, and cover their elbows. They wear round hats,

with a long white feather in front, erect, and rather elegant, and have a brass belt round the crown, for the purpose, as it would seem, of warding off the blow of a sword. Their arms resemble those of the Danes.

The Danes, on the other hand, delight in red and purple colours, have blooming complexions, round faces of good colour, but not much expression, smooth good skins, talk in a barking Buchan, or Aberdeenshire accent, and are neither so tall, nor of so athletic an appearance as the Swedes. Their soldiers wear red coats, with different facings, as in England, and round or cocked hats, according to their different regiments, as in France, Germany, and Britain. The houses in Helsingborg look tolerably well, but the general appearance of the people and houses is more wealthy on the Danish side.

I feel, however, more pleasure in my change of country than ever I did in my life, and could have kissed the dust of this barren land, on my ascending the quay, so happy did I find myself in recovering my freedom.

I immediately called on our consul, Mr. F***, who behaved to me, as he does to all his countrymen, with the utmost attention and civility. I went with him to a ball this evening, and was gratified to meet a number of well-dressed persons of each sex, who spoke English correctly, and appeared to be our friends and brothers.

This place looks at a distance much larger than it is found to be on a closer inspection. It contains about two thousand souls, has a bad harbour, a scanty trade, and is of very little importance in any point of view. The prospect from the old tower of Karna*, above the town, is very fine and extensive, embracing a considerable portion of Zeeland, Copenhagen, Elsinore, which looks beautiful from this spot, Hamlet's palace, near Elsinore, which I forgot to visit this time, but knew that it was not worth seeing in 1804, and a great part of the Swedish coast, from the Sound to Malmoe.

The most remarkable place in the neighbourhood of Helsingborg, is Ramlösa, a watering place, whose minerals are famous over Sweden, and which, in summer, is usually frequented by great numbers of invalids, or idle fashionables from Denmark and Sweden.

Count Ruth has a colliery, and a manufactory of pottery, near this place. He is a man of spirit and enterprise, but

* Karna, pronounced as the Highlanders do the word synonymous to Cairn, a heap of stones laid upon a grave.

has very up-hill work with such new manufactures and operations in this country.

Having business in Gothenburg, I purpose to set off to-morrow, in spite of the excessive severity of the weather. Fahrenheit's thermometer is now twenty-two degrees below the freezing point.

I have great reason to be pleased with the custom-house officers on both sides of the Sound; for, contrary to my expectations, they searched my baggage with great politeness, and spoiled and tossed about nothing that belonged to me. Travellers have frequently themselves to blame for the incivility of these people, who may easily be prevented from every species of rudeness by a few gentle words, and by a discreet demeanour.

The charge of ferrying across the Sound is very high; and, indeed, there is no wonder that it is so at this present time, for nothing can be conceived more troublesome and perilous to the boatmen. In ordinary seasons, and when the Sound is free from ice, they charge about a guinea and a half for a boat with four hands.

If I had difficulty in procuring small money in exchange for dollars in Denmark, I find tenfold difficulty, or rather impossibility, here; for there is no coin of any kind, nor any species of currency, but paper. There are, it is true, bank-notes as low as tenpence sterling, and a great variety of notes from that value up to the sum of some hundred pounds; but still the absolute want of a circulating metallic medium is severely felt.

Foreigners, on landing in Sweden, are much puzzled how to manage their money transactions, and must bestow a considerable portion of time and attention upon them, before they can feel themselves at ease on the subject. One general rule is to procure as many small notes as possible, because it often happens that a stranger is under the necessity of giving a dollar instead of the sixth part of one, in case he has no change to pay the little demands that incessantly occur in travelling. The Swedish and Danish dollar were formerly of the same value, or very nearly so, but at present the Danish rix-dollar is only worth two shillings and twopence sterling, while the Swedish rix-dollar is valued at three shillings. The Danish dollar consists of forty-eight stivers or ninety-six skillings Danish; the Swedish of forty-eight skillings Swedish. But in both countries the stivers and skillings have almost wholly disappeared, and will, probably, a few years hence, be no more than imaginary coins.

In 1804 there was no scarcity of specie in Denmark, but at present not a stiver or coin of any kind can be procured without much difficulty, and in Sweden none at all.

LETTER XIV.

*Engelholm, two stages north of Helsingborg,
Jan. 14, 1809.*

I ARRIVED here from Helsingborg some hours ago, and during my progress was much surprised and gratified, to find that travelling in Sweden is by no means so irksome and unpleasant as in many other parts of Europe. The horses are hardy, fleet, and accustomed to quick driving; the peasants are good-natured, and extremely desirous to please: they never grumble or complain at the smallness of the drink-money they receive, nor use any discontented or insulting expressions. The roads are excellent, and the distances accurately measured. As far as regards the expence of horses, travelling in Sweden is not above one-third of what it is in Britain; but a journey of one hundred miles, or any given distance exceeding fifty or sixty miles, which can be managed in one day, will cost, perhaps, one half of what it does in England, and that too with not one-tenth of the comfort. Horses are supplied by the peasants at a fixed price per mile, according to the regulations of a royal edict; and the traveller may take his choice of being forwarded in a common four-wheeled cart, like those of Denmark, or of using his own carriage, at the risk of being obliged to take an additional horse or two, according to circumstances, or, perhaps, of having his carriage now and then upset in the steep ascents and declivities of the roads. Although the roads are very good, and well repaired, they are frequently very steep; and the small Swedish horses, not accustomed, and indeed not able, to back heavy carriages, gallop down such declivities at full speed, and often pay with their lives for the disproportion between their strength and the task imposed upon them. In good weather a light calash is the best sort of carriage.

Several hours before the traveller leaves his quarters, and, if convenient, the preceding night, an *avant-courier*, here called *forbod*, must be dispatched, who is to intimate at the different

stage-houses, on the road which he is to take, the hour of his employer's proposed arrival, the number of horses he requires, &c. A servant of that stage-house then goes to the peasant whose turn it is to furnish horses for that day, and comes himself, or sends one of his people, to accompany and fetch back horses. This stage-house man is called a *hall-karl*, pronounced *hoal-karl*, who must be paid for his trouble as well as the *forbod*. The peasant, or his servant, will expect a trifle also; but they do not grumble though they get nothing. It is, indeed, easy to satisfy them all; and I would rather pay a dozen of them than one Prussian or Saxon postillion.

The furnishing of horses is a heavy burden upon the Swedish peasantry, especially in summer and autumn, the only seasons in which they can carry on their field or agricultural operations. The poor creatures are sometimes obliged to leave their corn or their plough, and travel with their horses perhaps ten or twelve English miles before getting to the stage whence they are to carry the traveller: they then go twelve or fourteen miles of a stage, and generally at full speed; sometimes their horses are killed, and they obtain no redress nor payment; and after all this they must return home, a distance of perhaps twenty or twenty-two miles. These forty or forty-four miles they frequently travel for four or five shillings sterling, not more than one-fourth or fifth part of what they would ask if the fares were not regulated by express statute.

The horse-hire for the Swedish mile of thirty-six thousand feet, or nearly seven English miles, is twenty-five pence sterling per horse, or sixpence farthing for nine thousand feet, or one mile three quarters English. There are no tolls nor turnpike-gates, except where pontage is paid for bridges that have been attended with considerable expence.

On approaching this town, I was struck with the solidity and elegance of the bridge over the river, by which I came into the place, and asked some questions concerning it. All I could learn was, that it was lately built by a foreigner.

On getting into the inn in which I now write, I accosted a genteelly-dressed young man, whom I found in the best room, thinking him to be the landlord, and asked him how Engelholm chanced to have a bridge built with all the strength of a Scottish bridge? "No wonder," answered he, in the Forfarshire dialect, and with eyes sparkling with pleasure, "for I, Blackwood, from Angus-shire, in Scotland, built it; and I reckon it, without exception, the best bridge in Sweden."

This was the sixth Scotchman I had already met with in Sweden, which led one of my travelling companions, an Englishman, to make some remarks on the industry and sagacity of a nation, the natives of which, in every country in the world, and even in poor Sweden, distinguish themselves by a peculiar felicity in making fortunes, and rising to places of eminence and power.

Here too I find a *rara avis in terris*, an innkeeper's daughter with beauty, sense, and modesty.

The village is small, not containing above five or six thousand souls, but its situation is beautiful, and in summer must be in the highest degree delicious.

The soil between this place and Helsingborg is poor and sandy; as far as I can judge from the few spots which the strong winds have bared of snow. The peasants' houses are small and paltry, built of wood, unskilfully constructed, imperfectly finished, and by no means equal to those of the peasants through the greater part of the Danish dominions. Agriculture, excepting on two or three farms, occupied by persons who adopt our system, is in the rudest and most imperfect state imaginable. The woods are chiefly copse, the larger trees having been cut down and removed, and none being planted in their places. Plantations of trees are a rare phenomenon in Sweden. I must, however, confess, that by all accounts this district is one of the most barren and worst cultivated in the kingdom; and, therefore, my remarks, which refer almost exclusively to what I myself see, must not be reckoned generally applicable to the country, or even to the greater part of its agricultural provinces.

Whoever travels on this road, and indeed, as I am informed, over all the kingdom, would do wisely to store his carriage well with meat and drink, because almost all the houses are wretched hovels, sometimes lying alone, and totally sequestered from the rest of the neighbourhood, and can afford him neither food, wine, nor bed.

Our countrymen, especially such as come unfledged from England, and have only travelled in that luxurious country, are apt to be improvident in this respect. They also inveigh against the stupidity and barbarism of the poor people into whose houses they enter on the road, because they have not every conveniency and accomodation ready at a call; forgetting that in those houses the foreign traveller never expects to find any thing, and therefore calls for nothing; and that it is as unreasonable to look for the activity and address of an English or French waiter in a Swedish stage-house, as it

would be to hope to find the simplicity and innocence of the Swedish peasant in Covent-garden or the Palais Royal.

I saw to-day a striking instance of this tendency in my countrymen. On arriving at the miserable stage-house betwixt this place and Helsingborg, one of our English party called for a glass of water. A mild-looking, handsome girl brought him a wine glass empty. He raised his voice in apparent anger, and told her to fetch him a glass full of water. The young woman, wishing to oblige, but not understanding any more of his meaning than the word *glass*, went out of the room, and, after a considerable delay, brought him a tumbler full of Swedish brandy. The colour was the same with that of water. I shall never forget the frightful grimaces which he made on swallowing the first drop of this horrible beverage. In the utmost fury and horror, like a man convinced of being poisoned, he dashed the glass and brandy against the ground, and with an oath equally ludicrous and earnest, swore that the Swedes were the greatest savages, and the most incorrigible brutes in nature. I called back the girl, who had left us in dismay. "Pray," said I to her, in my broken Swedish, "fetch me a large glass full of water," pronouncing the word *watten* distinctly, and adding *drickes-watten* (drinking-water), to prevent mistake. She flew like lightning to get it; but before she could present it to us, she had the trouble of melting the ice, into which the contents of the bucket, just brought from a distant well, had by this time been converted; and this delay gave new cause of reproach and triumph to my English companion.

The water, however, came at last; and the girl made many apologies for not having at first understood my companion's meaning, and also for having brought the brandy, the only drink, as she said, which was ever called for in their house; and she concluded by *apologizing to us for the extreme frost, and uncomfortableness of a Swedish winter*. This last was not expected by either of us; and being delivered in good Swedish, with great sweetness, and with somewhat of a melancholy cadence, it sensibly affected my Englishman.

He gave her a crown; but it was not accepted without much importunity on his part, and many expressions of lively gratitude on that of the young woman. They would soon have become attached to each other, had circumstances permitted it: so different are the impressions which different persons make upon us, according to the situations in which they may be exhibited to our view.

Wooden shoes, similar to those which I saw in North Jutland, are common here. The people maintain that they are warm and dry, &c. but my opinion of them remains unchanged. They are so very heavy and unwieldy, that no reasoning can reconcile an unbiassed stranger to the use of them.

LETTER XV.

Gothenburgh, Götheborg (pronounced by the Swedes, Yæteborgh), Feb. 22d, 1809.

I HAVE now spent nearly six weeks in Sweden, and travelled about one hundred and fifty miles through the country, so that, with the knowledge I had of it some years ago, I am in a state to give an idea of its general situation. My remarks shall be confined, as usual, chiefly to what came under my own personal observation.

Between Gothenburgh and Helsingborg, a distance of twenty-two miles and an half, Swedish, or nearly one hundred and forty-five English miles, there are only six places which have the smallest claim to the appellation of towns, and three of these, viz. Engelholm, Laholm, and Falkenberg, are mere villages, although they enjoy the privileges of towns; the other three, Halmstadt, Warberg, and Kongsbacka, are more populous, but I do not believe that the whole six contain 10,000 inhabitants.

The country from Helsingborg appeared to me poor, sandy, and meanly cultivated, with the exception of a few farms, on which, as I have already remarked, the Scotch farming system has been recently introduced.

Draining is much needed, but is almost universally neglected. The vast numbers of granite blocks which lie scattered over the fields in all directions, and which are in some places of immense size, present very serious obstacles to agricultural improvements, both by obstructing the run of water, and by preventing the regular ploughing of the fields.

Enclosures are rarely met with, and the few which I have seen, would scarcely keep out a pig.

The peasants' houses are all built of wood, and are frequently destroyed by accidental fires. I asked the peasants as I came along, why they still persevered in building their walls of such frail and precarious materials as fir deals, which so readily take fire, when they had abundance of rough granite at hand, ready for building houses which would last for ages, and effectually secure them against the effects of conflagration.

gration? The answer was uniform from every individual: "We do as has always been done; and besides, wooden houses are more expeditiously built, are cheaper, warmer, and infinitely handsomer than houses whose walls are vile stone."

It is vain to argue against such *conclusive* logic, or to suggest the example and experience of other northern countries. The answer is always ready, and is always given with all the modest self-sufficiency of vulgar prejudice, viz. "that may do very well in your country, sir, but we know better than strangers what suits Sweden, and our forefathers did not want common sense."

On entering a peasant's house, the traveller is pleased with the neatness and cleanliness of the pewter, and hardware utensils, which he sees displayed in a conspicuous part of the family room.

He sees also five or six, or perhaps ten or twelve mirrors, in different stations in the house.

Both Danes and Swedes have a peculiar delight in this kind of furniture. The next object of attention is the family bread, consisting of thin cakes, like the oaten cakes of Scotland, and some northern English and Irish counties. These cakes are of various diameters, from ten to twenty inches, and are perforated in the middle, and suspended from the roof in rows along the sides of the ceiling, by ropes or willow twigs run through the perforation in their centre.

These cakes are hard and tough, of a dark brown colour, composed of two-thirds rye, and one-third oats, or sometimes, in the better provinces, one-third wheat, and are baked only once a year.

An Englishman is seldom able to swallow this kind of bread; but I myself have found no inconvenience from it, further than the severe labour to which it condemns the teeth. It is certainly very convenient for labouring people to have their bread always ready for use, instead of being obliged to bake once or twice a-day for their families, as in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, and in the west of Ireland.

Young children, from the age of one to that of eighteen months, are wrapped up in bandages, like cylindrical wicker baskets, which are contrived so as to keep their bodies straight, without interfering much with their growth.

They are suspended from pegs in the wall, or laid in any convenient part of the room, without much nicety, where they exist in great silence, and good humour. I have not heard the cries of a child since I came to Sweden. How different from the horrible squalling, so often the annoyance of Scottish inns!

Young women, and married and old women, use the same sort of dress, both for the head and person. This gives the former a strange look.

The women may, in general, be called handsome, though they are rather lean, and their bosoms rarely display that charming luxuriance which is so conspicuous in their sex, in Germany and France. The aid which dress might afford to the churlishness of nature in this respect, seems to be overlooked by almost all classes, especially in the early period of life.

Every girl of the lower order, wears a white, or sometimes a coloured handkerchief round her neck and about her head: one triangular flap of which hangs down behind her shoulders. They have fine hair, commonly brown or flaxen, rarely black, and very seldom red; long eye-lashes, beautifully-arched eye-brows, and an expression of sweetness and innocence. Their accent in speaking, is melancholy in the highest degree, and approaches to the singing cadence of the Highlanders of Argyleshire, in Scotland. Indeed they resemble, in many respects, the females of the finer Scottish counties.

Ladies of wealth and rank, dress pretty much in the French and English style. I think, however, that both gentlemen and ladies, of the higher orders, affect the French language, dress, and manners, more than they do the English; and that the imitation of the latter is exclusively adopted by the mercantile classes.

Were I to form a judgment from the little experience which I have had, concerning the relative characters of the different ranks, I should be apt to invert the order commonly received in society, and to prefer the lower to the higher; the merchant to the nobleman, and the peasant to the merchant. This preference, it is true, is entirely confined to what some men would call the negative worth or morality of the parties; their freedom from the vices and follies to which they have little temptation and access.

One thing, however, is certain, that while the powerful, rich, and commercial portions of the Swedish population are not particularly distinguished above the neighbouring nations, for uprightness, or honesty, the peasants are universally allowed to be the most innocent and harmless in Europe.

In most parts of the country, the houses have no locks to their doors, which stand open day and night, in summer and autumn, and when the weather admits of it; a sure proof that theft and violence are uncommon or unknown.

There is a general deficiency of education among them.

Scarcely any of the peasants who fetched us horses, and very few of the landlords of stage-houses can write, or even read. This arises from the scarcity and the bad establishment of schools throughout the country. In this respect, they are far behind their neighbours, the Danes and Germans, though infinitely before their other neighbours the Russians.

Men of whom one would expect that their success in life must essentially depend upon their education, such as officers in the army, navy, landed proprietors, and young sons of noble families, are also miserably deficient in those branches of knowledge to which in the aggregate we commonly give the title of liberal education.

They sometimes speak a foreign language, or two, and with this literary accomplishment they remain satisfied. Neither history, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, geography, ancient or modern classical literature, nor indeed, as far as I have learned, any specific course or extent of instruction, are reckoned indispensable to the character of a gentleman. In these, I find the ladies, generally speaking, greater adepts than their husbands or brothers, as they are also in every thing connected with the accommodations and embellishments of polished life.

There is a great deal of the disposition among them, which disgraced Scotland during the reign of the Stuarts, before her union with England; I mean a sour spirit of disloyalty, pride, and discontent; of venality and faction, among the higher orders, and of indifference, or despair, among the peasantry.

The mercantile classes do not much care for this or for any country; or if they have any partiality, it is for France. This bias is not universal, but I find it pretty general.

[Our author then extends his remarks to the social and commercial intercourse of the Swedes and Danes. In his observations respecting the former, we find no facts beyond what we have already been enabled to communicate in the excellent works of sir John Carr and Kuttner. To his commercial remarks, he has added a Table, exhibiting the whole exports of Gottenburgh for the last hundred years. He conceives that it is the mutual interest of Sweden and Great Britain to be friends, and that Denmark will, as soon as she is permitted by France, be glad to renew with us her ancient intercourse, and forget all past causes of irritation.]



